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THE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

BISHOP OF EXETER AND AFTERWARDS OF NORWICH.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED, WITH SOME ADDITIONS,

BY

PHILIP WYNTER, D. D.

PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. IX.

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A COMMON APOLOGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AGAINST

THE UNJUST CHALLENGES OF THE OVER-JUST SECT,

COMMONLY CALLED

BROWNISTS.

WHEREIN THE

GROUNDS AND DEFENCES OF THE SEPARATION

ARE LARGELY DISCUSSED.

OCCASIONED BY A LATE PAMPHLET, PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAME OF

"AN ANSWER TO A CENSORIOUS EPISTLE:"

WHICH THE READER SHALL FIND IN THE MARGIN.*

BY J. H.

1610.

[* Now prefixed to the several sections, as in Edd. 1614. 1627. 1641.]

TO

OUR GRACIOUS AND BLESSED MOTHER,

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

THE MEANEST OF HER CHILDREN DEDICATES THIS HER APOLOGY,

AND WISHETH ALL PEACE AND HAPPINESS.

No less than a year and an half is past, reverend, dear, and holy Mother, since I wrote a loving monitory letter[a] to two of thine unworthy sons[b], which I heard were fled from thee in person, in affection, and somewhat in opinion, supposing them yet thine in the main substance; though in some circumstances their own.

Since which, one of them hath washed off thy font-water as unclean, and hath written desperately both against thee and his own fellows.

From the other, I received, not two months since, a stomachful pamphlet, besides the private injuries to the monitor, casting upon thine honourable name blasphemous imputations of apostasy, antichristianism, whoredom, rebellion.

Mine own wrongs I could have contemned in silence, but *for Sion's sake I cannot hold my peace: if I remember not thee, O Jerusalem, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth*[c]. It were a shame and sin for me that my zeal should be less hot for thine innocency than theirs to thy false disgrace.

How have I hastened therefore to let the world see thy sincere truth and their perverse slanders!

Unto thy sacred name, then, whereto I have in all piety devoted myself, I humbly present this my speedy and dutiful labour, whereby I hope thy weak sons may be confirmed, the strong encouraged, the rebellious shamed. And if any shall still obstinately accurse thee, I refer their revenge unto thy glorious Head, who hath espoused thee to himself in truth and righteousness: let Him, whose thou art, right thee.

In the mean time, we, thy true sons, shall not only defend, but magnify thee. Thou mayest be black, but thou art comely. The daughters have seen thee, and counted thee blessed, even the queen and the concubines, and they have praised thee: thou art thy Well-beloved's, and his desire is towards thee. So let it be, and so let thine be towards him for ever, and mine towards you both, who am the least of all thy little ones.

JOS. HALL.

[a] See Decade III. Ep. i. vol. vi. p. 186.

[b] Smith and Robinson.

[c] Meam injuriam patienter tuli: impietatem contra Sponsam Christi [Deum] ferre non potui.—Hieron. ad Vigilant. [Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. Ep. 36. p. 278.]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A COMMON APOLOGY

AGAINST

THE BROWNISTS.

Sect. I.—*The entrance into the work.*

If *Truth* and *Peace*, Zechariah's two companions[a], had met in our love, this controversy had never been. The severing of these two hath caused this separation; for while some unquiet minds have sought truth without peace, they have at once lost truth, peace, love, us, and themselves.

God knows how unwillingly I put my hand to this unkind quarrel. Nothing so much abates the courage of a Christian as to call his brother, adversary. We must do it. Woe be to the men by whom this offence cometh[b].

Yet by how much the insultation of a brotherly enemy is more intolerable, and the grief of our blessed mother greater for the wrong of her own, so much more cause I see to break this silence. If they will have the last words, they may not have all.

For our carriage to them: they say when Fire, the god of the Chaldees, had devoured all the other wooden deities, that Canopis set upon him a caldron full of water, whose bottom was devised with holes stopped with wax, which no sooner felt the flame but gave way to the quenching of that furious idol[c]. If the fire of inordinate zeal, conceit, contention, have consumed all other parts in the separation, and cast forth (more than Nebuchadnezzar's furnace[d]) from their Amsterdam hither, it were well if the waters of our moderation and reason could vanquish, yea abate it.

This little Hin of mine shall be spent that way. We may try

[a] Zech. viii. 19.

[b] Matt. xviii. 7.

[c] Otho Frising. ex Philon. Ur Chaldæorum. Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. l ii. c. 26. [Paris. 1580. p. 245.]

[d] Dan. iii.

and wish, but not hope it; the spirits of these men are too well known to admit any expectation of yieldance[e]. Since yet, both for prevention and necessary defence, this task must be undertaken, I crave nothing of my reader but patience and justice; of God, victory to the truth: as for favour, I wish no more than an enemy would give against himself.

With this confidence I enter into these lists, and turn my pen to an adversary, God knows whether more proud or weak.

SEPARATIST.

"It is an hard thing even for soberminded men, in cases of controversy, to use soberly the advantages of the times: upon which, whilst men are mounted on high, they use to behold such as they oppose too overly, and not without contempt: and so are ofttimes emboldened to roll upon them, as from aloft, very weak and weightless discourses, thinking any slight and slender opposition sufficient to oppress those underlings whom they have, as they suppose, at so great an advantage. Upon this very presumption it cometh to pass, that this author undertaketh thus solemnly and severely to censure a cause whereof, as appeareth in the sequel of the discourse, he is utterly ignorant: which had he been but half so careful to have understood as he hath been forward to censure, he would either have been, I doubt not, more equal towards it or more weighty against it." As this epistle is come to mine hands so I wish the answer of it may come to the hands of him that occasioned it; entreating the Christian reader, in the name of the Lord, impartially to behold without any prejudice of cause or respect of person what is written on both sides, and so from the court of a sound conscience to give just judgment.

SECT. II.—*The Answerer's Preamble retorted, confuted.*

It is an hard thing, even for those which would seem soberminded men, in cases of controversy, to use soberly the frowns and disadvantages of causes and times; whereby, while men are dejected and trodden down, they use to behold their opposites mounted on high too repiningly, and not without desperate envy; and so are ofttimes moved to shoot up at them, as from below, the bitter arrows of spiteful and spleenish discourses; thinking any hateful opposition sufficiently charitable to oppugn those adversaries which have them, as they feel, at so great an advantage. Upon this impotent maliciousness it cometh to pass, that this

[e] Vid. Treatise of Certain Godly Ministers against Barrowe.

answerer undertaketh, thus severely and peremptorily, to censure that charitable censure of ignorance, which, as shall appear in the sequel, he either simply or willingly understood not; and to brand a dear church of Christ with apostasy, rebellion, antichristianism. What can be more easy than to return accusations?

Your preamble with a grave bitterness charges me with, first, presumption upon advantages; secondly, weak and weightless discourse; thirdly, ignorance of the cause censured.

It had been madness in me to write, if I had not presumed upon advantages; but of the cause, of the truth, not of the times: though, blessed be God, the times favour the truth and us; if you scorn them and their favours, complain not to be an underling: think that the times are wiser than to bestow their favours upon wilful adversaries. But in spite of times, you are not more under us in estate than in conceit above us: so we say, "the sun is under a cloud," we know it is above it. Would[f] God overliness and contempt were not yours, even to them which are mounted highest upon best desert: and now you, that have not learned sobriety in just disadvantages, tax us not to use soberly the advantages of time. There was no gall in my pen, no insultation: I wrote to you as brethren, and wished you companions: there was more danger of flattery in my style than bitterness. Wherein used I not my advantages soberly? Not in that I said too much, but not enough; not in that I was too sharp, but not weighty enough. My opposition was not too vehement, but too slight and slender: so strong champions blame their adversary for striking too easily. You might have forborne this fault: it was my favour that I did not my worst: you are worthy of more weight that complain of ease.

The discourse that I rolled down upon you was weak and weightless; you shall well find this was my lenity, not my impotence. The fault hereof is partly in your expectation, not in my

[f] Hier. Marco. Presbyt [Ed. Ben. t iv. parsii. Ep. 15. p 21.]: De cavernis cellularum damnamus orbem. In sacco et cinere volutati, de Episcopis sententiam ferimus. Quid facit, sub tunica pœnitentis, regius animus. Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. [Ed. Fell. Ep. 3. p. 5.] Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, ... ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant. Harrison, once theirs, in Ps. cxxii. of Brown's Antichristian pride and bitterness. Bredw. Pref. M. Brinsly's Pref. to the 2d part of the Watch. Optat. Mil. de Donat.: Collegæ non eritis si nolitis, fratres estis, &c. Disclaimed by themselves. Answer against Broughton, page 21. [Non sint collegæ si nolunt: tamen .. ..fratres sunt. Opt lib. i. p. 34. Ed. Paris. 1631.]

letter. I meant but a short epistle; you looked belike for a volume, or nothing. I meant only a general monition; you looked for a solid prosecution of particulars. It is not for you to give tasks to others' pens. By what law must we write nothing but large scholastical discourses, such tomes as yours? May we not touch your sore, unless we will lance and search it? I was not enough your enemy: forgive me this error, and you shall smart more.

But not only my omissions were of ignorance, but my censures, though severe and solemn. An easy imputation from so great a controller! I pardon you, and take this as the common lot of enemies. I never yet could see any scribbler so unlearned as that he durst not charge his opposite with ignorance. If Dr. Whitaker, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Gyfford, and that oracle of our present times, Dr. Andrews, went away content with this livery from yours [g], how can I repine? If I have censured what cause I knew not, let me be censured for more than ignorance, impudency: but if you know not what I censured, (let all my trust lie on this issue,) take both ignorance, boldness, and malice to yourself. Is your cause so mystical that you can fear any man's ignorance? What cobbler or spinster hath not heard of the main holds of Brownism? Am I only a stranger in Jerusalem? If I know not all your opinions, pardon me; your own have not received this illumination; I speak boldly—not yourself. Every day brings new conceits; and not one day teaches but corrects another [h]. You must be more constant to yourselves ere you can upbraid ignorance or avoid it. But whether I knew your prime fancies appears sufficiently by a particular discourse which above a year since was in the hands of some of your clients, and I wonder if not in yours. Shortly; am I ignorant? If I were obstinate too, you might hope with the next gale for me, your more equal adversary, at Amsterdam. As I am, my want of care and skill shall I hope lose nothing of the truth by you, nor suffer any of your foul aspersions upon the face of God's Church and ours.

But while we strive, who shall be our judge? "The Christian Readers." Who are those? Presume not, ye more zealous and forward countrymen, that you are admitted to this bench. So far are we, mere English, from being allowed judges of them, that

[g] Separat. Schis. "M. Gyfford, an ignorant priest." Bar. p. 63. Confer. of D. And. and M. Hutchins, with Barrow.

[h] M. Spr. 3. Considerat. Iren. lib. i. Per singulos dies novum aliquod adfectant, &c.

they have already judged us to be no Christians[i]. We are goats and swine, no sheep of God. Since then none but your parlour in the West, and Amsterdam, must be our judges, who, I beseech you, shall be our adversaries? God shall be judge betwixt you and us, and correct this your unchristian uncharitableness.

SEP.

"The crime here objected is separation, a thing very odious in the eyes of all them from whom it was made: as evermore casting upon them the imputation of evil, whereof all men are impatient. And hence it cometh to pass, that the Church of England can better brook the vilest persons continuing communion with it, than any whomsoever separating from it, though upon never so just and well grounded reasons."

SECT. III.—*The Parties written to, and their crime.*

I wrote not to you alone[k]; what is become of your partner, yea, your guide? Woe is me! he hath renounced our Christendom with our Church, and hath washed off his former water with new; and now condemns you all for not separating further, no less than we condemn you for separating so far[l]. As if you could not be enough out of Babylon unless you be out of yourselves! Alas, miserable countrymen, whither run you! Religion hath but his height, beyond which is error and madness. He tells you true, your station is unsafe: either you must forward to him or back to us.

I objected separation to you; yet not so extreme as your answer bewrays; a late separation, not the first; my charity hoped you less ill than you will needs deserve. You grant it odious, because it casts imputation of evil upon the forsaken. Of evil? yea, of the worst; an estate incurable and desperate. He is an ill physician that will leave his patient upon every distemper: his departure argues the disease helpless. Were we but faulty, as your landlord churches, your own rules would not abide your flight[m]. Hence the Church of England justly matches separa-

[i] Bar. Confer. with Hutchins, fol. 1. [See "A collection of certain sclanderous Articles, &c.," 1590.] Brown's Estate of True Christians. Defence of True Christians against the D. D. of Oxford. Johns. against Jacob, passim. Barrow against Gyfford. [See A plain refutation of M. Giffard's Book, &c. 1591.]

[k] "To M. Smith and M. Robinson, Ringleaders of the late Separation at Amsterdam."

[l] Charact. of the Beast, written by M. Smith, Pref. "Be it known therefore, to all the separation, that we account them, in respect of their constitution to be as very an harlot as either her mother the Church of England or her grandmother Rome is, &c." Iterato baptizatus scienter, iterato Dominum crucifigit. De Consecr. dist. 4. [Qui bis &c. Gratian. Decr. Paris. 1601. c. 117. p. 2488.]

[m] [Vid Johnson's Preface to his Enquiry.]

tists with the vilest persons. God himself doth so: who are more vile than patrons of evil? yet no greater woe is to them that speak good of evil, than those that speak evil of good; Is. v. 20. So wise generals punish mutinous persons worse than robbers or adulterers. So Korah and his company, a story cunningly turned upon us by your martyr[n], for their opposition to Moses, were more fearfully plagued than the idolatrous Israelities, Num. xvi. 31. Exodus xxxii. 30. These sins are more directly against common society; the other, more personal: and if both have like iniquity, yet the former have both more offence and more danger. And if not so, yet who cannot rather brook a lewd servant than an undutiful son, though pretending fair colours for his disobedience? At least, you think the Church of England thinks herself God's Church as well as your saints of Amsterdam. You that so accurse apostasy in others, could ye expect she should brook it in you?

But your reasons are just and well grounded; *Every way of a man is right in his own eyes*, Prov. xxi. 2. *Said we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?* say the Jews. What schism ever did not think well of itself? For us we call heaven and earth to record, your cause hath no more justice than yourselves have charity.

SEP.

"And yet separation from the world, and so from the men of the world, and so from the prince of the world that reigneth in them, and so from whatsoever is contrary to God, is the first step to our communion with God and angels and good men; as the first step to a ladder is to leave the earth."

SECT. IV.—*The kinds of Separation, and which is just.*

Yet there is a commendable and happy separation from the world, from the prince and men of the world, and whatsoever is contrary to God: who doubts it? There were no heaven for us without this; no church, which hath her name given by her Father and Husband, of calling out from other[o]. Out of the Egypt of the world doth God call his sons.

But this separation is into the visible Church from the world; not as yours, out of the Church, because of some particular mixtures with the world: or, if you had rather take it of profession, out of the world of pagans and infidels, into the visible

[n] M Penry, in his Discourse of this subject.

[o] ἐκκλησία.

Church, not out of the world of true though faulty Christians into a purer Church.

That I may here, at once for all, give light to this point of separation, we find in Scripture a separation either to good or from evil.

To good. So the Levites were separated from among the children of Israel to bear the ark and to minister, Num. viii. 14, Num. xvi. 9, Deut. x. 8: so the firstborn, firstfruits, and cities of refuge, Exod. xiii. 12, Lev. xxiii. 10, Deut. iv. 41: so Paul was ἀφωρισμένος, *separated*, Rom. i. 1; which some would have allude to his Pharisaism, but hath plain reference to God's own words, Acts xiii. 2. *Separate me Barnabas and Saul*[q]. Though this is rather a destination to some worthy purpose than a properly called separation.

From evil, whether sin or sinners.

From sin: so every soul must eschew evil, whether of doctrine or manners, and disclaim all fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, whether in himself or others: so St. Paul charges us to *hold that which is good and abstain from all appearance of evil*, 1 Thess. v. 21, 22: so Jeremiah is charged to *separate the precious* doctrine or practice[r] *from the vile*, Jer. xv. 19.

From sinners, not only practised by God himself, (to omit his eternal and secret decree, whereby the elect are separated from the reprobate,) both in his gracious vocation, sequestering them from nature and sin; as also in his execution of judgment, whether particular, as of the Israelites from the tabernacles of Korah, Numb. xvi. 26, or universal and final, of the sheep from the goats, Matth. xxv. 46: but also enjoined from God to men, in respect either of our affection or of our yoke and familiar society, 2 Chron. xix. 2: whereof St. Paul, *Be not unequally yoked with infidels: come out from among them, and separate yourselves*[s], 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.

In all this we agree. In the latitude of this last only we differ.

I find you call for a double separation. A first separation in the gathering of the Church; a second, in the managing of it: the first, at our entrance into the Church; the second, in our continuance: the first, of the Church from pagans and worldlings,

[q] ἀφορίσατε δή μοι——Σαῦλον.

[r] Vide Tremel. et Jun.

[s] Nulla cum malis convivia vel colloquia misceantur; simusque ab iis tam separati, quam sunt illi ab [de] Ecclesia Dei profugi.—Cypr. l. i. Epist. ad Corn. 3. [ed. Fell. ep. 59. p. 140.]

by an initiatory profession; the second, of lewd men from the Church by just censures.

You speak confusedly of your own separation; one while of both, another while of either single[t].

For the first, either confess it done by our baptism, or else you shall be forced to hold we must rebaptize; but of this constitutive separation anon.

For the second, of sinners, whether in judgment or life, some are more gross, heinous, incorrigible; others, less notorious and more tractable; those other must be separated by just censures, not these. Which censures if they be neglected, the Church is foul; and in your pastor's word[u], faulty; and therefore calls for our tears, not for our flight.

Now of churches faulty and corrupted, some raze the foundation; others, on the true foundation build *timber, hay, stubble:* from those we must separate, from these we may not. Peter's rule is eternal; *Whither shall we go from thee? thou hast the words of eternal life,* John vi. 68. Where these words are found, woe be to us if we be not found!

Amongst many good separations then yours cannot be separated from evil; for that we should so far separate from the evil that therefore we should separate from God's children in the communion of the holy things of God; that for some, after your worst done, not fundamental corruptions, we should separate from that Church in whose womb we were conceived, and from betwixt whose knees we fell to God; in a word, as one of yours once said[x], to separate not only from visible evil, but from visible good, as all antichristian, who but yours can think less than absurd and impious? Grant we should be clean separated from the world; yet if we be not, must you be separated from us? Do but stay till God have separated us from himself. Will the wise husbandman cast away his cornheap for the chaff and dust? Shall the fisher cast away a good draught because his drag-net hath weeds[y]? Doth God separate from the faithful soul because it hath some corruptions, her inmates, though not her commanders? Certainly, if you could thoroughly separate the world from you, you would never thus separate yourselves from us.

t Character of Beast: Pref.

u Johnson's Enquiry.

x H. Cl. Epistle before Treatise of Sin against the Holy Ghost. [Probably R. or W. Clyfton.]

y Neque, propter paleam, relinquimus aream Domini; neque, propter pisces malos, rumpimus retia Domini.—Aug. Ep. 48. [ed. Ben. Ep. 93. t. ii. p. 252.]

Begin at home: separate all self-love, and self-will, and uncharitableness from your hearts, and you cannot but join with that Church from which you have separated.

Your doctor would persuade us you separate from nothing but our corruptions[z]: you are honester, and grant it from our Church. It were happy for you if he lied not who in the next page confutes himself, showing that you separate from us as Christ from the Samaritans, namely from the Church, not the corruptions only; and not as he did from the Jews, namely from their corruptions, not from their Church[a]. His memory saves our labour and mars his discourse.

SEP.

"The separation we have made in respect of our knowledge and obedience is indeed late and new; yet is it, in the nature and causes thereof, as ancient as the Gospel; which was first founded in the enmity which God himself put betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, Gen. iii. 15. Which enmity hath not only been successively continued, but also visibly manifested by the actual separation of all true churches from the world, in their collection and constitution, before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel, Gen. iv. 13, 14, 16. and vi. 1, 2. and vii. 1, 7. with 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. and i. 22; Lev. xx. 24, 26; Neh. ix. 2; John xvii. 14, 16; Acts ii. 40. and xix. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 17."

SECT. V.—*The Antiquity and Examples of Separation.*

Yet, if not equity, it were well you could plead age. This your separation, in the nature and causes of it, you say, is no less ancient than the first institution of enmity betwixt the two seeds. You might have gone a little higher, and have said, than our first parents' running from God in the garden, or their separation from God by their sin.

But we take your time, and easily believe that this your late separation was founded upon that ancient enmity of the seed of the serpent with the woman's. That subtle devil, when he saw the Church breathe from the persecutions of tyrants, vexed her no less with her own divisions, seeking that by fraud which by violence he could not effect[b]. Hence all the fearful schisms of the Church whereof yours is part. This enmity hath not only been

[z] Ans. Counterpoison, p. 2. [a] Counterpoison, pp. 7 and 8, &c.
[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. [iv. 7.]

successively continued, but also too visibly manifested by the actual, but wilful separation of heretics and sectaries from the Church in all ages.

But I mistake you; yours is as ancient as the Gospel.

What! that *evangelium æternum* of the friars, whose name they accursedly borrowed from Rev. xiv. 6? or that *evangelium regni* of the Familists[c]? or that *evangelium aliud*, whereof St. Paul taxeth his Galatians, Gal. i. 6?

None of all these, you say, but as that gospel of peace, of truth, of glory, Eph. vi. 15; Col. i. 5; 1 Tim. i. 11. So ancient, and never known till Bolton, Barrow, and Brown! Could it escape all the holy prophets, apostles, doctors of the old, middle, and later world, and light only upon these your three patriarchs[d]? Perhaps Novatus or Donatus, those saints, with their schools, had some little glimpse of it; but this perfection of knowledge is but late and new; so many rich mines have lien long unknown, and great parts of the world have been discovered by late venturers.

If this course have come late to your knowledge and obedience, not so to others; for, lo, it was practised successively in the constitution and collection of all true churches, through all times, before the Law, under the Law, after it. We have acknowledged many separations, but as soon shall you find the time past in the present, as your late separation in the ancient and approved.

You quote scriptures, though to your praise more dainty indeed than your fellows. Who cannot do so? Who hath not[e]? Even Satan himself cites the word against Him which was the Word of his Father.

Let us not number, but weigh your texts: the rather, for that I find these, as your master-proofs, set as challengers in every of your defences[f]. In Gen. iv. 13, Cain, a bloody fratricide, is excommunicated; in Gen. vi. 1, 2, the sons of God married the daughters of men; in Gen. vii. 1 and 7, Noah is approved as righteous, and enters the ark; in 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21, the rest in Noah's time were disobedient and perished.

What of all this? Alas, what mockage is this of the reader and scriptures! Surely you even join scriptures as you separate yourselves.

[c] Hen. Steph. Apol. Herod. Fox, Act. et Monum. H.N. his book. [Henry Nicholas's Evangelium Regni.]

[d] Τρία, β. βελτίστα.

[e] Iren. de Valen. l. i. [c. 17.]– Inenarrabilem multitudinem Scripturarum quas ipsi finxerunt, adferunt ad stuporem insensatorum.

[f] Vid. Preface to Master Jacob's and Johnson's Confer. and Barr. pass.

This is right as your pastor, to prove all members of the visible Church elect and precious stones, cities[g], 1 Kings vii. 9, where is speech only of Solomon's house in the forest of Lebanon, his porch for his throne, his hall, his palace for Pharaoh's daughter: and when he comes to describe the office of his imaginary doctor, thwacks fourteen scriptures into the margin, whereof not any one hath any just colour of inference to his purpose[h]: and in his discourse of the power of the Church, that he might seem to honour his margin with show of texts, hath repeated six places twice over in the space of six lines[i].

For these of yours you might object the first to the Cainites[k], not to us. Cain was cast out worthily. Do we either deny or utterly forbear this censure? Take heed you follow him not, in your voluntary exile, to the land of Nod.

The second you might object to those mongrel Christians that match with Turks and Pagans. There are sons of God, that is, members of the visible church, and daughters of men, which are without the bounds, mere infidels. It is sin for those sons to yoke themselves with those daughters. What is this to us[l]?

Noah was righteous, the multitude disobedient. Who denies it? Yet Noah separated not from that corrupted Church till the flood separated him from the earth, but continued an ancient preacher of righteousness even to that perverse and rebellious generation, 1 Pet. iii. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 5.

But it sufficeth you that Cain and the giants were separated from the rest. We yield it. What will follow hence, save only that notorious malefactors must be cast out, and professed heathen not let into the Church? We hold and wish no less; your places evince no more.

These before the Law.

In Lev. xx. 24, 26, God chose out Israel from other people: this was God's act, not theirs; a sequestering of his Israelites from the Gentiles, not of Israel from itself: yours is your own; and from men in all main points of your own profession. "But therefore

[g] Description of the true visible Church.

[h] Nihil autem mirum si et ex ipsius Instrumento captentur argumenta, cum oporteat hæreses esse, quæ esse non possent si non et perperam Scripturæ intelligi possent.—Tertul. de Resurrect. [Paris. 1675. p 349.]

[i] Ibid.

[k] So Barrow terms M. Gyfford, Refut. p. 102.

[l] Si Christianus Judaicæ prævaricanti carnaliter conjungatur, [carnali consortio misceatur] a communione Ecclesiæ segregetur.—Dist. 28. q. 1. Cave: et cap. Si quis Judaicæ, &c. [qu. 1. c. 15, § 7. Grat. Decr. Paris. 1601. p. 1911.]

Israel must be holy:" if any man deny holiness to be required of every Christian, let him feel your *Maranatha*. In Neh. ix. 2 the Israelites separated themselves from the strangers which were infidels; whether in their marriage or devotion: neither God's service nor an Israelite's bed was for heathens: this was not the constituting of a new church, but reforming of the old: if therefore you can parallel us with pagans, and yourselves will be Jews, this place fits you.

Lastly, what if there be an hatred betwixt the world and Christ's true disciples? John xvii. 14, 16; what if Peter charged his auditors to save themselves from the errors and practice of that froward generation whose hands were yet freshly imbrued with the blood of Christ? Acts ii. 40; what if the same which Peter taught Paul practised, in separating his followers from hearing some obstinate and blasphemous Jews? Acts xiv. 9; what if the church of Corinth were saints by calling, 1 Cor. i. 2, and therefore must be separated from the yoke of infidels? 2 Cor. vi. 17. Are these your patterns? Are these fit matches for your brethren, baptized in the same water and name; professing every point of the same true faith; using for substance the same worship with you? *He that saith he is in the light and hateth his brother, is in darkness,* 1 John ii. 9.

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"Which separation the Church of England neither hath made nor doth make; but stands actually one with all that part of the world within the kingdom without separation: for which cause, amongst others, we have chosen, by the grace of God, rather to separate ourselves to the Lord from it, than, with it, from him, in the visible constitution of it."

SECT. VI.—*What separation is to be made by Churches in their Planting or Restoration.*

But all these examples perhaps are not so much to warrant what you have done as to condemn the Church of England for what she hath not done; for such a separation she neither hath made nor doth make, but stands actually one with all that part of the world within the kingdom without separation.

Lo here the main ground of this schism which your protomartyr Barrow hammers upon[m] in every page—an ill-constitution.

[m] In his Preface to the Reader: and in his Causes of Separation Defended, p. 4.

Thus he comments upon your words[n]; "For where such profane confuse multitudes, without any exception, separation, or choice, were all of them, from public idolatry, at one instant received or rather compelled to be members of the Church in some parish or other where they inhabited; without any due calling to the faith, by the preaching of the Gospel going before, or orderly joining together in the faith; there being no voluntary or particular confession of their own faith and duties made or required of any, and lastly, no holy walking in the faith amongst them; who can say that these churches, consisting of this people, were ever rightly gathered or built according to the rule of Christ's testament?"

In his words and yours I find both a miscollection and a wrong charge.

For the former; the want of noting one poor distinction breeds all this confusion of doctrine and separation of men. For there is one case of a new Church to be called from heathenism to Christianity; another, of a former Church to be reformed from errors to more sincere Christianity.

In the first of these is required indeed a solemn initiation by baptism; and before that, a voluntary and particular confession of faith; and therefore a clear separation and exception of the Christian from the infidel.

In the latter, neither is new baptism lawful (though some of you belike of old were in hand with a rebaptization[o]; which not then speeding, succeedeth now to your shame), nor a new voluntary and particular confession of faith besides that in baptism, though very commendable, will ever be proved simply necessary to the being of a church, so long as the erring parties do actually renounce their doctrines and in open profession embrace the truth; and, as generally in the public confession, so particularly upon good occasion give just testimonies of their repentance.

This is our case. We did not make a new Church but mended an old. Your Clifton is driven to this hold by necessity of argument[p]; otherwise he sees there is no avoiding of anabaptism.

[n] Ejusdem, p. 10. Refutat. of M. Gyff. p. 22. and 2. Transgress. pp. 51, 52, & 55, 66, & 70, 85, & 86, &c.

[o] Inconstance of Brown, p. 110. Enquiry into M. White, confessed by Fr. Johnson, p. 63.

[p] Passage betwixt Clifton and Smith: "And concerning the constitution of the Churches, &c. But the constituting of Churches, now after the defection of Antichrist, may more properly be called a repairing than a constituting, &c." p. 60.

"Mended," saith your doctor, "and yet admitted the miscellane rabble of the profane?—"

Say now that such separation were not made; let some few be holy and the more part profane: shall the lewdness of some disannul God's covenant with others? This is your mercy: God's is more; who still held Israel for his when but few held his pure service. Let that divine Psalmist teach you[q] how full the tents of Israel were of mutinous rebels in the desert, yet the pillar by day and night forsook them not: and Moses was so far from rejecting them, that he would not endure God should reject them to his own advantage. Look into the black censures and bitter complaints of all the prophets, and wonder that they separated not. Look into the increased mass of corruptions in that declined Church whereof the blessed eyes of our Saviour were witnesses, and marvel at his silent and sociable incuriousness, yea, his charge of not separating[r], *Ye know not of what spirit you are.*

Now you fly to constitution, as if notorious evils were more tolerable in the continuance than in the collection of assemblies. Sardis had but *a few names* that had *not defiled their garments:* God praises these, bids them not separate from the rest[s]. Thyatira suffers a false prophetess: *the rest, that have not this learning,* yet are bidden but to hold their own, not to separate from the angel, which hath not separated Jezebel from the Church[t].

SECT. VII.—*What separation the Church of England hath made.*

Your charge is no less injurious, That the Church of England hath made no separation.

Concerning which you have learned of your martyr and overseers[u] so to speak, as if before her late disclamation of popery in queen Elizabeth's time she had not been. Her monuments could have taught you better[x], and have led you to her ancient pedigree not much below the apostolic days, and in many descents have showed you not a few worthy witnesses and patrons of truth: all which, with their holy and constant offspring, it might have pleased you to have separated from this imputation of not separating.

Will you know, therefore, how the Church of England hath separated? In her first conversion, she separated herself from

[q] Ps. cvi.
[r] Matt. xxiii.
[s] Rev. iii. 4.
[t] Rev. ii. 24, 25.
[u] Bar. pp. 22 and 55. Fr. Johnson against M. H.
[x] Act. et Mon. passim.

pagans; in her continuance, she separated herself from gross heretics, and sealed her separation with blood; in her reformation, she separated herself from wilful papists by her public profession of truth and proclaimed hatred of error; and she daily doth separate the notoriously evil by suspensions, by excommunications, though not so many as yours[y]; besides the particular separations of many from the acknowledged corruptions in judgment, profession, practice. All these will be avowed in spite of all contradiction. With what forehead then can you say the whole Church of England hath not at all separated?

After all your shifts and idle tales of constitution, you have separated from this Church against the Lord; not with the Lord, from it. If there be Christ with us, if the Spirit of God in us, if assemblies, if calling by the word; whatsoever is or is not else in the constitution, there is whatsoever is required to the essence of a Church[z]. No corruption, either in gathering or continuance, can destroy the truth of being, but the grace of being well. If Christ have taken away his Word and Spirit, you have justly subduced: else you have gone from him in us.

And when you have all done, the separatist's idol, visible constitution, will prove but an appendance of an external form, no part of the essence of a true Church; and therefore your separation no less vain than the ground, than the authors.

Lastly, if our bounty should, which it cannot, grant that our collection was at first deeply faulty, cannot the ratihabition, as the lawyers speak[a], be drawn back? may not an after-allowance rectify and confirm it? In contracts (your own similitude) a following consent justifies an act done before consent[b]; and why not in the contract betwixt God and his visible Church? Lo, he hath confirmed it by his gracious benedictions; and, as much as may be in silence, given us abundant proofs of his acceptation. That after-act which makes your baptism lawful[c], why can it not make our Church?

SECT. VIII.—*Constitution of a Church.*

But forasmuch as constitution is the very state of Brownism, let us, I beseech you, inquire a little into the complexion of your

[y] Troubles and Excom. p. 191. M. Spr. p. 1.

[z] Fr. Jun. lib. de Eccles. [Genev. 1607. t. ii. p. 998.]

[a] Ratihabitio retrahi, &c.

[b] Subsequens consensus Jacobi in Leam fecit eos conjuges. d. 29. q. 1. S. Sed objicitur. [ut supra Gratian. p. 1918.]

[c] Barrow against Gyff.

constitution. Whether physic or law or architecture have lent you it, sure I am it is in this use apocryphal. Never man used it thus scrupulously, till your times. Though what need you the help of fathers or schools? New words must express new paradoxes. It is no treason to coin terms.

What then is constitution? your doctor can best tell us. "As the constitution of a commonwealth or a city, is a gathering or uniting of people together into a civil polity; so," saith he[d], "the constitution of the commonwealth of Israel, and of the city of God, the New Jerusalem, is a gathering and uniting of people into a divine polity. The form of which polity is order; which order is requisite in all actions and administrations of the Church, as the apostle showeth, and specially in the constitution thereof; so that, next unto faith in God, it is to be esteemed most necessary for all holy societies. Hence Paul rejoiced in the Colossians' order and faith, Col. ii. 5. To this constitution therefore belong a people, as the matter; secondly, a calling or gathering together, as the form, whereof the Church consisteth. The constitution of the Church of England is false in both."

Why so? have we not a people? are not those people called together? To prevent this, you say our constitution is false, not none. Why false? Because those people have neither faith nor order.

For faith, first. Who are you that dare thus boldly break into the closets of God, the hearts of men[e]; and condemn them to want that which cannot be seen by any but divine eyes? How dare you intrude thus into the throne of your Maker?

Consider, and confer seriously. What faith is it that is thus necessarily required to each member in this constitution? Your own doctor shall define it[f]: "Faith, required to the receiving in of members, is the knowledge of the doctrine of salvation by Christ, 1 Cor. xii. 9; Gal. iii. 2."

Now I beseech you, in the fear of God, lay by awhile all unchristian prejudice, and peremptory verdicts of those souls, which cost Christ as much blood as your own; and tell me ingenuously, whether you dare say, that not only your Christian brethren

[d] H. Ainsworth. Counterp. p. 170.

[e] Tertul. de Præscript.—Tu, ut homo extrinsecus unumquemque nosti, putas quod vides, vides autem quousque oculos habes: sed oculi [inquit] Domini sunt alti: homo in faciem, Deus in præcordia, contemplatur. [Paris. 1675. p. 203.]

[f] Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church. Anno 1607. p. 13.

with whom you lately conversed, but even your forefathers which lived under queen Elizabeth's first confused reformation, knew not the doctrine of salvation by Christ.

If you say they did not, your rash judgment shall be punished fearfully by him whose office you usurp. As you look to answer before him, that would *not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax,* presume not thus above men and angels.

If they did, then had they sufficient claim both to true constitution and Church.

"But this faith must be testified by obedience:"—So it was. If you think not so, yours is not testified by love. Both were weak, both were true. Weakness, in any grace or work, takes not away truth. Their sins of ignorance could no more disannul God's covenant with them, than multiplicity of wives with the patriarchs.

SECT. IX.—*Order, the Second part of Constitution, how far requisite, and whether hindered by Constraint.*

What wanted they then? Nothing but order: and not all order; but yours.

Order, a thing requisite and excellent; but let the world judge whether essential.

Consider now, I beseech you in the bowels of Christ Jesus, whether this be a matter for which heaven and earth should be mixed: whether for want of your order, all the world must be put out of all order, and the Church out of life and being.

Nothing, say we, can be more disorderly than the confusion of your democracy; or popular state, if not anarchy: where all in a sort ordain and excommunicate. We condemn you not for no true members of the Church. What can be more orderless, by your own confessions[g], than the Trinune Church at Amsterdam? which yet you grant but faulty. If there bedisproportion and dislocation of some parts, is it no true human body? Will you rise from the feast, unless the dishes be set on in your own fashion? Is it no city, if there be mudwalls half broken, low cottages unequally built, no state-house?

But your order hath more essence than you can express; and is the same which politicians in their trade call τάξιν τῆς πόλεως, an incorporating into one common civil body by a voluntary union,

[g] D. Allis. against the Descript. [*Alison*; a plain confutation of a Treatise of Brownism, entitled "A Description of the visible Church," Lond. 1590.] Confess. of the Brownists.—Brown, State of True Christians.—Enquiry into M. White.

and that under a lawful government [h]. Our church wants both: wherein there is both constraint and false office:—

Take your own resemblance and your own asking. Say that some tyrant, as Basilius of Russia, shall forcibly compel a certain number of subjects into Moscow; and shall hold them in by an awful garrison, forcing them to new laws and magistrates, perhaps hard and bloody. They yield; and making the best of all, live together in a cheerful communion, and due commerce, loving conversation, submissive execution of the enjoined laws. In such case, whether is Moscow a true city, or not?

Since your doctor cites Aristotle, let it not irk him to learn of that philosopher who can teach him [i], that when Cleisthenes had driven out the tyrants from Athens, and set up a new government, and received many strangers and bondmen into the tribes, it was doubted not which of them were citizens, but whether they were made citizens unjustly. If you should find a company of true Christians in Utmost India [k], would you stand upon terms, and inquire how they became so? While they have what is necessary for that heavenly profession, what need your curiosity trouble itself with the means?

SECT. X.—*Constraint requisite.*

You see then what an idle plea constraint is in the constitution of a city, the ground of all your exception.

"But it is otherwise in God's city, the Church:"—

Why then doth his doctorship parallel these two? And why may not even constraint itself have place in the lawful constitution or reformation of a Church? Did not Manasseh, after his coming home to God, charge and command *Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel?* 2 Chr. xxxiii. 16. Did not worthy Josiah, when he had made a covenant before the Lord, cause *all that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it;* and compelled *all that were found in Israel to serve the Lord their God?* 2 Chr. xxxiv. 32, 33. What have queen Elizabeth or king James done more? or what other? Did not Asa, upon Oded's prophecy, gather both *Judah and Benjamin, and all the strangers from Ephraim,*

[h] Ainsw. ibid. Arist. Pol. 3. cap. 1. [Paris. 1618. t. ii. p. 338. Ed. Congreve, 1855. p. 106.]

[i] Arist. Pol. 3 c. 2. utsup. Congr. p. 110.]

[k] Edesius et Frumentius pueri, a Meropio Tyrio philosopho in Indiam deportati, postea ibi Christianam religionem plantarunt. Ruffin. l. i. c. 9. [Paris. 1580. p. 202] Fœmina inter Iberos. [ibid.]

Manasseh, and Simeon, and enact with them, *that whosoever would not seek the Lord God should be slain?* 2 Chr. xv. 9, 12, 13.

What means this perverseness? You that teach[l] we may not stay princes' leisure to reform, will you not allow princes to urge others to reform? What crime is this, that men were not suffered to be open idolaters; that they were forced to yield submission to God's ordinances? Even your own teach[m], that magistrates may compel infidels to hear the doctrine of the Church; and papists, you say elsewhere[n], though too roughly, are infidels.

But you say, "Not to be members of the Church: God's people are of the willing sort." True, neither did they compel them to this. They were before entered into the visible Church by true baptism, though miserably corrupted. They were not now initiated but purged. Your subtle doctor can tell us, from Bernard[o], that "Faith is to be persuaded, not to be compelled: yet, let him remember that the guests must be compelled to come in, though not to eat when they are come[p]: compelled, not by persuasions, for these were the first invitations, therefore by further means: though this conceit hath no place with us, where men were urged not to receive a new faith, but to perform the old; to abandon that wicked idolatry which had defiled them, and to entertain but that truth which the very power of their baptism challenged at their hand[q].

But this was the old song of the Donatists: "Far be it from our conscience to compel any man to the faith." If God did not draw us, and by a sweet violence bend our wills to his, when should we follow him? Either you have not read, or not cared for, the practice of the ancient Church, and Augustin's resolution concerning the sharp penalties imposed upon the Donatists (would God none of your kindred) in his time, with his excellent defences of these proceedings[r].

[l] Barr. against Gyff. Brown, Reformation without Tarrying. ["If they therefore refuse and withstand, how should they be taried for?"]

[m] Greenwood, Conference with Cooper. Brown, Reformation without Tarrying. Conference with Doctor And. M. Hutch.

[n] Conference with Doctor Andr. Reformation without Tarrying.

[o] Bern. Fides suadenda, non cogenda. [Ed. Ben. t ii. p. 833. Marg.] Counterpoison.

[p] Dixit Paterfamilias servis, Quoscunque inveneritis, cogite intrare, &c. Aug. Epist. 48. [ed. Ben. Ep. 93. p. 232.]

[q] Pless. de Eccles. c. 10. [Mornæus.]

[r] Aug.—Quod si cogi per legem aliquem vel ad bona licuisset, vos ipsi miseri a nobis ad fidem purissimam cogi debuistis: sed absit a nostra conscientia, ut ad fidem nostram aliquem cogamus. Aug. Epist. 48. et 68. [Contra Petil. l. ii. c. 83. ut sup. t. ix. p. 268.]—Qui

SECT. XI.—*Constitution of the Church of England.*

But tell us then, what should have been done?

"The Gospel should have been every where preached. All converts should have been singled out, and have given a voluntary and particular confession of their faith and repentance[s]."

I answer you: the Gospel was long and worthily preached in the days of king Edward, enough to yield both martyrs to the stake and professors to the succeeding times. Were their holy sermons, their learned writings, and their precious blood (which was no less vocal) of no force? Afterwards, in the beginning of famous queen Elizabeth's reparation, what confluence was there of zealous confessors returning now from their late exile! How painfully and divinely did they labour in this vineyard of God! How did they, with their many holy partners which had shrouded themselves during that storm of persecution in a dangerous secrecy, spread themselves over this land, and eachwhere drew flocks of hearers to them and with them? Is all this nothing to their ungrateful posterity? If you murmur that there were no more, take heed lest you forget there were so many: for us, we do seriously bless God for these, and triumph in them.

All this premised, now comes a Christian edict from the state, that every man shall yield obedience to this truth, wherein they had been thus instructed. It was performed by the most, whose submission, what was it but an actual profession of their faith and repentance? And since such was their face, who dares judge of their hearts? More than this if ever can be showed absolutely necessary in such a state of the Church to the very constitution and repaired being thereof, I do here vow never to take the Church of England for my mother.

We know, and grieve to see, how scornfully your whole sect, and amongst the rest your resolute doctor[t], turns over these gracious entrances and proceedings of these two royal and blessed reformers.

And whom should he find to raise his scoffs upon but that saint-like historian, M. Fox?

phreneticum ligat, et qui letharg. excitat, ambobus molestus ambos amat. Ibid. [Ep. 93. § 2. p. 230.]—Clamant, Neminem ad unitatem cogendum: quid hoc aliud, quam quod de vobis quidam, Quod volumus sanctum est!

[s] Barrow and Greenw. passim.

[t] H. Ainsworth. Counterp.

"Now," says M. Fox[u], "a new face of things began to appear, as it were in a stage new players coming in, the old thrust out."

"Now," saith your doctor's comment[x], "new bishops came in, as players upon the old stage of the popish church;" as if the church were no whit altered, but the men. Shall we say this is too much malice, or too little wit and conscience?

Even in the lord protector's days, that holy man reports, that, after the scriptures restored and masses abolished, greater things followed these softer beginnings in the reformation of the churches. Learned and godly divines[y] were called for from foreign parts; a separation was made (though not so much willing as wilful) of open and manifest adversaries from professors, whether true or dissembled. Commissioners were appointed to visit every several diocese. Every bench of them had several godly and learned preachers to instruct the people in the truth, and to dissuade them from idolatry and superstition: the pope's supremacy not thrust, but taught down: all will-worship whatsoever oppugned by public sermons: images destroyed; pilgrimages forbidden; the sacraments enjoined to be reverently and holily ministered; ecclesiastical persons reformed in life, in doctrine: processions laid down; presence and attendance upon God's word commanded; the holy expending of Sabbath-days appointed; due preparation to God's table called for; set times of teaching enjoined to bishops and other ministers; all shrines and monuments of idolatry required to be utterly taken from public and private houses. All this before his parliament. By that, all bloody laws[z] against God's truth were repealed, zealous preachers encouraged; so as, saith that worthy historian[a], God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

What need I go further than this first year? Hear this, and be ashamed; and assure yourselves, that no man can ever read those holy monuments of the church, but must needs spit at your separation.

After that sweet and hopeful prince, what his renowned sister, queen Elizabeth, did, the present times do speak; and the future shall speak, when all these murmurers shall sleep in the dust. The public disputations, zealous preachings, restorations of banished religion and men, extirpations of idolatry, Christian laws,

[u] Act. et Monum. Edit. 5. p. 1180.
[x] Counterp. 226.
[y] P. Martyr, P. Fagius, Bucer, &c.
[z] Six Articles, p. 1547.
[a] Page 1182. col. 2. 60.

wise and holy proceedings, and renewed covenants with God, are still fresh in the memories of some, and in the ears of all: so as all the world will justly say, you have lost shame, with truth, in denying it.

Yea, to fetch the matter yet further: if the reader shall look back to the days of their puissant father king Henry the Eighth[b], he cannot but acknowledge, especially during the time of queen Anne, and before those six bloody articles, a true face of a church, though overspread with some morphew of corruptions, and some commendable forwardness of reformation; for both the pope's supremacy was abrogated, the true doctrine of justification commonly taught, confidence in saints untaught, the vanity of pardons declared, worship of images and pilgrimages forbidden, learned and godly ministers required, their absences and misdemeanours inhibited, the scriptures translated, publicly and privately enjoined to be read and received, the word of God commanded to be sincerely and carefully preached. And to all this, holy Master Fox addeth[c], for my conclusion, such a vigilant care was then in the king and his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleadings of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstitious customs, and idolatry, to some better form of reformation; whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but also procured the bishops to help forward the same cause of decayed doctrine with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people.

Go now and say, that suddenly, in one day, by queen Elizabeth's trumpet, or by the sound of a bell, in the name of Antichrist, all were called to the church. Go, say with your patriarch, that we erect religions by proclamations and parliaments[d].

Upon these premises I dare conclude, and doubt not to maintain against all separatists in the world, that England, to go no higher, had in the days of king Henry the Eighth a true visible Church of God; and so by consequent their succeeding seed was, by true baptism, justly admitted into the bosom thereof; and therefore, that even of them without any further profession, God's Church was truly constituted.

[b] Act. et Monum. pp. 999 and 1000.
[c] Ibid. Edit. 5. p. 1002.
[d] Barr. against Gyff. — Conference with Sperin. and M. Egerton.—Greenw. and Bar. Arg. to Master Cartw., Master Travers, Master Chark.—Brown, Reformation without Tarrying.

If you shall say that the following idolatry of some of them in queen Mary's days excluded them; consider how hard it will be to prove that God's covenant with any people is presently disannulled by the sins of the most, whether of ignorance or weakness; and if they had herein renounced God, yet that God also mutually renounced them.

To shut up your constitution, then, there is no remedy: either you must go forward to anabaptism, or come back to us. All your rabbins cannot answer that charge of your rebaptized brother[e]: if we be a true Church, you must return; if we be not, (as a false church is no church of God), you must rebaptize. If our baptism be good, then is our constitution good.

Thus your own principles teach[f]. The outward part of the true visible Church is a vow, promise, oath, or covenant betwixt God and the saints. Now, I ask, is this made by us in baptism or no? If it be, then we have by your confession (forsomuch as is outwardly required) a true visible Church: so your separation is unjust. If it be not, then you must rebaptize: for the first baptism is a nullity: and if ours be not, you were never thereby as yet entered into any visible Church.

SEP.

"To the title of a ringleader, wherewith it pleaseth this pistler to style me, I answer, that, if the thing I have done be good, it is good and commendable to have been forward in it; if it be evil, let it be reproved by the light of God's word: and that God, to whom I have done that I have done, will, I doubt not, give me both to see and to heal mine error by speedy repentance. If I have fled away on foot, I shall return on horseback. But as I durst never set foot into this way, but upon a most sound and unresistable conviction of conscience by the word of God, as I was persuaded; so must my retiring be wrought by more solid reasons from the same word than are to be found in a thousand such pretty pamphlets and formal flourishes as this is."

SECT. XII.—*The Answerer's Title.*

As for the title of ringleader wherewith I styled this pamphleteer, if I have given him too much honour in his sect I am sorry. Perhaps I should have put him (pardon an homely, but, in this sense, not unusual word) in the tail of this train. Perhaps

[e] M. Smith against R. Clifton. [f] Princip. and Infer. p. 11.

I should have endorsed my letter "To M. Smith, and his Shadow." So I perceive he was.

Whatsoever, whether he lead or follow, God meets with him.

If he lead: *Behold, I will come against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies!* Jer. xxiii. 32.

If he come behind: *Thou shalt not follow a multitude in evil,* saith God.

If either, or both, or neither; if he will go alone: *Woe unto the foolish prophets, saith the Lord, which follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing!* Ezek. xiii. 3.

Howsoever, your evil shall be reproved by the light of God's word. Your conjunction I cannot promise, your reproof I dare. If thereupon you shall find grace to see and heal your errors, we should, with all brotherly humbleness, attend on foot upon your return on horseback: but if the sway of your misresolved conscience be heady and unresistable, and your retiring hopeless; these not solid reasons, these pretty pamphlets, these formal flourishes shall one day be fearful and material evidences against you, before that awful Judge, which hath already said, that *judgments are prepared for the scorners, and stripes for the back of fools,* Prov. xix. 29.

SEP.

"Your pitying of us and sorrowing for us, especially for the wrong done by us, were in you commendable affections, if by us justly occasioned: but if your church be deeply drenched in apostasy, and you cry, 'Peace, peace,' when sudden and certain desolation is at hand, it is you that do wrong, though you make the complaint: and so being cruel towards yourselves and your own whom you flatter, you cannot be truly pitiful towards others whom you bewail." "But I will not discourage you in this affection, lest we find few in the same fault; the most, instead of pity and compassion, affording us nothing but fury and indignation."

SECT. XIII.—*The Apostasy of the Church of England.*

I professed to bestow pity and sorrow upon you and your wrong: you entertain both harshly and with a churlish repulse. What should a man do with such dispositions? Let him stroke them on the back, they snarl at him and show their teeth; let him show them a cudgel, they fly in his face.

You allow not our actions, and return our wrong. Ours is both the injury and. complaint:—How can this be? You are the agents; we sit still and suffer in this rent.

Yet since the cause makes the schism, let us inquire, not whose the action is, but whose the desert.

Our Church is deep drenched in apostasy, and we cry, "Peace, peace:"—

No less than a whole church at once, and that not sprinkled or wetshod, but drenched in apostasy! What, did we fall off from you, or you from us? Tell me, were we ever the true Church of God? and were we then yours? We cannot fall unless we once stood. Was your Church before this apostasy? show us your ancestors in opinion; name me but one that ever taught as you do, and I vow to separate. Was it not? Then we fell not from you; every apostasy of a church must needs be from the true Church. A true Church and not yours? and yet can there be but one true. See now, whether in branding us with apostasy, you have not proved yours to be no true church.

Still I am ignorant. Queen Mary's days, you say[g], had a true church which separated from popery, chose them ministers, served God holily; from thence was our apostasy:—

But were not the same also, for the most part, Christians in king Edward's days? Did they then in that confused allowance of the Gospel separate? Or, I pray you, were Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the rest, parts of that Church, or no? Was there any other ordination of ministers than from them? Reject these, and all the world will hiss at you; receive them, and where is our apostasy? What antichristianism have we whereof these were freed?

But you leap back, if I urge you far from hence to the apostles' times, to fetch our once true church from far, that it might be dear. You shall not carve for us. We like not these bold overleaps of so many centuries. I speak boldly; you dare not stand to the trial of any church since theirs.

Now I hear your doctor say[h], "This challenge savours of Rome. Antiquity is with you; a popish plea:"—

We have willingly taken up our adversaries at this (by pretence, their own) weapon: you debar it in the conscience of your own novel singularity. Yet your pastor can be content to make use of Tertullian alone against all Fathers[i]; that such things are justly

[g] A Treatise of the Ministry of England against M. H. p. 125.

[h] H. Ainsworth, in his Forespeech to his Counterpoison.

[i] Enq. into Wh. Tertul. l. de Orat. Tertul. l. de Præscript. So, de Virginib. veland. "That no continuance of time can prejudice truth." [veritatem cui nemo præscribere potest non spatium temporis, &c. De Virg. vel. Paris. 1675. p. 172.]

to be charged with vanity as are done without any precept, either of the Lord or of the apostles: and, the apostles did faithfully deliver to the nations the discipline they received of Christ, which we must believe to be the tumultuary discipline of the refined houseful at Amsterdam. What! all, in all ages and places, till now, apostates? Say, if you can, that those famous Churches wherein Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostom, and the rest of those blessed lights lived, were less deep in this apostasy than ours[k]? O apostatical Fathers that separated not!

Yea, say if you dare, that our reformed Churches are not over the ankles with us in this apostasy: what hard news is this to us, whenas your oracle dare say not much less of the reformed churches of Netherlands with whom you live? Thus he writes[l]: "For not hearing of them in other congregations in these countries, this I answer, That seeing, by the mercy of God, we have seen and forsaken the corruptions, yet remaining in the public ministration and condition of these churches, if they be all like to these of this city; we cannot therefore partake with them in such case without declining and apostasy from the truth, which we have ourselves already received and professed." See here, to partake with them in God's service is apostasy. If so in the accessaries, alas, what crime is in the principal! It were but apostasy to hear an English sermon, a Dutch is no less[m]. Woe is you that you dwell still in Meshech! Good men! it were not more happy for you than the Church, that you were well in heaven.

No less than apostasy? Let no reader be appalled at so fearful a word: this is one of the terms of art familiar to this way. Find but any one page of a Dutch printed volume without apostasy, excommunication, commingling, constitution, and suspect it not theirs. Heresy is not more frequent at Rome, than apostasy at Amsterdam; nor indulgences more ordinary there, than here excommunications.

Common use makes terrible things easy. Their own master Sl. for holding with the Dutch baptism and read prayers, is acknowledged to be cast out for an apostate[n]: yea, their doctor, Master Ainsworth, is noted with this mark from themselves.

[k] Si me reprehendas errantem, patere me, quæso, errare cum talibus.—Aug. Hier. [See Opp. ut supra, Ep. 82. § 23. t. ii. p. 199.]

[l] Fr. Johnson, in his Answ. to T. Wh. p. 26.

[m] Ans. against Brough. p. 17. "These Dutch churches offend, not only in practical disorders, but in their constitution, government, worship, &c."

[n] Troubles and Excom. at Amsterdam, p. 10.

There is much latitude, as happy is, in their apostasy: for when Stanshal, Mercer, and Jacob Johnson were to be chosen officers in their church, and exception was taken by some at their apostasy, answer was made[o], it was not such apostasy as debarred them from office: it was but a slip.

John Mark (whether, as Isychius and Theophylact, think the blessed evangelist, or some other holy minister) is by the whole parlour at Amsterdam branded[p] with this lame apostasy; who departed indeed, but from Paul in his journey, not from Christ in his faith: and therefore his *ἀποστάντα* is expounded[q] by *μὴ συνελθόντα*, Acts xv. 38. Why do we think much to drink of an evangelist's cup?

Yet let this ignorant epistler teach this censorious answerer one point of his own (that is, the separatist's) skill: and tell him that he objects two crimes to one poor church, which are incompatible; Want of constitution and apostasy. Thus writes your master of us[r]: "If it were admitted, which can never be proved, that they sometimes had been true established churches." Lo here we never had true constitution, therefore we are not capable of apostasy. If we once had it, and so were true churches, hear what your pastor saith[s]: "As Christ giveth to all true churches their being, so we must leave it unto him to take it away, when and as he pleaseth." And therefore, since he hath not removed his candlestick, nor taken away his kingdom, in spite of all objected apostasies we still continue so: and by consequent, your separation upon this ground is most unjust[t].

An apostate had wont to be the fearful surname of damned Julian. Tortus was an easy accuser, to whom yet we may say with Eliu[u], *Num dicis regi apostata?* Behold now so many apostates as men. Holy Cyprian[x] describes him by forsaking Christ's colours, and taking up arms for Gentilism in life, or heresy

[o] Brown charged with it by Bar. Letter to Master Egerton.

[p] G. Johnson. ibid. p. 194.

[q] Fr. Johns. Enqu. Acts xv. 38. "Departing, that is, not going with them."

[r] Bar. Pref. to the Separation Defended.

[s] In his Observations, p. 251. "We do not there condemn the parish assemblies, as separated from Christ; but prove them not as yet gathered to Christ." So, Conf. with Sperin, p. 9. Fr. Johnson's Enquiry, p. 36.

[t] H. Bar. Observation. 242. "No faults disannul the being of a church, until contempt of God's Word be added thereunto after due conviction. The faults and errors of a church may be severely reproved and convinced, according to the quality thereof, and yet the church not be condemned." N.B.

[u] Job xxxiv. 18. Vulg. edit.

[x] Cyp. Epist. ad Cornel. [Ed. Fell. Ep. 57. p. 117.]

in judgment. And Augustin[y] tells us, "There cannot be a greater sin than apostasy," making elsewhere this sinner worse than the infidel. And the whole Vulgate can give no worse term to בְּלִיַּעַל, where he finds it[z]; yea, to הַמּוֹרְדִים[a], rebels themselves.

What doth this brand to a Church, not Christian only, though you deny it, but famous? of whom is truly verified, after all your spleen, that which the Spirit writes to the angel of Ephesus, *Laborasti et non defecisti*, Rev. ii. 3, *Thou hast laboured, and not given in.* Say, if you can, what article of the Christian and apostolic faith have we renounced? What heresy maintain we? Wherein have we run from the tents of Christ? What hold we, that may not stand with life in Christ and salvation? We challenge all men and devils, in this point, for our innocence. Distinguish, for stark shame, of so foul a word; or, which is better, eat it whole: and let not this blemish be left upon your soul and name, in the records of God and the world[b], that you once said of a Church, too good for yours, "Drenched in apostasy."

If we cry Peace, while you cry Apostasy; surely we flatter, while you rail. Betwixt these two dangerous extremes, we know a wholesome mean[c]: so to approve, that we foster not security; so to censure, that we neither revile nor separate: and, in one word, to do that which your pastor could exhort[d] the separators from your separation; for even this schism hath schisms: "If we should mislike, yet to rest in our differences of judgment, and notwithstanding peaceably to continue with the Church."

Had you taken this course, you should neither have needed to expect our pity, nor to complain of our cruelty. Surely, whether our love be cruel or not, your hatred is: whereof, take heed lest you hear from old Jacob, *Cursed be their wrath, for it was fierce; and their rage, for it was cruel*, Gen. xlix. 7.

How can you expect compassion, when you breathe fire and write gall[e]? Never mention the fury of others' indignation, till

[y] Non est majus peccatum, quam apostatare a Deo.—Aug. in Psal. xviii. [ab hoc vitio quod est caput omnium vitiorum facta est apostasia a Deo, &c. Ed. Ben. t. iv. p. 87.]

[z] Prov. vi. 12; Job xxxiv. 18.

[a] Ezek. ii. 3.

[b] Tertull. de Pat.—Si hominibus placetur, Dominus offenditur: si, vero, illud enitimur et laboramus ut possimus Deo placere, et convitia et maledicta debemus humana contemnere.

[c] Confessed by M. John. loc. seq.

[d] Enquir. of Th. White, p. 65.

[e] Cypr. de Simplic. Præl. [Ed. Fell. ut sup. p. 111.]—Quid facit in corde Christiano luporum feritas et canum rabies? August. Confess. l. ix. c. 9.—Qualia solet eructare turgens [atque] indigesta discordia. [Ed. Ben. t. i. p. 165.]

the venomous and desperate writings of Barrow and Greenwood be either worn out with time; or by the thunderbolts of your (not rare) censures be struck down to hell, whence their maliciousness came. I forbear to recapitulate: how much rather had I help to bury, than to revive such unchristian exprobrations!

SEP.

"The first action laid against us is of unnaturalness and ingratitude towards our mother the Church of England, for our causeless separation from her. To which unjust accusation and trivial querimony, our most just defence hath been, and is, that to our knowledge we have done her no wrong. We do freely and with all thankfulness acknowledge every good thing she hath, and which ourselves have there received."

SECT. XIV.

The Separatists' Acknowledgments of the Graces of the Church of England.

Ingratitude and unnaturalness to your mother is objected, in that you fly from her; yea, now, woe is me! that you spit in her face, and mark her for an harlot.

Would God the accusation were as far from being just as from being trivial! Yet perhaps you intend it not in the lightness of this charge, but the commonness: you have caused me to smart for my charity, yet I forbear it not.

What is your defence? That you have done her no wrong to your knowledge. Modestly spoken, but doubtfully: we know your wrong, but we know not your knowledge. It is well if your wrong be not wilful: an ignorant wrong is both in more hope of amends, and of mercy.

But is not this caution added rather for that you think no hard measure can possibly be a wrong to so vile a Church? I ask, and would be denied. No, you do, freely and with all thankfulness, acknowledge every good thing she hath. Whatsoever you do to us, I will not any more, in favour of you, wilfully wrong myself: you have bidden me now to take you as a complete separatist; and speak this for yourself and yours.

Let the reader now judge whether the wrong of your sect be wilful; and acknowledgment of our good, free and thankful.

Your first false-named martyr shall give the first witness of the titles of our Church. "Who," saith he[f], "that were not drunk

[f] H. Barr. Præf. to the Separation Defended. [1591. p. 2.]

and intoxicate with the whore's cup, could affirm this confuse Babel, these cages of unclean birds, these prisons of foul and hateful spirits, to be the spouse of Christ?" And elsewhere[g], he calls the people of our Church, "goats and swine." Is this any wrong, to your knowledge? The same author: "They have not," saith he[h], "in their Churches any one thing in their practice and proceedings, not one pin, nail, or hook, according to the true pattern." Do you not now freely and thankfully acknowledge our Church's good things? What is more ordinary with him, and his brother in evil J. Greenwood, than to call[i] our worthy ministers "Baal's priests," "Cainites," "the marked servants of Antichrist," "sellers of the whore's wares," "worshippers of the beast?" Is this yet any wrong, to your knowledge?

Pastor Johnson sticks not to say[k], that "the ministry and worship of the Church of England were taken out of the whore's cup;" and plainly styles our Church (as which of you do not?) "Daughter of the great Babylon, that mother of whoredoms and abominations of the earth:" yet more[l]; "That hierarchy, worship, constitution, and government, which they profess and practise, being directly Antichristian, do utterly destroy true Christianity; so as their people and churches cannot, in that estate, be judged true Christians." Do you not now freely and thankfully acknowledge our good things? What can any devil of hell say worse against us than this, that we are no Christians? Or what good can there be in us if no true Christianity? If we denied every article of the Christian creed; if we were Mahometans, as your good pastor sticks not to compare us[m]; if the most damned heretics under heaven; what could he say, but no Christians?

Your teacher and pastor, which is a wonder, agree; for your doctor Ainsworth makes[n] this one head of his poisonous counterpoison, That Christ is not the Head, Mediator, Prophet, Priest, King of the Church of England: you, their disciple, are not yet promoted to this height of immodesty; yet what are your good things? Even to you we are apostates, traitors, rebels, Babylonish. This is well for a learner. Hereafter, if you will hear me, keep our good things to yourself, and report our evil.

[g] Causes of Separ. Def. p. 12. Confer. with Doctor Andr.

[h] Pref. to Separ. Def. [p. 2.]

[i] Gyff. refuted touch. Donat. Observat. of M. H. Bar. p. 239.

[k] Fr. Johns. Reas. 9, against M. Jac. p. 74.

[l] Johnson against M. Jac. Excep. 3. Nota Bene.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Counterpois. pp. 127 and 131.

Yea, that your uncharitableness may be above all examples monstrous, you do not only deny us any interest in the Church of Christ, but exclude us, what you may, from all hope and possibility of attaining the honour of Christendom: for when a godly minister protested to master Barrow the truth of his ministry, upon the approbation also of his people, he received this answer from him[o]: "Though you had such allowance, it could nothing avail, but rather overthrow your ministry, they being as yet ungathered to Christ; and therefore neither may not in this estate choose them a minister, nor any exercise a ministry unto them, without heinous sacrilege." O desperate judgment! we neither are Christians nor can be! No Christianity without faith; no faith without the ministry of the word; no word to us without sacrilege. What are we, that the very offer of bringing us to God should be criminal?

These are your acknowledgments of our good; who have learned of your pastor to kiss and kill all at once; to bless and curse with one breath[p]. Your mercies are cruel.

SECT. XV.—*The Unnaturalness of some principal Separatists.*

But who can wonder at your unnaturalness to the church that hears what measure you mete to your own?

Error is commonly joined with cruelty.

The outrageous demeanors of the Circumcelliones in Augustin's time, and more than barbarous tyranny of the Arians before him, are well known by all histories[q], and not enough by any: God forbid that I should compare you to these.

Hear rather of Novatus, the father of a not unlike sect; of whom Cyprian reports[r], that he would neither bestow bread on his father alive, nor burial on him dead, but suffered him both to starve and stink in the street; and for his wife, lest he should be merciful to any, he spurned her with his heel, and slew his own child in her body.

[o] Barr. Conference with M. Sperin, as Barr. himself hath written it, p. 9.

[p] Fr. Johns. Seven Reas. against Jac. p. 64. G. Johns. Pref. to the Pastor.

[q] Ruffin. Lib. ii. Eccles. Hist. c. 3. [Paris. ut sup. p. 232.]—Aug. Ep. et Possid. in Vita Aug.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl.—Damnis gravissimis et cædibus afficiebant, armati diversis telis.—Socrat. l. ii. c. 22 and 30. [27 and 38. Hussey.]

[r] Cyprian l. ii. Ep. 8.—Novati pater in vico fame mortuus, nec postea ab illo sepultus [Ed. Fell. ut sup. Ep. 52. p. 97]. Sic Optat. l. i.—Purpureus Donatista occidit sororis filios &c. [The passage is: "Homicida Purpurius Limatensis qui interrogatus de filiis sororis suæ quo deos in carcere Milei necasse diceretur confessus est dicens, Et occido non eos solos sed et quicunque contra me fecerit."]

What need I seek so far? I grieve to think and report that your own pastor hath paralleled this cruelty. His own brother, which is no less savage, though one of your sect is the public accuser and condemner of him in this crime to all the world[s]; who, after a pitiful relation of his eight years' quarrels with him, and four years' excommunication, in his Epistle before a large volume, to this purpose, writes thus[t]: "After all these, hath not our kind, careful, and old father come a long journey to make peace? Hath he not laboured with you, the elders, and the church, to bring you to peace? Hath he not used the help and counsel of the reformed churches herein? Yet will you not be reclaimed; but, adding that sin above all, have also monstrously excommunicated your father, the peace-seeker, &c." And straight; "How oft desired he you, as if he had been the son and you the father, even with tears, that you would repent! In a word, how came he and I to your door, showing you that it might be upon his departing you should see his face no more! &c. Yet you forced him by your ill dealing still to leave upon you his curse, and all the curses written in God's book against unthankful and disobedient children." Thus far a brother concerning a brother against father and brother. Other strangely unkind usages of both I had rather leave to the discovery of master White[u] and this miserable plaintiff[x], who have written enough to make an enemy ashamed.

But whereupon was all this fearful broil in a pure Church? for nothing but a little lace and whalebone in his wife's sleeve. The Trojan war could not be slandered with so weighty a beginning!

As for your elder Daniel Studly, whom your pastor so much extolleth[y], if master White's apostasy may be your shift against his relation, let him speak, who should have been a fellow-elder with him, banished for your truth, though ejected by your censure. "Mark," saith G. Johnson of this Studly[z], "how the Lord hath judged him with unnaturalness to his own children, suffering them to lie at other men's feet, and hang on other men's hands; while he, his wife, and her daughter[a] fared daintily, and went prankingly in apparel, even in this place of banishment."

[s] G. Johns. Discourse of Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam; printed 1603.
[t] Ibid. p. 5.
[u] Discovery of Brownism.
[x] Vid. G. Johnson's book.
[y] Enq. into Th. White's Discov.
[z] Same Epist. p. 15.
[a] They say, *Filia Sponsæ*.

It is no joy to me to blazon these or your other sins[b]. Would God they were fewer, and less in us all! Only it was fit the world should know, as how undutiful you are to your common parent, so that father, brother, children bear part with your mother in these your cruelties.

SEP.

"The superabundant grace of God, covering and passing by the manifold enormities in that Church wherewith these good things are inseparably commingled, and wherein we also through ignorance and infirmity were enwrapped."—"But what then? should we still have continued in sin, that grace might have abounded? If God have caused a further truth, like a light in a dark place, to shine in our hearts, should we still have mingled that light with darkness, contrary to the Lord's own practice, Gen. i. 4, and express precept, 2 Cor. vi. 14?"

SECT. XVI.—*What the Separatists think themselves beholden to the Church of England for.*

IF, then, such be the good things of our Church, what good can you acknowledge to have received from her? Nothing gives what it hath not[c].

A baptism, perhaps: "Alas, but no true sacrament," you say: "yea, the seal of gracelessness and mischief." As little are you beholden to the Church for that as the Church to you for your good acceptation. Why are you not rebaptized? you, that cannot abide a false Church, why do you content yourselves with a false sacrament? especially since our Church, being not yet gathered to Christ, is no Church, and therefore her baptism a nullity[d].

What else do you owe to the liberality of this step-dame? You are close; your pastor is lavish for you both, who thus speaks[e] of himself, and you, and us: "I confess that, while I was minister in your Church of England, I stood in an antichristian estate; yet doubt I not but, even then being of the elect of God, I was partaker through faith of the mercy of God in Christ to salvation; but as for you," M. Jacob and his fellow-Christians,

[b] Mihi etiam vera accusatio contra fratrem displicet.—Hieron. [Apol.] adversus Ruffin. [Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. p. 361.]

[c] Bar. Exam. before the Archbishop and L. Anderson. — Brown, State of Christians, p. 39.—Qui non habet quod det, quomodo dat? vox Donat. Opt. lib. v. [p. 89. Ed. Paris. 1631.]

[d] Bar. supra.

[e] Fr. John. against M. Jacob. p. 41. Exc. 2.

"while you thus remain you cannot, in that estate, approve yourselves to have the promise of salvation." Behold here, the Church of England gave you but an antichristian estate; if God give secret mercy, what is that to her?

God's superabundant grace doth neither abate aught of her antichristianism, nor move you to follow him in covering and passing by the manifold enormities in our Church, wherewith those good things are inseparably commingled. Your own mouth shall condemn you. Doth God pass over our enormities, and do you stick, yea separate? doth his grace cover them, and do you display them? have you learned to be more just than your Maker? or, if you be not above his justice, why are you against his mercy? God hath not disclaimed us, by your own confession; you have prevented him. If princes' leisures may not be stayed in reforming, yet shall not God's in rejecting? Your ignorance enwrapped you in our errors; his infinite wisdom sees them, and yet his infinite mercy forbears them. So might you at once have seen, disliked, stayed. If you did not herein go contrary to the courses of our common God, how happy should both sides have been! yea, how should there be no sides! how should we be more inseparably commingled than our good and evil!

But should you have continued still in sin that grace might have abounded? God forbid! You might have continued here without sin, save your own; and then grace would no less have abounded to you than now your sin abounds in not continuing. What need you to surfeit of another man's trencher? Others' sins need no more to infect you than your graces can sanctify them.

As for your further light, suspect it not of God; suspect it to be mere darkness; and *if the light in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!* What! so true and glorious a light of God, and never seen till now! No worlds, times, churches, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, fathers, doctors, Christians, ever saw this truth look forth besides you, until you! External light was God's first creature, Gen. i. 2, 3; and shall this spiritual light, whereby all churches should be discerned, come thus late? Mistrust therefore your eyes and your light, and fear Isaiah's woe[f], and the Jews' miserable disappointment: *We wait for light; but lo, it is darkness: for brightness; but we walk in obscurity,* Isaiah lix. 9.

[f] Isa. v. 20, Woe to them that put darkness for light.

SEP.

"But the Church of England, say you, is our mother, and so ought not to be avoided; but, say I, we must not so cleave to holy mother church, as we neglect our heavenly Father and his commandments, which we know in that estate we could not but transgress, and that heinously and against our consciences, not only in the want of many Christian ordinances, to which we are most straitly bound, both by God's word and our own necessities."

SECT. XVII.—*The Motherhood of the Church of England, how far it obligeth us.*

The Church of England is your mother[5], to her small comfort; she hath borne you, and repented. Alas, you have given her cause to pour out Job's curses upon your birthday by your not only forsaking, but cursing her.

Stand not upon her faults, which you shall never prove capital. Note only, the best parent might have brought forth a rebellious son to be stoned, Deut. xxi. 18—21. What then? Do we prefer duty to piety, and so plead for our holy mother church that we neglect our heavenly Father, yea, offend him? See what you say: it must needs be an holy mother that cannot be pleased without the displeasure of God! a good wife that opposes such an husband! a good son that upbraids this unjustly! Therefore is she a church, your mother holy, because she bred you to God, cleaves to him, obeys his commandments, and commands them. And so far is she from this desperate contradiction, that she voweth not to hold you for her son unless you honour God as a Father.

It is a wilful slander that you could not but heinously transgress under her. I dare take it upon my soul that all your transgression, which you should necessarily have incurred by her obedience, is nothing so heinous as your uncharitableness in your censures and disobedience.

Conscience is a common plea even to those you hate; we inquire not how strong it is, but how well informed; not whether it suggests this, but whereupon. To go against the conscience is sin; to follow a misinformed conscience is sin also: if you do not the first, we know you are faulty in the second. He that is greater than the conscience will not take this for an excuse.

[5] Mater Ecclesia, mater est etiam matris nostræ [tuæ.] Aug. Epist. 38. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 243. § 8. t. ii. p. 870.]

But wherein should have been this transgression, so unavoidable, heinous, against conscience? First, in the want of many ordinances to which we are most strictly bound, both by God's Word and our own necessities:—

SECT. XVIII.—*The want of pretended Ordinances of God, whether sinful to us, and whether they are to be set up without princes.*

Can you think this hangs well together? You should here want many of God's ordinances: why should you want them? because you are not suffered to enjoy them. Who hinders it? superior powers.

Did ever man wilfully and heinously offend for wanting of that which he could not have? What hath conscience to do with that which is out of our power[h]? Is necessity with you become a sin, and that heinous? David is driven to lurk in the wilderness, and forced to want the use of many divine ordinances: it was his sorrow, not his transgression: he complains of this, but doth he accuse himself of sin? Not to desire them had been sin; no sin, to be debarred them. Well might this be Saul's sin, but not his. Have you not sins enow of your own, that you must needs borrow of others?

But I see your ground. You are bound to have these ordinances; and therefore without princes, yea against them: so it is your transgression to want them in spite of magistrates.

Gaudentius the Donatist taught[i] you this of old: and this is one of the Hebrew songs which M. Barrow sings[k] to us in Babylon, that we care not to make Christ attend upon princes, and to be subject to their laws and government: and his predecessor, the root of your sect, tells us[l], "In this sense the kingdom of heaven must suffer violence, and that it comes not with observation: that men may say, 'Lo the parliament,' or 'Lo the bishop's decrees:'" and in the same treatise, "The Lord's kingdom must wait on your policy, forsooth; and his Church must be framed to your civil state, &c." Just as that Donatist of old in Augustin[m],

[h] *οὐ γὰρ σωμ. λάβῃ*–[or *συμβόλῃ*] *μιαίνει* &c. *ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς μόλυσμος*. Nemo per exteriorem violentiam corrumpitur, si interior innocentia custodiatur. Cap. 11. q. 3. Custodi &c. [Gratian. Decr. pars ii. p. 1180.]

[i] Ad docendum populum Israeliticum, Omnipotens Deus Prophetis præconium dedit; non regibus imperavit. Aug. l. i. contra Gau. c. [34. ut sup. t. ix. p. 659.]

[k] Bar. Causes of Separat. Def. p. 6.

[l] Brown, Reformation without Tarrying.

[m] Aug. contra Petilian. lib. ii. [c. 92. ut sup. t. ix. p. 274.]

Quid vobis, &c.? "What have you to do with worldly emperors?" and as that other in Optatus[n], *Quid imperatori cum Ecclesia?* "What hath the emperor to do with the Church?" Yea, your martyr fears not to teach us[o] that God's servants, being as yet private men, may and must together build his Church, though al the princes of the world should prohibit the same, upon pain of death.

Belike, then, you should sin heinously if you should not be rebels. The question is not whether we should ask leave of princes to be Christians; but whether of Christian princes we should ask leave to establish circumstances of government.

God must be served, though we suffer: our blood is well bestowed upon our Maker; but in patience, not in violence.

Private profession is one thing; public reformation and injunction is another. Every man must do that in the main: none may do this but they of whom God says, *I have said, Ye are gods.*

And of them there is difference betwixt Christian and heathen princes, if, at least, all princes were not to you heathen: if these should have been altogether stayed for, religion had come late: if the other should not be stayed for, religion would soon be overlaid with confusion. Lastly, the body of religion is one thing, the skirts of outward government another. That may not depend on men to be embraced, or with loyalty prosecuted; these, upon those general rules of Christ, both may, and do, and must. If you cut off but one lap of these, with David, (1 Sam. xxiv. 6,) you shall be touched. To deny this power to God's deputies on earth, what is it but—*Ye take too much upon you, Moses and Aaron: all the congregation is holy: wherefore lift ye yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?* Num. xvi. 3.

See, if herein you come not too near the walls of that Rome which ye so abhor and accurse, in ascribing such power to the Church, none to princes.

Let your doctor tell you[p] whether the best Israelites in the times of Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, took upon them to reform without, or before, or against their princes, 2 Chr. xiii. xiv. xv. xxix. xxx. xxxiv. Yea, did Nehemiah himself without Artahshaht[q], though a heathen king, set upon the walls

[n] Optatus Milevit. lib. i. [p. 43. Paris. 1631. Quid Christianis cum Regibus aut quid Episcopis cum palatio.]

[o] Bar. Second Examination before the Lord Archbishop and Lord Chief Justice, compar. with his Reply to M. Gyff Art. 5.

[p] Counterpois. p. 230.

[q] Heb. אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא,—Artaxerxes, Gk.

of God's city? Or what did Zerubbabel and Jeshua without Cyrus? In whose time Haggai and Zechariah prophesied indeed, but built not. And when contrary letters came from above they laid by both trowels and swords, Ezra iv. 23, 24. They would be Jews still; they would not be rebels for God. Had those letters enjoined swine's flesh or idolatry, or forbidden the use of the law, those which now yielded had suffered, and at once testified their obedience to authority, and piety to Him that sits in the assembly of these earthen gods.

I urge no more. Perhaps you are more wise or less mutinous; you might easily therefore purge your conscience from this sin of wanting what you might not perforce enjoy.

Say that your church should employ you back to this our Babylon for the calling out of more proselytes: you are intercepted, imprisoned: shall it be sin in you not to hear the prophecies at Amsterdam? The clink is a lawful excuse. If your feet be bound your conscience is not bound. In these negatives outward force takes away both sin and blame, and alters them from the patient to the actor: so that now you see your strait bonds, if they were such, loosed by obedience and overruling power.

SECT. XIX.—*The Bonds of God's Word unjustly pleaded by the Separatists.*

But what bonds were these strait ones? God's word and your own necessity:—both strong and indissoluble.

Where God hath bidden, God forbid that we should care for the forbiddance of men! I reverence from my soul (so doth our Church, their dear sister) those worthy foreign churches which have chosen and followed those forms of outward government that are every way fittest for their own condition. It is enough for your sect to censure them. I touch nothing common to them with you.

While the world standeth, where will it ever be showed out of the sacred book of God that he hath charged, "Let there be perpetual lay-elders in every congregation:" "Let every assembly have a pastor and doctor, distinct in their charge and offices[r]:"

[r] Aug. Epist. 58. [121.] Pastores autem et Doctores quos maxime ut discernerem voluisti, eosdem puto esse sicut et tibi visum est; ut non alios Pastores, alios Doctores intelligeremus; sed ideo cum prædixisset Pastores subjunxisse Doctores, ut intelligerent Pastores ad officium suum pertinere doctrinam. Barr. against Gyff. inveighs, for this cause, against the Consistory of

"Let all decisions, excommunications, ordinations, be performed by the whole multitude:" "Let private Christians above the first turn in extremity agree to set over themselves a pastor chosen from amongst them, and receive him with prayer; and," unless that ceremony be turned to pomp and superstition, "by imposition of hands[r]:" "Let there be widowers," which you call relievers[s], "appointed every where to the Church-service:" "Let certain discreet and able men which are not ministers be appointed to preach the gospel and whole truth of God to the people?"

All the learned divines of other Churches are, in these, left, yea, in the most of them, censured by you. Hath God spoken these things to you alone? Plead not revelations, and we fear you not.

Pardon so homely an example: as soon, and by the same illumination, shall G. Johnson prove to your consistory the lace of the pastor's wife's sleeve, or ring, or whalebones; or others' amongst you, as your pastor confesseth[t], knit stockings, or cork shoes, forbidden flatly by Scriptures; as these commanded. We see the letter of the Scriptures with you: you shall fetch blood of them with straining ere you shall wring out this sense.

No, no, M. R.[u], never make God your stale. Many of your ordinances came from no higher than your own brain: others of them, though God acknowledges, yet he imposed not. Pretend what you will, these are but the cords of your own conceit, not bonds of Christian obedience.

SECT. XX.—*The Necessity of their pretended Ordinances.*

The first of these, then, is easily untwisted. Your second is necessity.

Than which what can be stronger? what law or what remedy is against necessity? What we must have we cannot want.

Oppose but the public necessity to yours; your necessity of having, to the public necessity of withholding: and let one of these necessities, like two nails, drive out another.

So they have done, and your own necessity, as the stronger,

Geneva.—Fr. Johns. Complaints of the Dutch and Fr. Churches. Description of a Visible Church, cannot make a Distinction in the Definition of their Offices.

[r] State of Christians 119.

[s] Description of a Visible Church. H. Clap. Epist. before his Treatise of Sin against the Holy Ghost. Brownists' Fourth Position.

[t] Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam.—Fr. Johns. in a Letter to M. Smith.

[u] [John Robinson, author of Apologia Brownistarum.]

hath prevailed: for that other necessity might be eluded by flight. You have sought and found elsewhere what the necessity of our laws denied and the necessity of your conscience required.

Beware lest unjustly. Sin is as strong bond to a good heart as impossibility[u]. Christians cannot do what they ought not. Contrary to the laws of your prince and country, you have fled, not only from us, but from our communion. Either is disobedience no sin, or might you do this evil that good may come of it?

But what necessity is this? simple and absolute, or conditional? Is there no remedy, but you must needs have such elders, pastors, doctors, relievers; such offices, such executions? Can there be no Church[x], no Christians, without them? What shall we say of the families of the patriarchs, of the Jewish congregations under the law; yea, of Christ and his Apostles? Either deny them to have been visible churches, or show us your distinct offices amongst them.

"But as yet," you say, "they were not:"—Therefore, God hath had a true Church thousands of years without them: therefore they are not of the essence of the Church.

You call me to the times since Christ. I demand then, was there not a worthy Church of God in Jerusalem from the time of Christ's ascension till the election of the seven deacons? Those *hundred and twenty disciples*, Acts i. 15; and *three thousand converts*, Acts ii. 41; those continual troops that flocked to the apostles, were they no true church? Let the Apostles and Evangelists be pastors and doctors: where were their elders, deacons, relievers? Afterwards, when deacons were ordained[y], Acts vi. beg. yet what news is there of elders, till Acts xi. 30? Yet that of Jerusalem was more forward than the rest.

We will not, as you are wont, argue from Scriptures negatively. No proof, yet much probability, is in St. Paul's silence. He writes to Rome, Corinth, and other churches[z]. Those his divine letters, in a sweet Christian civility, salute even ordinary Christians. And

[u] Nulla necessitas major est charitate. Hier. Apol. ad Ruff. [Epist. ad Chromatium. ut sup. t. iv. pars 2. p. 13.]

[x] Fr. Jun. de Eccl. Sed accidunt persæpe tempora, quibus aut nova Ecclesia generatur, aut altera pars interrumpitur (scilicet προιστάμενοι) et tamen Ecclesia esse non desinit, forma nimirum essentiali adhuc permanente. [Opp. Genev. 1607. t. ii. p. 1007.]

[y] Cyp. l. iii. ep. 9. Meminisse Diaconi debent quoniam Apostolos (id est) Episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit. Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in Cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui et Ecclesiæ ministros [Ed. Fell. Ep. 3. p. 6.]

[z] Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 1.

would he have utterly passed by all mention of these church-officers, amongst his so precise acknowledgment of lesser titles in others, if they had been ere this ordained? yet all these, more than true churches, famous some of them, rich, forward, and exemplary[a]. Only the Philippian church is styled with bishops and deacons[b]; but no elders besides them.

The churches of Christ since these, if at least you will grant that Christ had any church till now, have continued, in a recorded succession, through many hundreds of years. Search the monuments of her histories: show us where ever, in particular congregations, all these your necessary offices, as you describe them, were either found or required.

It was therefore a new no-necessity that bound you to this course; or, if you had rather, a necessity of fallibility. If with these God may be well served, he may be well served without them. This is not that *unum necessarium* that Christ commends in Mary; you might have sat still with less trouble and more thanks.

SEP.

"But also in our most sinful subjection to many antichristian enormities, which we are bound to eschew as hell."

SECT. XXI.—*The enormities of the Church in common.*

But besides that we ought to have had somewhat which we want, we have somewhat which we should have wanted. Some? yea many antichristian enormities:—

To say we are absolute, and neither want nor abound, were the voice of Laodicea, or Tyrus in the prophet. Our church, as she is true, so humble; and is as far from arrogating perfection as acknowledging falsehood. If she have enormities, yet not so many; or if many, not antichristian.

Your Ham hath espied[c] ninety-one nakednesses in this his mother, and glories to show them. All his malice cannot show one fundamental error; and when the foul mouth of your false martyr hath said all[d], they are but some spots and blemishes, not the old running issues and incurable botches of Egypt. The particulars shall plead for themselves.

These you eschew as hell:—While you go on thus uncharitably, both alike! Do you hate these more than master Smith and his

[a] Gal. iv. 15. [b] Phil. i. 1. [c] Fr. Johns. against M. Jacob. [d] Bar. Gyff. Refuted, i. Transgress. p. 28.

faction hates yours? His character shall be judge. So do we value your detestation as you his. It were well for you, if you eschewed these enormities less, and hell more: your sinful subjection to these unchristian humours will prove more fearful than to our antichristian enormities.

SEP.

"She is our mother. So may she be, and yet not the Lord's wife: every mother of children is not a wife. *Ammi* and *Ruhamah* were bidden to plead with their mother, apostate Israel; and plead that she was not the Lord's wife, nor he her husband; Hos. ii. 1, 2.

"And though you forbid us a thousand times, yet must we plead: not to excuse our fault, but to justify our innocency: and that, not only not so much in respect of ourselves as of the truth; which, without sacrilege, we may not suffer to be condemned unheard. And if you yet hear her not, rather blame yourselves as deaf than us as dumb."

SECT. XXII.—*The Church of England is the Spouse of Christ.*

She may be your mother, you say, and not the Lord's wife[e]:—

It is a good mother that hath children and no husband! Why did not you call her plain whore? Your old emblem is, "As is the mother, so is the daughter." These are the modest circumlocutions of a good son, who cares not to prove himself a bastard, that his mother may be marked for an harlot. Be you a true *Lo-ammi;* but England shall never, I hope, prove an apostate Israel. We have no calves in our Dan and Bethel; none of Jeroboam's idolatry. We have still called God *Ishi*, and never burnt incense to Baalim; 1 Kings xii. 29. Hos. ii. 16, 13: it is your synagogue that hath fallen away from us, as Israel from Judah.

But these children were bidden to plead: God's command shields them from the note of ungracious: Abraham must sacrifice his son; and this son must condemn his mother:—

Show us either our equal desert, or your equal warrant. Where hath God proclaimed our Church not his? By whose hand hath he published her divorce? You have shamed her womb; not she her bed; not God her demeanour.

Your tongues are your own, who can forbid you?—

We know you will plead and excuse, and censure and defend, till all the world be weary: we may pray with Jerome to this

[e] Cypr. de Simplic. Prælator.—Adulterari non potest spousa Christi: incorrupta est et pudica. [Ed. Fell. ut supr. p. 209.]

sense that of the Psalmist, *Increpa, Domine, bestias calami*[f]: yet we see your pens, tongues, and presses, busy and violent. I will not apply to you that which Augustin of his Donatists[g]: "though truth compel you to be dumb, yet iniquity will not suffer you to be silent:" but if you write whole marts and worlds of volumes, you shall never be able either to justify your innocence or excuse your fault. In the mean time the noise of your contentions is so great, that your truth cannot be heard. Learned Junius, and our learnedest divines and neighbour churches, have oft heard your clamours[h]; never your truth. So little have you of this, and so much of the other, that we are ready to wish, as he of old, either ourselves deaf or you dumb.

SEP.

"Is not Babylon the mother of God's people? whom he therefore commandeth to depart out of her, lest, being partakers of her sins, they also partake of her plagues."—Rev. xviii. 4.

"And, to conclude, what say you more against us for your mother the Church of England, than the Papists do for their mother, and your mother's mother, the Church of Rome, against you; whom they condemn, as unnatural bastards and impious patricides, in your separations from her?"

SECT. XXIII.—*How the Church of England hath separated from Babylon.*

The spirit of your proto-martyr[i] would hardly have digested this title of Babylon, "mother of God's people;" a murdering stepmother rather. She cannot be a mother of children to God, and no church of God: notwithstanding God's people, would he say, may be in her, not of her. So Babylon bore them not, but Sion in Babylon.

But I fear not your excess of charity. You fly to your doctor's challenge[k]; and ask what we say against you for us, which Rome will not say for herself against us. Will you justify this plea of Rome or not? If you will, why do you revile her? If you will not, why do you object it?

Hear then what we say, both to you and them; our enemies both, and yet the enemies of our enemies.

[f] Hieron. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, ex Ps. lxvii. [ut sup. t. iv. pars 2. Ep. 86. p. 684.]

[g] Aug. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. [c. 8. ut sup. t. ix. p. 20.]

[h] Epist. Junii ad Separ.

[i] Gyff. Refut. 2 Transg.

[k] Ainsw. Fore-speech to Counterpois.

First, we disclaim and defy your pedigree and theirs. The Church of Rome was never our mother's mother. Our Christian faith came not from the Seven Hills: neither was derived either from Augustin the monk, or pope Gregory. Britain had a worthy Church, before either of them looked into the world[l].

It is true that the ancient Roman Church was sister to ours. Here was near kindred, no dependence; and not more consanguinity than, while she continued faithful, Christian love. Now she has gone a whoring, her chaste sister[m] justly spitteth at her: yet even still, if you distinguish as your learned antagonist hath taught you[n] betwixt the Church and Papacy, she acknowledges her sisterhood, though she refrains her conversation.

As she hath many slavish and factious abettors of her known and gross errors, to whom we deny this title; affirming them the body, whereof Antichrist is the head, the great whore and mother of abominations: so again, how many thousands hath she, which, retaining the foundation according to their knowledge, as our learned Whitakers had wont to say of Bernard, follow Absalom with a simple heart! all which to reject from God's Church, were no better than presumptuous cruelty.

It were well for you, before God and the world, if you could as easily wash your hands of unnatural impiety and treacherousness as we of bastardy and unjust sequestration.

There can be no bastardy where was never any motherhood: we were nephews to that Church, never sons; unless, as Rome was the mother city of the world, so, by human institution, we suffered ourselves to be ranged under her patriarchal authority, as being the most famous church of the West: a matter of courtesy and pretended order, no necessity, no spiritual obligation.

As for our sequestration, your mouth and theirs may be stopped with this answer:—As all corrupted churches, so some things the church of Rome still holds aright: a true God, in Three Persons; true Scriptures, though with addition; a true Christ, though mangled with foul and erroneous consequences; true baptism, though shamefully deformed with rotten traditions: and many other undeniable truths of God. Some other things, and too many, her wicked apostasy hath devised and maintained abominably amiss: the body of her antichristianism, gross errors, and, by just sequel,

[l] A Simone Zelota: Niceph. Alii à Jos. Arimath. cujus hic sepulchrum cernitur. Angli Pascha Græco more celebrarunt.—Jacob. Armin. Disp.

[m] Cant. viii. 8.

[n] F. Jun. lib. sing. de Eccles.

heresies; their pope's supremacy, infallibility, illimitation; transubstantiation; idolatrous and superstitious worship; and a thousand other of this bran: in regard of all these latter, we profess to the world a just and ancient separation from this false faith and devotion of the Romish church; which neither you will say, nor they shall ever prove, faulty: yea, rather, they have in all these separated from us, who still irrefragably profess to hold with the Ancient, from whom they are departed. In regard of the other we are still with them, holding and embracing with them what they hold with Christ: neither will you, I think, ever prove that in these we should differ.

As for our communion, they have separated us by their proud and foolish excommunications, (if they had not, we would justly have begun,) from their tyranny and antichristianism, from their miserable idolatry. But as for the body of their poor seduced Christians, which remain amongst them upon the true foundation, as doubtless there are thousands of them which laugh at their pardons, miracles, superstitions, and their trust in merits, reposing only upon Christ; we adhere to them in love and pity, and have testified our affection by our blood; ready, upon any just call, to do it more; neither would fear to join with them in any true service of our common God.

But the full discourse of this point that honourable and learned Plessis hath so forestalled[n], that whatsoever I say would seem but borrowed. Unto his rich treatise I refer my reader for full satisfaction. Would God this point were thoroughly known and well weighed on all parts! the neglect or ignorance whereof hath both bred and nursed your separation, and driven the weak and inconsiderate into strange extremities.

This say we for ourselves in no more charity than truth; but for you, how dare you make this shameless comparison? Can your heart suffer your tongue to say that there in no more difference betwixt Rome and us than than there is betwixt us and you? How many hundred errors, how many damnable heresies have we evinced, with you, in that so compounded church! Show us but one mis-opinion in our church that you can prove within the ken of the foundation. Let not zeal make you impudent.

Your doctor could say[o], ingenuously sure, that "in the doctrines which she professeth, she is far better and purer than that whore

[n] Phil. Morn. du Plessis, lib. de Eccles. cap. 10. [o] Counterp. p. 171.

mother of Rome:" and your last martyr yet better: "If you mean," saith he[p], "by a church, as the most do, that public profession whereby men do profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying any church of Christ to be in this land: for I know the doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the natures and offices of the Lord Jesus, free justification by him, both the sacraments, &c. published by her majesty's authority and commanded by her laws, to be the Lord's blessed and undoubted truths, without the knowledge and profession whereof no salvation is to be had." Thus he, with some honesty, though little sense.

If therefore your will do not stand in your light, you may well see why we should thus forsake their communion, and yet not you ours.

Yet, though their corruptions be incomparably more, we have not dared to separate so far from them as you have done from us for less[q]. Still we hold them even a visible church; but unsound, sick, dying: sick, not of a consumption only, but of a leprosy or plague (so is the papacy to the church): diseases, not more deadly than infectious. If they be not rather in Sardis' taking, of whom the Spirit of God saith, *Thou hast a name that thou livest, but thou art dead;* and yet, in the next words, bids them awake, *and strengthen the things which are ready to die*, Rev. iii. 1, 2.

And though our judgment and practice have forsaken their erroneous doctrines and service, yet our charity, if you take that former distinction, hath not utterly forsaken and condemned their persons. This is not our coolness, but equality: your reprobation of us for them hath not more zeal than headstrong uncharitableness.

SEP.

And were not Luther, Zuinglius, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest, begot to the Lord in the womb of the Romish Church? Did they not receive the knowledge of his truth, when they stood actual members of it? whom, notwithstanding, afterwards they forsook; and that justly, for her fornications."

SECTION XXIV.

The Separation made by our holy Martyrs.

But how could you, without blushing, once name Cranmer, La-

[p] J. Penry. Exam. before M. Fanshaw and Just. Young.

[q] Fr. Jun. l. de Eccles.; M. Hooker, Eccles. Pol.; du Plessis, de Eccl.; Jacob. Armin. Disput.; D. Reynolds, Thes.; D. Field, Of the Church.

timer, and those other holy martyrs, which have been so oft objected to the conviction of your schism?

Those saints so forsook the Romish Church as we have done; died witnesses of God's truth in that Church from which you are separated; lived, preached, governed, shed their blood in the communion of the Church of England, which you disclaim and condemn as no church of God, as merely antichristian.

Either of necessity they were no martyrs, yea, no Christians, or else your separations and censures of us are wicked. Choose whether you will.

They were in the same case with us: we are in the same case with them; no difference but in the time. Either their blood will be upon your heads or your own. This Church had then the same constitution, the same confusion, the same worship, the same ministry, the same government, (which you brand with antichristianism), swayed by the holy hands of these men of God: condemn them or allow us.

For their separation, they found many main errors of doctrine in the Church of Rome (in the papacy nothing but errors) worth dying for: show us one such in ours, and we will not only approve your separation, but imitate it.

SEP.

"But here, in the name of the Church of England, you wash your hands of all Babylonish abominations; which you pretend you have forsaken, and her for and with them. And in this regard you speak thus:—The Reformation you have made of the many and main corruptions of the Romish Church we do ingenuously acknowledge; and do withal embrace with you all the truths which to our knowledge you have received instead of them. But Rome was not built all in a day."—"The *Mystery of Iniquity* did advance itself by degrees; and as the rise was, so must the fall be. That *Man of Sin*, and *Lawless Man*, must languish and die away of a consumption, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 7, 8. And what though many of the highest towers of Babel and of the strongest pillars also be demolished and pulled down, yet may the building stand still, though tottering to and fro, as it doth, and only underpropped and upheld with the shoulder and arm of flesh; without which, in a very moment it would fall flat upon and lie level with the earth."

SECT. XXV.—*What Separation England hath made.*

The Church of England doth not now wash her hands of Baby-

your own enemies! Or rather, because you hate it? your hatred is neither any news nor pain.

Who or what of ours is not hateful to you? Our churches, bells, clothes, sacraments, preachings, prayers, singings, catechisms, courts, meetings, burials, marriages! It is marvel that our air infects not; and that our heaven and earth, as Optatus said of the Donatists, escape your hatred. Not the forwardest of our preachers, as you term them[u], have found any other entertainment. No enemy could be more spiteful: I speak it to your shame. Rome itself, in divers controversary discourses, hath bewrayed less gall than Amsterdam. The better they are to others, you profess they are the worse[x]. Yea, would to God that of Paul were not verified of you—*hateful, and hating one another!* Tit. iii. 3.

But we have learned that, of wise Christians, not the measure of hatred should be respected, but the desert. David is hated for no cause, Ps. lxix. 4; Micaiah, for a good cause. Your causes shall be examined in their places onwards. It were happy if you hated your own sins more, and peace less: our prelacy would trouble you less, and you the Church.

SECT. XXVII.—*The Truth and Warrant of the Ministry of England.*

For our devised office of ministry, you have given it a true title.

It was devised indeed by our Saviour, when he said, *Go, teach all nations, and baptize,* Matt. xxviii. 19: and performed in continuance, when *he gave some to be pastors and teachers,* Eph. iv. 11.

And not only the office of ministry in general, but ours, whom he hath made both *able to teach,* and *desirous; separated* us for this cause *to the work;* upon due trial admitted us; ordained us *by imposition of hands of the eldership, and prayer;* directed us in the *right division of the word;* committed *a charge* to us[y]; followed our ministry with power, and blessed our labours with gracious success, even in the hearts of those whose tongues are thus busy to deny the truth of our vocation.

Behold here the devised office of our ministry. What can you devise against this?

[u] Johns. Pref. to his vii. Reas.
[x] Johns. vii Reas. p. 66.
[y] 2 Tim. ii. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 1. Acts xiii. 2, 3. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 15. ὀρθοτομοῦντα 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Your pastor, who, as his brother writes[z], hopes to work wonders by his logical skill, hath killed us with seven arguments, which he professeth the quintessence of his own and Penry's extractions; whereto your doctor refers us[a], as absolute.

I would it were not tedious, or worth a reader's labour, to see them scanned. I protest before God and the world, I never read more gross stuff so boldly and peremptorily faced out; so full of tautologies, and beggings of the question never to be yielded. Let me mention the main heads of them; and for the rest be sorry, that I may not be endless.

To prove therefore that no communion may be had with the ministry of the Church of England, he uses these seven demonstrations: first, because it is not that ministry which Christ gave and set in his Church; secondly, because it is the ministry of antichrist's apostasy; thirdly, because none can communicate with the ministry of England but he worships the beast's image and yieldeth spiritual subjection to antichrist; fourthly, because this ministry deriveth not their power and functions from Christ; fifthly, because they minister the holy things of God by virtue of a false spiritual calling; sixthly, because it is a strange ministry, not appointed by God in his word; seventhly, because it is not from heaven, but from men.

Now I beseech thee, Christian reader, judge whether that which this man was wont so oft to object to his brother (a cracked brain) appear not plainly in this goodly equipage of reasons. For what is all this but one and the same thing tumbled seven times over? which yet, with seven thousand times' babbling, shall never be the more probable. That our ministry was not given and set in the Church by Christ, but antichristian, what is it else to be from men, to be strange, to be a false spiritual calling, not to be derived from Christ, to worship the image of the beast? So this great challenger, that hath abridged his nine arguments to seven, might as well have abridged his seven to one and an half. Here would have been as much substance, but less glory.

As for his main defence: first, we may not either have or expect now in the Church that ministry which Christ set: where are our apostles, prophets, evangelists?—If we must always look for the very same administration of the Church which our Saviour left, why do we not challenge these extraordinary functions? I

[z] Discourse of the Troubles and Exc. at Amst.—Certain Arg. against the Com. with the Minist. of England.

[a] Counterpois.

we not rather think, since it pleased him to begin with those offices which should not continue, that herein he purposely intended to teach us, that if we have the same heavenly business done, we should not be curious in the circumstances of the persons?

But for those ordinary callings of pastors and doctors intended to perpetuity, with what forehead can he deny them to be in our Church? How many have we that conscionably teach and feed, or rather feed by teaching! Call them what you please, superintendents, that is, bishops, prelates, priests, lecturers, parsons, vicars, &c., if they preach Christ truly, upon true inward abilities, upon a sufficient if not perfect outward vocation; such a one (let all histories witness) for the substance, as hath been ever in the Church since the apostles' times; they are pastors and doctors allowed by Christ. We stand not upon circumstances and appendances of the fashions of ordination[b], manner of choice, attire, titles, maintenance; but if, for substance, these be not true pastors and doctors, Christ had never any in his Church since the apostles left the earth.

All the difficulty is in our outward calling. Let the reader grant our grave and learned bishops to be but Christians, and this will easily be evinced lawful, even by their rules. For if with them every plebeian artificer hath power to elect and ordain by virtue of his Christian profession[c], the act of the worthiest standing for all; how can they deny this right to persons qualified, besides common graces, with wisdom, learning, experience, authority? Either their bishopric makes them no Christians, a position which of all the world besides this sect would be hissed at; or else their hands imposed are thus far, by the rules of separatists, effectual.

Now your best course is, like to an hare that runs back from whence she was started, to fly to your first hold: "No Church, therefore no ministry." So now, not the Church hath devised the ministry, but the ministry hath devised the Church. I follow you not in that idle circle: thence you have been hunted already.

But now, since I have given account of ours, I pray you tell me seriously, who devised your office of ministry. I dare say not Christ, not his apostles, not their successors. What Church ever in the world can be produced, unless in case of extremity for one turn, whose conspiring multitude made themselves ministers at

[b] Ubi res convenit, quis non verba contemnat?—Aug. de Ordin. 2. [See Contra Acad. l. ii. c. xi. p. 272.]

[c] Brown, State of Christians.

pleasure? What rule of Christ prescribes it? What reformed Church ever did or doth practise it? What example warrants it? Where have the inferiors laid hands upon their superiors? What congregation of Christendom, in all records, afforded you the necessary pattern of an unteaching pastor or an unfeeding teacher?

It is an old policy of the faulty to complain first. Certainly, there was never popish legend a more arrant device of man than some parts of this ministry of yours, so much gloried in for sincere correspondence to the first institution.

SECT. XXVIII.—*Confused Communion of the Profane.*

Your scornful exception at the confused communion of the profane multitude savours strong of Pharisee, who thought it sin to converse *cum terræ filiis*, "the base vulgar;" and whose very phylacteries did say, "Touch me not, for I am cleaner than thou."

This multitude is profane, you say, and this communion confused[d].

If some be profane, yet not all; for then could be no confusion in the mixture. If some be not profane, why do you not love them as much as you hate the other? If all main truths be taught amongst some godly, some profane, why will you more shun those profane than cleave to those truths, and those godly? If you have duly admonished him, and detested and bewailed his sin, what is another man's profaneness to you? If profaneness be not punished or confusion be tolerated, it is their sin whom it concerneth to redress them. If the officers sin, must we run from the Church? It is a famous and pregnant protestation of God by Ezekiel, *The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself,* Ezek. xviii. 20. And if the father's sour grapes cannot hurt the children's teeth, how much less shall the neighbour's[e]!

But whither will you run from this communion of the profane? The same fault you find with the Dutch and French[f], yea, in your own. How well you have avoided it in your Separation, let

[d] Perplexæ sunt istæ duæ civitates in hoc seculo, invicemque permixtæ, donec, ultimo judicio, dirimantur. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. i. c. 35. [ut sup. t. vii. p. 30.]

[e] Orig. — Unusquisque propter proprium peccatum morietur, in propria justitia vivet, &c.

[f] Fr. Johns. Artic. against the Dutch and Fr.

M. White, George Johnson, Master Smith be sufficient witnesses[g], whose plentiful reports of your known uncleannesses, smothered mischiefs, malicious proceedings, corrupt packings, communicating with known offenders, bolstering of sins, and willing connivances, as they are shameful to relate, so might well have stopped your mouth from excepting at our confused communion of the profane[h].

SEP.

" Shall some general truths, yea though few of them in the particulars may be soundly practised, sweeten and sanctify the other errors? Doth not one heresy make an heretic? and doth not *a little leaven*, whether in doctrine or manners, *leaven the whole lump*? 1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 9; Hag. ii. 13. If antichrist held not many truths, wherewith should he countenance so many forgeries, or how could his work be a *mystery of iniquity*? which in Rome is more gross and palpable; but in England spun with a finer thread, and so more hardly discovered. But to wade no further in universalities, we will take a little time to examine such particulars as you yourself have picked out for your most advantage, to see whether you be so clear of Babel's towers in your own evidence as you bear the world in hand."

SECT. XXIX.—*Our Errors intermingled with Truth.*

How many and grievous errors are mingled with our truths shall appear sufficiently in the sequel. If any want, let it be the fault of the accuser. It is enough for the church of Amsterdam to have no errors.

But ours are grievous:—

Name them, that our shame may be equal to your grief. So many they are and so grievous, that your martyr, when he was urged to instance, could find none but our opinion concerning Christ's descent into hell[i], and except he had overreached, not that.

Call you our doctrines " some general truths?" Look into our confessions, apologies, articles, and compare them with any, with all other churches; and if you find a more particular, sound, Christian, absolute profession of all fundamental truths in any

[g] Answ. against Broughton. — Discover. of Brown.—Troubles and Excommunications at Amst. Charact. Pref.

[h] Cypr. Ep. 2. Iidem in publico accusatores, in occulto rei, in semetipsos censores pariter et nocentes: Damnant foris, quod intus operantur. [Ed. Fell. de Grat. Dei. Oxon. 1682. p. 6.]

[i] Barr. Confer. with M. Hutchins, &c. and D. Andr.

church since Christ ascended into heaven, renounce us as you do, and we will separate unto you.

But these truths are not soundly practised:—

Let your pastor teach you[k], that if errors of practice should be stood upon, there could be no true Church upon earth. Pull out your own beam first.

We willingly yield this to be one of your truths, that no truth can sanctify error; that one heresy makes an heretic: but learn withal that every error doth not pollute all truths; that there is hay and stubble which may burn, yet both the foundation stand and the builder be saved. Such is ours at the worst; why do you condemn where God will save?

No Scripture is more worn with your tongues and pens than that of the leaven, 1 Cor. v. 6. If you would compare Christ's leaven with Paul's you should satisfy yourself. Christ says, *The kingdom of heaven is as leaven,* Matt. xiii. 33: Paul says a gross sin is *leaven;* both, *leavens the whole lump;* neither may be taken precisely, but in resemblance; "not of equality," as he[l] said well, "but of quality." For notwithstanding the leaven of the kingdom, some part you grant is unsanctified; so notwithstanding the leaven of sin, some which have striven against it to their utmost are not soured. The leavening in both places must extend only to whom it is intended; the subjects of regeneration in the one, the partners of sin in the other. So our Saviour saith, *Ye are the salt of the earth;* yet too much of the earth is unseasoned. The truth of the effect must be regarded in these speeches, not the quantity. It was enough for St. Paul to show them by this similitude that gross sins, where they are tolerated, have a power to infect others; whether it be, as Jerome interprets it[m], by ill example, or by procurement of judgments; and thereupon the incestuous must be cast out. All this tends to the excommunicating of the evil, not to the separating of the good. Did ever Paul say, "If the incestuous be not cast out, separate from the Church?" Show us this, and we are yours; else it is a shame for you that you are not ours.

If antichrist hold many truths, and we but many, we must needs be proud of your praises. We hold all his truths, and have

[k] Inquir. into M. White, p. 35.

[l] M. Bredwell. [The rasing the foundations of Brownism. Lond. 1588. p. 8. marg.]

[m] Hieron.—In hoc ignoratis, quia malo exemplo possunt plurimi interire? Sed et per unius delictum in omnem populum Judæorum iram Dei legimus advenisse.

showed you how we hate all his forgeries no less than you hate us.

Yet *the mystery of iniquity* is still spun in the Church of England, but with a finer thread;—so fine that the very eyes of your malice cannot see it: yet none of our least motes have escaped you.

Thanks be to our good God, we have the *great mystery of godliness* (1 Tim. iii. 16.) so fairly and happily spun amongst us, as all but you bless God with us and for us. As soon shall you find charity and peace in your English Church as heresy in our Church of England.

SEP.

"Where, say you, are those proud towers of their universal hierarchy? One in Lambeth; another in Fulham; and wheresoever a pontifical prelate is, or his chancellor, commissary, or other subordinate, there is a tower of Babel unruinated. To this end I desire to know of you, whether the office of archbishops, bishops, and the rest of that rank, were not parts of that accursed hierarchy in queen Mary's days; and members of that *Man of Sin*. If they were then as shoulders and arms under that head the pope, and over the inferior members, and have now the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction derived and continued upon them whereof they were possessed in the time of popery, as it is plain they have by the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, why are they not still members of that body, though the head, the pope, be cut off?"

SECT. XXX.—*Whether our Prelacy be Antichristian.*

To the particular instances: I ask, Where are the proud towers of their universal hierarchy? You answer roundly, "One in Lambeth; another in Fulham, &c." What! universal? Did ever any of our prelates challenge all the world as his diocese? Is this simplicity or malice? If your pastor tell us[n], that as well a world as a province, let me return it: if he may be pastor over a parlour-full, why not of a city? and if of a city, why not of a nation?

But these you will prove unruinated towers of that Babel:—You ask, therefore, whether the office of archbishops, bishops, and the rest of that rank, were not in queen Mary's days parts of that accursed hierarchy and members of that *Man of Sin*:—Doubtless they were. Who can deny it?

[n] Seven Argum. First Answ. Counterpois.

But now, say you, they have the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction continued:—this is your miserable sophistry. Those popish archbishops and bishops and clergy were members of antichrist not as church-governors, but as popish. While they swore subjection to him, while they defended him, while they worshipped him above all that is called God, and extorted this homage from others, how could they be other but limbs of that *Man of Sin?* Shall others therefore which defy him, resist, trample upon him, spend their lives and labours in oppugnation of him, be necessarily in the same case, because in the same room?

Let me help your anabaptists with a sound argument. The princes, peers, and magistrates of the land in queen Mary's days were shoulders and arms of antichrist; their calling is still the same: therefore now they are such.

Your master Smith upon no other ground disclaimeth infants' baptism, crying out that this is the main relick of antichristianism[o].

But see how, like a wise master, you confute yourself. They are still members of the body, though the head, the pope, be cut off:—the head is antichrist; therefore the body without the head is no part of antichrist. He that is without the Head, Christ, is no member of Christ; so contrarily.

I hear you say, the very jurisdiction and office is here antichristian, not the abuse:—What! in them, and not in all bishops since, and in the apostles' times? Alas! who are you, that you should oppose all churches and times? Ignorance of church-story, and not distinguishing betwixt substances and appendances, personal abuses and callings, hath led you to this error.

Yet since you have reckoned up so many popes, let me help you with more. Was there not one in Lambeth when doctor Cranmer was there? One in Fulham, when Ridley was there? One in Worcester, when Latimer was there? One at Winchester, when Philpot[p] was there? We will go higher: was not Hilarius at Arles; Paulinus at Nola; Primasius at Utica; Eucherius at Lyons; Cyril at Alexandria; Chrysostom at Constantinople; Augustin at Hippo; Ambrose at Milan? What should I be infinite? Was not Cyprian at Carthage; Euodius, and after him Ignatius[q], in St. John's time, at Antioch; Polycarpus at Smyrna;

[o] Character of the Beast against R. Clyfton.

[p] Archdeacon [of Winchester, burnt in Smithfield, 1555.]

[q] Beatissimus Papa, passim in Epist. Ignat. ad Trallian. Euseb. l. iii. [c. 36.]

Philip at Cæsarea; James and Simeon and Cleophas at Jerusalem; and by much consent of antiquity[r], Titus in Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Mark at Alexandria?

Yea, to be short, was there not every where, in all ages, an allowed superiority of church-governors under this title? Look into the frequent subscriptions of all councils and their canons: look into the registers of all times, and find yourself answered.

Let reverend Calvin be our advocate[s]; I would desire no other words to confute you but his. He shall tell you that even in the primitive church the presbyters chose one out of their number in every city whom they titled their bishop, lest dissension should arise from equality.

Let Hemingius teach you[t] that this was the practice of the purest church.

Thus it was ever: and if princes have pleased to annex either large maintenances or styles of higher dignity and respect unto these, do their additions annihilate them? Hath their double honour made void their callings? why more than extreme neediness? If Aristotle would not allow a priest to be a tradesman[u], yet Paul could yield to homely tent-making: if your elders grow rich or noble, do they cease to be or begin to be unlawful[v]?

But in how many volumes hath this point been fully discussed! I list not to glean after their full carts.

SEP.

"And so do all the reformed churches in the world, of whose testimony you boast so loud, renounce the prelacy of England, as part of that pseudo-clergy and antichristian hierarchy derived from Rome."

SECT. XXXI.—*The Judgment and Practice of other Reformed Churches.*

From your own verdict you descend to the testimonies of all reformed churches.

[r] Ex Euseb. Hier. Catalog. Script. Epiphanio, &c.

[s] Calv. Inst. l. iv. [c. iv. § 2. Genev. 1592. p. 218.] Hieron. Evagrio. [seu Evangelo.]

[t] Heming. Potest. Eccl. clas. 3. c. 10. [Basil. 1586. p. 459.]—Hinc ecclesia purior, secuta tempora apostolorum, fecit alios patriarchas, quorum erat curare ut episcopi cujusque diœcesecos rite eligerentur, [et ordinarentur] ut suum munus episcopi singuli probe administrarent, &c.

[u] Arist. Pol. 7. [Ed. Congr. l. iv. c. 9.]

[v] Potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas, vel [sublimiorem] humiliorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit.—Hieron. Evagr. [Ed. Erasm. t. ii. p. 329. Ed. Ben. ad Evangelum, t. iv. pars 2. p. 802.]

I blush to see so wilful a slander fall from the pen of a Christian, that all reformed churches renounce our prelacy as antichristian: what one hath done it? Yea, what one foreign divine of note hath not given to our clergy the right hand of fellowship?

So far is it from this, that J. Alasco was the allowed bishop of our first reformed strangers in this land; so far, that when your doctor found himself urged by M. Spr.[x] with a cloud of witnesses for our church and ministry, as Bucer, Martyr, Fagius, Alasco, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Zanchius, Junius, Rollocus, and others, he had nothing to say for himself; but, "Though you come against us with horsemen and chariots, yet we will remember the name of the Lord our God," Ps. xx. 7: and turns it off with the accusation of a popish plea, and reference to the practice of the reformed[y].

And if therefore they have so renounced it, because their practice receives it not; why, like a true makebate, do you not say, that our churches have so renounced their government?

These sisters have learned to differ, and yet to love and reverence each other; and in these cases to enjoy their own forms without prescription of necessity or censure.

Let reverend Beza be the trumpet of all the rest; who tells you[z], that the reformed English Churches continue upheld by the authority of bishops and archbishops; that they have had men of that rank, both famous martyrs and worthy pastors and doctors: and, lastly, congratulates this blessing to our Church.

Or let Hemingius tell you the judgment of the Danish Church. *Judicat cæteros ministros, &c.* "It judgeth," saith he[a], "that other ministers should obey their bishops in all things which make to the edification of the Church, &c."

But what do I oppose any to his nameless "all?" His own silence confutes him enough in my silence.

SEP.—*Infallibility of Judgment.*

"It seems, the sacred (so called) synod assumeth little less unto herself in her determinations: otherwise, how durst she decree so absolutely as she doth touching things reputed indifferent, viz. that all

[x] [Qu. Sperin.]

[y] Answ. Counterp. Third Consid.

[z] Beza de Ministr. Evang. c. 18. Defens. [see Defens. Tract. contra Resp. Bezæ a Saravia, Lond. 1610. p. 182.] Cited also by D. Down. p. 29.

[a] Heming.—Judicat cæteros ministros suis episcopis obtemperare debere. —Potest. Eccl. Class. iii. c. 10. [ut supra p. 461.]

men, in all places, must submit unto them without exception or limitation? Except she could infallibly determine that these her ceremonies, thus absolutely imposed, should edify all men at all times, how durst she thus impose them? To exact obedience in and unto them, whether they offend or offend not, whether they edify or destroy, were intolerable presumption."

SECT. XXXII.—*Our Synod's determination of things indifferent.*

There was never a more idle and beggarly cavil than your next. Your Christian reader must needs think you hard driven for quarrels, when you are fain to fetch the pope's infallibility out of our synod, whose flat decree it was of old, that even general councils may err, and have erred[b].

But wherein doth our sacred synod assume this infallibility in her determinations? Wherefore is a synod, if not to determine?

But of things reputed indifferent?—What else are subject to the constitutions of men? Good and evil are either directly or by necessary sequel ordered by God; these are above human power. What have men to do, if not with things indifferent? All necessary things are determined by God, indifferent, by men from God, which are so many particulars, extracts from the generals of God. "These things," saith learned Calvin, "are indifferent, and in the power of the Church." Either you must allow the Church this or nothing.

But these decrees are absolute:—What laws can be without a command? The law that ties not is no law[c]; no more than that, saith Austin[d], which ties us to evil.

But for all men and all times?—How for all? For none, I hope, but our own. And why not for them?

But without exception and limitation:—Do not thus wrong our Church. Our late archbishop, if it were not piacular for you to read aught of his, could have taught you in his public writings[e] these five Lamentations of Enjoined Ceremonies; first, that they be not against the word of God[f]; secondly, that justification or remission of sins be not attributed to them; thirdly, that the

[b] Article 21.

[c] Obligatio, sine coercione, nulla.—Reg. Jur.

[d] Non jura dicenda sunt, &c.—De Civit. lib. xix. [c. 21.]

[e] [Whitgift's] Answ. to the Admon. p. 279. cited also by D. Sparkes, p. 14.

[f] Aug. Epist. 86.—In his enim rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.—[Ed. Ben. t. ii. Ep. 36. p. 78.]

Church be not troubled with their multitude; fourthly, that they be not decreed as necessary and not to be changed; and, lastly, that men be not so tied to them but that by occasion they may be omitted, so it be without offence and contempt.

You see our limits. But your fear is in this last contrary to his. He stands upon offence in omitting, you in using; as if it were a just offence to displease a beholder, no offence to displease and violate authority. What law could ever be made to offend none?

Wise Cato might have taught you this in Livy[g], that no law can be commodious to all. Those lips which preserve knowledge must impart so much of it to their hearers as to prevent their offence. Neither must lawgivers ever foresee what constructions will be of their laws but what ought to be. Those things which your consistory imposes, may you keep them if you list? Is not the willing neglect of your own parlour decrees punished with excommunication?

And now what is all this to infallibility? The sacred synod determines these indifferent rites for decency and comeliness to be used of those whom it concerns; therefore it arrogates to itself infallibility; a conclusion fit for a separatist.

You stumble at the title of sacred. Every straw lies in your way. Your Calepine could have taught you that houses, castles, religious businesses, old age itself, have this style given them; and Virgil, *vittasque resolvit sacrati capitis.* No epithet is more ordinary to councils and synods. The reason whereof may be fetched from that inscription of the Elibertine synod: of those nineteen bishops is said, "When the holy and religious bishops were set[h]." How few councils have not had this title! To omit the late; "The Holy Synod of Carthage[i]," under Anastasius; "The Holy and Peaceable Synod at Antioch[k];" "The Holy Synod of God, and Apostolical[l]," at Rome, under Julius; "The Holy and Great Synod at Nice[m];" and, not to be endless, "The Holy Synod of Laodicea[n]," though but provincial. What do these idle exceptions argue but want of greater?

[g] Liv. Decad. iv. l. xxxiv. c. 3.—Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est: id modo quæritur, si majori parti et in summam prodest.

[h] Cum consedissent [convenissent] sancti et religiosi episcopi.—Bin. tom. i. p. 239.

[i] Sancta Synod. Carthagi. 4. sub Anastasio.—[Ibid. p.] 553.

[k] Sancta et Pacifica Synod. Antiochen. 1.—[Ibid.] p. 420.

[l] Sancti [Sanctæ] Dei et Apostolicæ Synodus.—[Ibid. p.] 413.

[m] Pervenit ad Sanctam Synodum.—Can. Nic. 18. [ibid. p.] 309.

[n] Sancta Synod. Laodicena.—[Ibid. p.] 288.

SEP.—*Disputations with the Laws of God and Sins of Men.*

"To let pass your ecclesiastical consistories, wherein sins and absolutions from them are as venial and saleable as at Rome; is it not a law of the eternal God, that the ministers of the Gospel, the bishops or elders, should be *apt* and *able to teach?* 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 9. And is it not their grievous sin, to be unapt hereunto? Isa. lvi. 10, 11. And yet, who knoweth not that the patrons amongst you present, that the bishops institute, the archdeacons induct, the churches receive, and the laws both civil and ecclesiastical allow and justify, ministers unapt and unable to teach?"—"Is it not a law of the eternal God, that the elders should *feed the flock* over which they are set; *labouring amongst them in the word and doctrine?* Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. And is it not sin to omit this duty?"—"Plead not for Baal. Your dispensations for non-residency and pluralities of benefices, as for two, three, or more; yea, *tot quot*, as many as a man will have or can get, are so many dispensations with the laws of God and sins of men. These things are too impious to be defended, and too manifest to be denied."

SECT. XXXIII.—*Sins sold in our Courts.*

Some great men when they have done ill outface their shame with enacting laws to make their sins lawful. While you thus charge our practice you bewray your own; who, having separated from God's Church, devise slanders to colour your sin. We must be shameful that you may be innocent. You load our ecclesiastical consistories with a shameless reproach. Far be it from us to justify any man's personal sins; yet it is safer sinning to the better part. Fie on these odious comparisons. Sins as saleable as at Rome?—Who knows not that to be the mart of all the world? Perjuries, murders, treasons are there bought and sold; when ever in ours? The pope's coffers can easily confute you alone. What tell you us of these? Let me tell you, money is as fit an advocate in a consistory as favour or malice. These some of yours have complained of, as bitterly as you of ours[o]; as if we liked the abuses in courts; as if corrupt executions of wholesome laws must be imputed to the Church, whose wrongs they are. No less heinous nor more true is that which followeth. True elders, not yours, should be indeed διδακτικοί. This we call for as vehemently, not so tumultuously, as yourselves.

That they should *feed their flocks with word and doctrine,*

[o] G. Johns. Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam.

we require more than you. That patrons present, bishops institute, archdeacons induct some which are unable, we grant and bewail; but, that our Church-laws justify them, we deny, and you slander; for our law, if you know not, requires[p] that every one to be admitted to the ministry should understand the Articles of Religion, not only as they are compendiously set down in the Creed, but as they are at large in our Book of Articles; neither understand them only, but be able to prove them sufficiently out of the Scripture; and that not in English only, but in Latin also. This competency would prove him for knowledge, *διδακτικόν*. If this be not performed, blame the persons, clear the law. Profound Master Hooker tells you[q], that both arguments from light of nature, laws and statutes of scripture, the canons that are taken out of ancient synods, the decrees and constitutions of sincerest times, the sentences of all antiquity, and, in a word, every man's full consent and conscience, is against ignorance in them that have charge and cure of souls. And in the same book[r], "Did any thing more aggravate the crime of Jeroboam's apostasy, than that he chose to have his clergy the scum and refuse of his whole land? Let no man spare to tell it them, they are not faithful towards God that burden wilfully his Church with such swarms of unworthy creatures." Neither is it long since a zealous and learned sermon[s], dedicated to our present lord archbishop by his own chaplain, hath no less taxed this abuse, whether of insufficiency or negligence, though with more discretion, than can be expected from your malicious pen. Learn henceforth not to diffuse crimes to the innocent.

For the rest: your Baal in our dispensations for pluralities would thus plead for himself. First, he would bid you learn of your doctor to distinguish of sins. "Sins," saith he[t], "are either controvertible or manifest: if controvertible or doubtful, men ought to bear one with another's different judgment; if they do not, &c. they sin." Such is this. If some be resolved, others doubt; and in whole volumes plead, whether convenience or necessity[u]. How could your charity compare these with sins

[p] Can. 34.

[q] M. Hooker's Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity.

[r] [Book v. c. 81. § 8. ed. Keble, p. 521.]

[s] D. Downame, of the Office and Dignity of the Ministry.

[t] Counterp. p. 179.

[u] Dist. 34. Can.—Lector. Papa potest contra apostolum dispensare. [Gratian. ut supra, p. 214.] et Caus. 25. q. 1. Can. [6.] Sunt quidam. Dispensat. in Evangelio, [ut sup. p. 1782.] &c. De Concess. Prœbend. tit. 8. Can.—Propo-

evicted? Secondly, he would tell you, that these dispensations are intended and directed, not against the offence of God, but the danger of human laws; not securing from sin, but from loss.

But for both these points of non-residence and sufficiency, if you sought not rather strife than satisfaction, his majesty's speech, in the conference at Hampton Court[x], might have stayed the course of your quarrellous pen. No reasonable mind but would rest in that gracious and royal determination.

Lastly, why look you not to your own elders at home? Even your handful hath not avoided this crime of non-residency[y]. What wonder is it if our world of men have not escaped?

SEP.

Disposition of Kingdoms and deposition of Princes.

"You are wiser, and I hope honester, than thus to attempt; though that received maxim amongst you 'No ceremony, no bishop; no bishop, no king,' savours too strongly of that weed. But what though you be loyal to earthly kings and their crowns and kingdoms, yet if you be traitors and rebels against the King of his Church, Jesus Christ, and the sceptre of his kingdom; not suffering him, by his laws and officers to reign over you; but, instead of them, do stoop to antichrist in his offices and ordinances; shall your loyalty towards men excuse your treasons against the Lord? Though you now cry never so loud, *We have no king but Cæsar*, John xix. 15; yet is there *another king, one Jesus*, which shall return and pass a heavy doom upon the rebellious; Luke xix. 27, *these enemies, which would not have me reign over them, bring them and slay them before me.*"

SECT. XXXIV.—*Our loyalty to princes cleared: theirs questioned.*

You that confess our wisdom and honesty, must now plead for your own. Your hope is not more of us, than our fear of you.

To depose kings and dispose kingdoms, is a proud work[z]. You want power, but what is your will?

For excommunication, it is clear enough; while you fully hold that every private man hath as much power in this censure as the pastor; and that princes must be equally subject with them to these their censures. Let any man now devise, if the Brown-

suit. Secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare. et Glossa paulo infra: papa contra apostolum dispensat, &c. [Ibid.]

[x] Sum. Confer. p. 52. [Cardwell's Hist. of Conf. p. 190.]

[y] M. White's Discourse.

[z] Bar. against Gyfford. Inconst. of Brow. p. 113.

iste could have a king, how that king could stand one day unexcommunicated?

Or if this censure meddle only with his soul, not with his sceptre[a], how more than credible is it, that some of your assemblies, in queen Elizabeth's days, concluded that she was not, even in our sense, supreme head of the Church, neither had authority to make laws ecclesiastical in the Church[b]?

It is well if you will disclaim it. But you know your received position; that no one Church is superior to other. No authority, therefore, can reverse this decree; your will may do it.

Yea, what better than rebellion appears in your next clause; while you accuse our loyalty to an earthly king, as treasonable to the King of the Church, Christ Jesus? If our loyalty be a sin, where is yours? If we be traitors in our obedience, what do you make of him that commands it? Whether you would have us each man to play the *rex*, and erect a new government; or whether you accuse us as rebels to Christ, in obeying the old; God bless king James from such subjects[c].

But whose is that so unsavoury weed; "No bishop, no king?" Know you whom you accuse? let me shew you your adversary. It is king James himself, in his Hampton conference. Is there not now suspicion in the word? Surely you had cause to fear that the king would prove no good subject: belike not to Christ.

What do you else, in the next, but proclaim his opposition to the King of kings? or ours in not opposing his? As if we might say with the Israelites, *O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have ruled us*, Is. xxvi. 13.

If we would admit each of your elders to be so many kings in the Church, we should stoop under Christ's ordinances. Shew us your commission, and let it appear whether we be enemies or you usurpers. Alas, you both refuse the rule of this true deputy, and set up false! Let this fearful doom of Christ light where it is most due: *Even so let thine enemies perish, O Lord.*

SEP.

Parting stakes with God in conversion.

"Not to speak of the error of universal grace, and consequently of freewill, that groweth on apace amongst you, what do you else but put in for a part with God in conversion; though not through free-

[a] Bar. against Gyfford. Inconst. of Brow. p. 113.

[b] Enquiry into Tho. White.

[c] Page 36.

dom of will, yet in a devised ministry the means of conversion? it being the Lord's peculiar as well to appoint the outward ministry of conversion as to give the inward grace."

SECT. XXXV.—*Errors of Freewill, &c. feigned upon the Church of England.*

Go on to slander. Even that which you say you will not speak, you do speak with much spite and no truth.

What hath our Church to do with errors of universal grace or freewill? errors which her Articles do flatly oppose. What shamelessness is this! Is she guilty even of that which she condemns? If some few private judgments shall conceive or bring forth an error, shall the whole Church do penance? Would God that wicked and heretical anabaptism did not more grow upon you than those errors upon us! You had more need to defend than accuse.

But see, Christian reader, how this man drags in crimes upon us as Cacus did his oxen.

We do, forsooth, part stakes with God in our conversion:—wherein? "in a devised ministry the means of conversion." Well fetched about: there may be a ministry without a conversion; and *e converso* there may be a conversion without a ministry.

Where now are the stakes parted? Yet thus we part stakes with the apostle that we are God's *fellow labourers*[c] in this great work. He hath separated us to it, and joined us with him in it. It is he, as we have proved, that hath devised our ministry. Yea, yourself shall prove it: it is his peculiar to appoint the outward ministry that gives the inward grace. But hath not God given inward grace by our outward ministry? Your hearts shall be our witnesses. What will follow therefore but that our ministry is his peculiar appointment?

SEP.

"Where, say you, are those rotten heaps of transubstantiating of bread? and where, say I, learned you your devout kneeling to or before the bread, but from that error of transubstantiation? Yea, what less can it insinuate than either that or some other the like idolatrous conceit? If there were not something more in the bread and wine than in the water at baptism, or in the word read or preached, why should such solemn kneeling be so severely pressed at that time rather than upon the other occasions? And well and

[c] 1 Cor. iii. 9. Θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί.

truly have your own men affirmed, that it were far less sin and appearance of an idolatry that is nothing so gross, to tie men in their prayers to kneel before a crucifix than before the bread and wine: and the reason followeth, for that papists commit an idolatry far more gross and odious in worshipping the bread than in worshipping any other of their images or idols whatsoever." (Apol. of the Min. of Lincoln Dioc. part i. p. 66.)

SECT. XXXVI.—*Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

Our kneeling you derive, like a good herald, from the error of transubstantiation. But to set down the descent of this pedigree will trouble you: we do utterly deny it, and challenge your proof.

How new a fiction transubstantiation is, appears out of Berengary's Recantation to Pope Nicholas[d]. The error was then so young, it had not learned to speak; show us the same novelty in our kneeling. Till of late men held not the bread to be God: of old they have held it sacred.

This is the gesture of reverence in our prayer at the receipt, as Master Burgess well interpreted it, not of idolatrous adoration of the bread. This was mostwhat in the elevation: the abolishing whereof clears us of this imputation. You know we hate this conceit; why do you thus force wrongs upon the innocent?

Neither are we alone in this use. The Church of Bohemia allows and practises it. And why is this error less palpable in the wafers of Geneva? If the king should offer us his hand to kiss, we take it upon our knees; how much more when the King of Heaven gives us his Son in these pledges?

But if there were not something more than just reverence, why do we solemnly kneel at the communion, not at baptism?—Can you find no difference? In this, besides that there is both a more lively and feeling signification of the thing represented, we are the parties; but, in the other, witnesses.

This, therefore, I dare boldly say, that if your partner, M. Smith, should ever, which God forbid, persuade you to rebaptize, your fittest gesture, or any other's at full age, would be to receive that sacramental water kneeling.

How glad you are to take all scraps that fall from any of ours for your advantage! Would to God this observation of your

[d] De Consecr. d. 2. Ego Bereng. Apol.

malicious gatherings would make all our reverend brethren wary of their censures!

Surely no idolatry can be worse than that popish ἀρτολατρεία. The bread and the crucifix strive for the higher place. If we should therefore be so tied to kneel before the bread, as they are tied to kneel before the crucifix, their sentence were just. They adore the crucifix, not we the bread; they pray to the crucifix, not we to the bread; they direct their devotions at the best by the crucifix to their Saviour, we do not so by the bread; we kneel no more to the bread than to the pulpit when we join our prayers with the minister's.

But our quarrel is not with them. You, that can approve their judgments in dislike, might learn to follow them in approbation and peaceable communion with the Church. If there be a galled place, you will be sure to light upon that. Your charity is good, whatsoever your wisdom be.

SEP.

Adoring of Images.

"To let pass your devout kneeling unto your ordinary, when you take the oath of canonical obedience, or receive absolution at his hands, which, as the main actions are religious, must needs be religious adoration; what is the adoring of your truly human, though called divine, Service-book, in and by which you worship God as the papists do by their images? If the Lord Jesus in his Testament have not commanded any such book, it is accursed and abominable: if you think he have, show us the place where, that we may know it with you; or manifest unto us that ever the apostles used themselves, or commended to the Churches after them, any such Service-book. Was not the Lord, in the apostles' time and apostolic Churches, purely and perfectly worshipped, when the officers of the Church, in their ministration, manifested the spirit of prayer which they had received, according to the present necessities and occasions of the Church, before the least parcel of this patchery came into the world? And might not the Lord now be also purely and perfectly worshipped, though this printed image, with the painted and carved images, were sent back to Rome, yea, or cast to hell, from whence both they and it came? Speak in yourself, might not the Lord be entirely worshipped with pure and holy worship, though none other book but the Holy Scriptures were brought into the Church? If yea, as who can deny it that knows what the worship of God meaneth, what then doth your Service-book there? The Word of God is perfect, and admitteth of none addition. Cursed be he that addeth to the

Word of the Lord, and cursed be that which is added; and so be your great idol the Communion-book, though like Nebuchadnezzar's image, some part of the matter be gold and silver; which is also so much the more detestable, by how much it is the more highly advanced amongst you."

SECT. XXXVII.—*Whether our Ordinary and Service-book be made idols by us.*

Yet more idolatry? And, which is more, new and strange; such, I dare say, as will never be found in the two first Commandments.

Behold here two new idols, our Ordinary, and our Service-book; a speaking idol, and a written idol! Calicut hath one strange deity, the devil; Siberia many, whose people worship every day what they see first. Rome hath many merry saints, but Saint Ordinary and Saint Service-book were never heard of till your canonization.

In earnest, do you think we make our Ordinary an idol?

"What else? you kneel devoutly to him when you receive either the oath or absolution. This must needs be religious adoration:"—

Is there no remedy? You have twice kneeled to our vice-chancellor when you were admitted to your degree; you have oft kneeled to your parents and godfathers to receive a blessing: did you make idols of them? The party to be ordained kneels under the hand of the presbytery: doth he religiously adore them? Of old they were wont to kiss the hands of their bishops[e]: so they did to Baal. God and our superiors have had ever one and the same outward gesture: though here, not the agent is so much regarded as the action. If your ordinary would have suffered you to have done this piece of idolatry, you had never separated.

"But the true god-Bel and Dragon of England, is the human-divine-Service-book:"—

Let us see what ashes or lumps of pitch this Daniel brings. We worship God in and by it, as papists do by their images:—Indeed, we worship God in and by the prayers contained in it. Why should we not? Tell me, why is it more idolatry for a man to worship God in and by a prayer read or got by heart, than by a prayer conceived? I utter both: they are both mine: if the heart speak them both, feelingly and devoutly, where lies the idol?

[e] Paulus [Paulinus] in Vita Ambros. [fol. 1.]

In a conceived prayer, is it not possible for a man's thought to stray from his tongue? in a prayer learned by heart or read, is it not possible for the heart to join with the tongue? If I pray therefore in spirit, and heartily utter my desires to God, whether in mine own words or borrowed (and so made mine), what is the offence?

"But," say you, "if the Lord Jesus in his Testament have not commanded any such book, it is accursed and abominable:"—

But, say I, if the Lord Jesus hath not any where forbidden such a book, it is not accursed nor abominable. Show us the place where, that we may know it with you.

Nay, but I must show you where the apostles used any such Service-book:—

Show you me where the apostles baptized in a bason: or where they received women to the Lord's table; for your[f] ὁ ἄνθρωπος[g], 1 Cor. xi. will not serve: show me that the Bible was distinguished into chapters and verses in the apostles' time: show me that they ever celebrated the sacrament of the supper at any other time than evening[h], as your Anabaptists now do: show me that they used one prayer before their sermons always, another after; that they preached ever upon a text, where they preached over a table: or lastly, show me where the apostles used that prayer, which you made before your last prophecy; and a thousand such circumstances. What an idle plea is this from the apostolic times! And, if I should tell you that St. Peter celebrated with the Lord's Prayer, you will not believe it: yet you know the history[i].

But let the reader know, that your quarrel is not against the matter, but against the book; not as they are prayers, but as stinted or prescribed: wherein all the world, besides yourselves are idolaters. Behold, all Churches that were or are, are partners with us in this crime. O idolatrous Geneva, and all French, Scottish, Danish, Dutch Churches! All which both have their set prayers with us, and approve them. *Quod ad formulam, &c.* "As concerning a form of prayers and rites ecclesiastical," saith reverend Calvin[k], "I do greatly allow, that it should be set and certain, from which it should not be lawful for pastors in their

[f] Passage 'twixt Clifton and Smith.

[g] [1 Cor. xi. 28.—δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν. without the article.]

[h] Egyptii, ubi laute epulati sunt, post cœnam id faciunt. [Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐωχηθῆναι καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες τῶν μυστηρίων μετάλαμβάνουσιν.]—Socr. l. v. c. 22.

[i] Platin. initio.

[k] Calvin. Epist. ad Protect. Angl. Epist. 87. [Epist. Genev. 1575. p. 69.]

function to depart." Judge now of the spirit of these bold controllers, that dare thus condemn all God's Churches through the world as idolatrous.

But since you call for apostolic examples, did not the apostle Paul use one set form of apprecations, of benedictions? What were these but lesser prayers? the quantity varies not the kind.

Will you have yet ancienter precedents? The priest was appointed of old to use a set form under the Law; Num. vi. 23–26: so the people, Deut. xxvi. 3, 5–10, 13, 14, 15: both of them a stinted psalm for the sabbath; Ps. xcii.

What saith your doctor to these? "Because the Lord," saith he[l], "gave forms of prayers and psalms, therefore the prelates may! Can we think that Jeroboam had so slender a reason for his calves?"—

Mark, good reader, the shifts of these men. This answerer calls for examples, and will abide no stinting of prayers, because we show no patterns from Scripture. We do show patterns from Scripture: and now their doctor saith, "God appointed it to them of old: must we therefore do it?" So, whether we bring examples or none, we are condemned.

But, master doctor, whom, I beseech you, should we follow but God in his own services? If God have not appointed it, you cry out upon inventions: if God have appointed it, you cry we may not follow it. Show then, where God ever enjoined an ordinary service to himself, that was not ceremonial (as this plainly is not), which should not be a direction for us?

But if stinting our prayers be a fault, for as yet you meddle not with our blasphemous Collects[m], it is well that the Lord's Prayer itself beareth us company, and is no small part of our idolatry: which, though it were given principally as a rule to our prayers[n]; yet, since the matter is so heavenly, and most wisely framed to the necessity of all Christian hearts, to deny that it may be used entirely in our Saviour's words, is no better than a fanatical curiousness. Yield one and all: for if the matter be more divine, yet the stint is no less faulty. This is not the least part of our patchery: except you unrip this, the rest you cannot.

But might not God be purely and perfectly worshipped without it?—

[l] Answ. to the Minist. Counterp. 237.
[m] Counterpois, 236.
[n] Omnibus arietibus gregis, id est, Apostolis suis dedit morem orandi, Dimitte nobis, &c.—Aug. Epist. 89. [ut sup. t. ii. Ep. 157. p. 543.]

Tell me, might not God be purely and perfectly worshipped without churches, without houses, without garments, yea, without hands or feet? In a word, could not God be purely worshipped if you were not? yet would you not seem a superfluous creature: speak in yourself. Might not God be entirely worshipped with pure and holy worship, though there were no other books in the world but the Scripture? If yea, (as who can deny it, that knows what the worship of God meaneth?) what then do the Fathers and doctors and learned interpreters? To the fire with all those curious arts and volumes, as your predecessors called them. Yea, let me put you in mind that God was purely and perfectly worshipped by the apostolic Church before ever the New Testament was written.

See therefore the idleness of your proofs: God may be served without a prescription of prayer: but if all reformed Churches in Christendom err not, better with it.

The Word of God is perfect, and admits no addition: cursed were we if we should add aught to it; cursed were that which should be added; but cursed be they that take aught from it, and dare say, "Ye shall not pray thus, *Our Father, &c.*"

Do we offer to make our prayers canonical? Do we obtrude them as part of God's Word? Why cavil you thus? Why doth the same prayer written add to the Word, which spoken addeth not? "Because conceived prayer is commanded, not the other:"—— But first, not your particular prayer; secondly, without mention either of conception or memory, God commands us to pray in spirit and with the heart. These circumstances, only as they are deduced from his generals, so are ours.

But whencesoever it please you to fetch our Book of Public Prayer, from Rome or hell; or to what image soever you please to resemble it; let moderate spirits hear what the precious Jewell of England saith[o] of it. "We have come as near as we could to the Church of the apostles, &c. neither only have we framed our doctrine, but also our sacraments, and the form of public prayers, according to their rites and institutions." Let no Jew now object swine's flesh to us[p]. He is no judicious man (that I may omit the mention of Cranmer, Bucer, Ridley, Taylor, &c., some of whose hands were in it, all whose voices were for it) with whom one Jewell will not overweigh ten thousand separatists.

[o] Apolog. p. 170. — Accessimus, &c. [ed. Jelf. v. iv. p. 69.]

[p] H. Barr. against Gyfford. [Neither can the conningest of you make the best part of it other than a piece of swynes flesh, an abomination to the Lord.—A plaine refutation &c. 1591, p. 9.]

SEP.

Multitudes of Sacraments.

"The number of sacraments seems greater amongst you by one at the least than Christ hath left in his Testament, and that is marriage; which howsoever you do not in express terms call a sacrament, (no more did Christ and the apostles call baptism and the supper sacraments,) yet do you in truth create it a sacrament, in the administration and use of it. There are the parties to be married and their marriage, representing Christ and his Church and their spiritual union; to which mystery, saith the oracle of your Service-book, expressly, God hath consecrated them: there is the ring, hallowed by the said Service-book, whereon it must be laid for the element: there are the words of consecration; 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:' there is the place, the church; the time, usually the Lord's day; the minister, the parish priest: and being made as it is a part of God's worship and of the ministers' office, what is it, if it be not a sacrament? It is no part of prayer or preaching; and, with a sacrament, it hath the greatest consimilitude. But an idol, I am sure it is, in the celebration of it; being made a ministerial duty and part of God's worship, without warrant, call it by what name you will."

SECT. XXXVIII.—*Marriage not made a Sacrament by the Church of England.*

How did Confirmation escape this number? how did Ordination? It was your oversight I fear, not your charity.

Some things seem, and are not. Such is this your number of our sacraments.

You will needs have us take in marriage into this rank. Why so? we do not, you confess, call it a sacrament as the Vulgar, misinterpreting Paul's *mysterium*, Eph. v. 32. Why should we not, if we so esteemed it? Wherefore serve names, but to denotate the nature of things? If we were not ashamed of the opinion, we could not be ashamed of the word.

"No more," say you, "did Christ and his apostles call baptism and the supper sacraments:"—but we do, and you with us. See now whether this clause do not confute your last. Where hath Christ ever said, "There are two sacraments?" Yet you dare say so: what is this but, in your sense, an addition to the word? Yea, we say flatly, there are but two: yet we do, say you, in truth create it a sacrament.

How oft and how resolutely hath our Church maintained against Rome, that none but Christ immediately can create sacraments! If they had this advantage against us, how could we stand? How wrongful is this force, to fasten an opinion upon our Church which she hath condemned!

But wherein stands this our creation? It is true, the parties to be married and their marriage represent Christ and his Church and their spiritual union.

Beware lest you strike God through our sides: what hath God's Spirit said, either less or other than this? Eph. v. 25, 26, 27, and 32. Doth he not make Christ the Husband, the Church his Spouse? Doth he not, from that sweet conjunction and the effects of it, argue the dear respects that should be in marriage? Or what doth the apostle allude elsewhere unto when he says, as Moses of Eve, we are the *flesh of Christ's flesh*, and *bone of his bone?* And how famous amongst the ancient is that resemblance of Eve taken out of Adam's side sleeping, to the Church taken out of Christ's side sleeping on the cross! Since marriage, therefore, so clearly represents this mystery, and this use is holy and sacred, what error is it to say that marriage is consecrated to this mystery?

But what is the element? The ring:—these things agree not: you had before made the two parties to be the matter of this sacrament: what is the matter of the sacrament but the element? If they be the matter they are the element, and so not the ring: both cannot be. If you will make the two parties to be but the receivers, how doth all the mystery lie in their representation? Or, if the ring be the element, then all the mystery must be in the ring, not in the parties. Labour to be more perfect ere you make any more new sacraments.

But this ring is laid upon the Service-book:—Why not? For readiness, not for holiness. Nay, but it is hallowed, you say, by the book:—if it be a sacramental element, it rather hallows the book than the book it: you are not mindful enough for this trade. But what exorcisms are used in this hallowing? or who ever held it any other than a civil pledge of fidelity?

Then follow the words of consecration:—I pray you what difference is there betwixt hallowing and consecration? The ring was hallowed before by the book; now it must be consecrated: how idly! By what words? "In the name of the Father, &c." These words, you know, are spoken after the ring is put on. Was it ever heard of, that a sacramental element was consecrated

after it was applied? See how ill your slanders are digested by you.

The place is the church; the time is the Lord's day; the minister is the actor:—and is it not thus in all other reformed Churches as well as ours? Behold, we are not alone: all Churches in the world, if this will do it, are guilty of three sacraments.

Tell me, would you not have marriage solemnized publicly? You cannot mislike: though your founder seems to require nothing here but notice given to witnesses, and then to bed[p].

Well, if public, you account it withal a grave and weighty business: therefore such as must be sanctified by public prayer. What place is fitter for public prayer than the church? Who is fitter to offer up the public prayer than the minister? Who should rather join the parties in marriage than the public deputy of that God who solemnly joined the first couple? Who, rather than he, which, in the name of God, may best bless them?

The prayers which accompany this solemnity are parts of God's worship, not the contract itself. This is a mixed action; therefore, compounded of ecclesiastical and civil: imposed on the minister, not upon necessity, but expedience: neither essential to him, but accidentally annexed for greater convenience.

These too frivolous grounds have made your cavil either very simple or very wilful.

SEP.

Power of Indulgences.

"Your court of faculties, from whence your dispensations and tolerations for non-residency and plurality of benefices are had, together with your commuting of penances, and absolving one man for another. Take away this power from the prelates, and you maim the beast in a limb."

SECT. XXXIX.—*Commutation of Penance in our Church.*

See if this man be not hard driven for accusations when he is fain to repeat over the very same crime which he had largely urged before. All the world will know that you want variety when you send in these twice-sod coleworts.

Somewhat yet we find new: commutation of penance.

Our courts would tell you that here is nothing dispensed with but some ceremony of shame in the confession; which in the greater sort is exchanged, for a common benefit of the poor, into

[p] Brown, State of Christians, 172.

a pecuniary mulct; yet, say they, not so as to abridge the Church of her satisfaction by the confession of the offender. And if you grant the ceremony devised by them, why do you find fault that it is altered or commuted by them?

As for absolution, you have a spite at it, because you sought it and were repulsed. If the censures be but their own (so you hold) why blame you the managing of them in what manner seems best to the authors?

This power is no more a limb of the prelacy, than our prelacy is that beast in the Revelation: and our prelacy holds itself no more St. John's beast, than it holds you St. Paul's beast, Phil. iii. 2.

SEP.

Necessity of Confessions.

"In your high commission court very absolute, where, by the oath *ex officio*, men are constrained to accuse themselves of such things as whereof no man will or can accuse them: what necessity is laid upon men in this case, let your prisons witness."

SECT. XL.—*Oath ex officio.*

I ask of auricular confession: you send me to our high commission court. These two are much alike!

But here is also very absolute necessity of confession:—True; but as in a case of justice, not of shrift; to clear a truth, not to obtain absolution; to a bench of judges, not to a priest's ear. Here are too many ghostly fathers for an auricular confession.

But you will mistake: it is enough against us that men are constrained in these courts to confess against themselves:—Why name you these courts only? Even in others also, oaths are urged; not only *ex officio mercenario*, but *nobili*. The honourablest court of Star-chamber gives an oath in a criminal case to the defendant. So doth the chancery and court of requests. Shortly, to omit foreign examples, how many instances have you of this like proceeding in the common laws of this land!

But, withal, you might learn[q], that no inquiry *ex officio* may be thus made, but upon good grounds; as fame, scandal, vehement presumption, &c. going before, and giving just cause of suspicion. Secondly[r], that this proceeding is not allowed in any

[q] D. [Richard] Cosin's Apol. [For certain proceedings by Eccl. Jurisd. Lond. 1593. Part 3. c. 5.]

[r] D. Andr. Determ. de Jurejurando tract. [Andreas Joan. Quæst. Merc. super regulas Juris.]

case of crime, whereby the life or limbs of the examined party may be endangered; nor yet where there is a just suspicion of future perjury upon such enforcement. Thus is the suspected wife urged to clear her honesty by oath, Num. v. 12–22. Thus the master of the house must clear his truth, Exod. xxii. 8. Thus Achan and Jonathan were urged to be their own accusers, though not by oath, Josh. vii. 19; 1 Sam. xiv. 43.

But if perhaps any sinister course be taken by any corrupt justicer in their proceedings; must this be imputed to the Church? Look you to your petty courts at home: which some of your own have compared in these courses, not only to the commission-court of England, but to the inquisition of Spain[s]. See there your pastor defending himself, to be both an accuser and judge in the same cause[t]. See their proceedings *ex officio* without commission; and if your prisons cannot witness it, your excommunications may.

SEP.

Profit of Pilgrimages.

"Though you have lost the shrines of saints, yet you retain their days, and those holy as the Lord's day; and that with good profit to your spiritual carnal courts, from such as profane them with the least and most lawful labour, notwithstanding the liberty of the six days' labour which the Lord hath given; and as much would the masters of these courts be stirred at the casting of these saints' days out of the calendar, as were the masters of the possessed maid when the spirit of divination was cast out of her, Acts xvi. 19."

SECT. XLI.—*Holy days how observed in the Church of England.*

We have not lost, but cast away the idolatrous shrines of saints. Their days we retain; theirs, not for worship of them, which our Church condemneth, but partly for commemoration of their high deserts and excellent examples, partly for distinction. Indeed, therefore, God's days and not theirs; their praises redound to him. Show us where we implore them, where we consecrate days to their service.

The main end of holy days is for the service of God; and some, as Socrates sets down[u] of old, *quo se a laborum contentione relaxent*, "for relaxation from labour." And if such days may be appointed by the Church (as were the holy days of Purim, of

[s] G. Johns. and M. Crud. Troubles at Amsterdam, p. 132.

[t] Non potest quis in una causa, eodem momento, duas portare personas; ut, in eodem judicio, et accusator esse possit et judex.—Optat. Milevit. l. vii. [ad finem.]

[u] Socr. l. v. c. 22. [διὰ τὸ ἀνίεσθαι τῶν πόνων.]

the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, the dedication of the temple,) whose names should they rather bear, though but for mere distinction[x], than the blessed Apostles' of Christ?

But this is a colour only; for you equally condemn those days of Christ's birth, ascension, circumcision, resurrection, annunciation, which the Church hath beyond all memory celebrated[y].

What, then, is our fault? We keep these holy as the Lord's day:—In the same manner though not in the same degree. Indeed we come to the church, and worship the God of the martyrs and saints. Is this yet our offence? No; but we abstain from our most lawful labour in them:—True, yet not in conscience of the day, but in obedience to the Church: if the Church shall indict a solemn fast, do not you hold it contemptuous to spend that day in lawful labour, notwithstanding that liberty of the six days which God hath given? Why shall that be lawful in a case of dejection which may not in praise and exultation?

If you had not loved to cavil, you would rather have accepted the apology or excuse of our sister Churches in this behalf[z] than aggravated these uncharitable pleas of your own.

Yet even in this your own synagogue at Amsterdam, if we may believe your own[a], is not altogether guiltless: your hands are still, and your shops shut upon festival days. But we accuse you not: would God this were your worst!

The masters of our courts would tell you, they would not care so much for this dispossession, as that it should be done by such conjurers as yourself.

SEP.

Constrained and approved ignorance.

"If an ignorant and unpreaching ministry be approved amongst you, and the people constrained by all kind of violence to submit unto it, and therewith to rest (as what is more usual throughout the whole kingdom?) then let no modest man once open his mouth to deny that ignorance is constrained and approved amongst you."—"If the service said or sung in the parish church may be called devotion, then sure there is good store of unknown devotion; the greatest part in most parishes neither knowing nor regarding what is said nor wherefore."

[x] Aug. Ep. 44.—Scias a Christianis catholicis—nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo. [Ut sup. t. ii. Ep. 17. p. 22.]

[y] Quæ toto orbe terrarum, &c. sicuti quoque [quod] Domini Passio et Resurrectio et in cœlum Ascensus, et Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur.—Aug. Epist. 118. [Ut sup. Ep. 54. p. 124.]

[z] Churches of France and Flanders in Harm. Confess.

[a] Tho. White's Discover. p. 19.

SECT. XLII.—*Our Approbation of an Unlearned Ministry disproved.*

Your want of quarrels makes you still run over the same complaints, which, if you redouble a thousand times, will not become just, may become tedious.

God knows how far we are from approving an unlearned ministry. The protestations of our gracious king, our bishops, our greatest patrons of conformity in their public writings, might make you ashamed of this bold assertion. We do not allow that it should be; we bewail that it will be.

Our number of parishes compared with our number of divines will soon show, that either many parishes must have none, or some divines must have many congregations, or too many congregations must have scarce divine incumbents.

Our dread sovereign hath promised a medicine for this disease; but withal tells you, that Jerusalem was not built all on a day[b].

The violence you speak of is commonly in case of wilful contempt, not of honest and peaceable desire of further instruction, or in supposal of some tolerable ability in the ministry forsaken.

We do heartily pray for labourers into this harvest. We do wish that all Israel could prophesy. We publish the Scriptures, we preach, catechise, write; and, Lord, thou knowest how many of us would do more, if we knew what more could be done, for the information of thy people, and remedy of this ignorance which this adversary reproves us to approve.

We doubt not but the service said in our parish churches is as good a service to God as the extemporary devotions in your parlours.

But it is an unknown devotion, you say:—Through whose fault? the reader's, or the hearer's, or the matter? Distinct reading you cannot deny to the most parishes; the matter is easy prayers and English scriptures: if the hearers be regardless, or in some things dull of conceit, lay the fault from the service to the men. All yours are free from ignorance, free from wandering conceits! we envy you not: some knowledge is no better than some ignorance, and carelessness is no worse than misregard.

[b] Confer. at Hampt.

SEP.

"What are your sheet-penances for adultery, and all your purse-penances for all other sins? than which, though some worse in popery, yet none more common."

SECT. XLIII.—*Penances enjoined in the Church of England.*

Coming now to the vaults of popery, I ask for their penances and purgatory; those popish penances which presumptuous confessors enjoined as satisfactory and meritorious upon their bold absolutions.

You send me to sheet-penances and purse-penances.

The one, ceremonious corrections of shame, enjoined and adjoined to public confessions of uncleanness, for the abasing of the offender and hate of the sin; such like as the ancient Church thought good to use for this purpose: hence they were appointed as Tertullian speaketh[c], in sackcloth and ashes, to crave the prayers of the Church, to besmear their body with filthiness, to throw themselves down before God's minister and altar; not to mention other, more hard, and perhaps no less ancient rites: and hence were those five stations[d] of the penitent whereby he was at last received into the body of his wonted communion.

The other, a pecuniary mulct imposed upon some (not all, you foully slander us) less heinous offences; as a penalty, not as a penance. I hope you deny not sodomy, murder, robbery, and (which you would not) theft itself, is more deeply avenged.

But did ever any of ours urge either sheet or purse as the remedy of purgatory; or enjoin them, to avoid those infernal pains? Unless we do so, our penances are not popish, and our answerer is idle.

SEP.

"Touching Purgatory, though you deny the doctrine of it, and teach the contrary, yet how well your practice suits with it let it be considered in these particulars: your absolving of men, dying excommunicate, after they be dead, and before they may have Christian burial."—"Your Christian burial in holy ground, if the party will

[c] Sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, presbyteris advolvi, et aris [caris] Dei adgeniculari. Tert. de Prænit. [ut supra p. 127.]

[d] Canon. Greg. Neocæsar. προλαυσις—ἀκρόασις, &c.

be at the charges: your ringing of hallowed bells for the soul: your singing the corpse to the grave, from the church stile: your praying over or for the dead; especially in these words, 'That God would hasten his kingdom; that we, with this our brother,' though his life were never so wretched and death desperate, 'and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation both in body and soul.'"—"Your general doctrines and your particular practices agree in this as in the most other things, like harp and harrow. In word, you profess many truths, which, in deed, you deny."—"These, and many more popish devices (by others at large discovered to the world) both for pomp and profit, are not only not razed and buried in the dust, but are advanced amongst you, above all that is called God."

SECT. XLIV.—*The Practices of the Church of England concerning the Funerals of the Dead.*

Your next accusation is more ingenuously malicious. Our doctrine you grant contrary to purgatory; but you will fetch it out of our practice, that we may build that which we destroy.

Let us therefore purge ourselves from your purgatory.

We absolve men dying excommunicate:—

A rare practice, and which yet I have not lived to see. But if lawmakers contemn rare occurrents, surely accusers do not. Once is too much of an evil. Mark, then: Do we absolve his soul after the departure? No: what hath the body to do with purgatory? Yet for the body; do we by any absolution seek to quit it from sin? Nothing less: reason itself gives us, that it is uncapable either of sin or pardon. To lie unburied, or to be buried unseemly, is so much a punishment, that the heathens objected it, though upon the havoc and fury of war to the Christians, as an argument of God's neglect[e]. All that authority can do to the dead rebel is to put his carcass to shame, and deny him the honour of seemly sepulture: thus doth the Church to those that will die in wilful contempt. Those Grecian virgins that feared not death were yet restrained with the fear of shame after death[f]. It was a real, not imaginary curse of Jezebel, *The dogs shall eat Jezebel.* Now the absolution (as you call it, by an unproper but

[e] Aug. de Civ. l. i. [c. xii. ut sup. t. vii. p. 13.]

[f] Athenienses decreverunt, ne si quis se interfecisset sepeliretur in agro Attico, &c.

malicious name) is nothing else but a liberty given by the Church upon repentance signified of the fault of the late offender, of all those external rites of decent funeral. Death itself is capable of inequality and unseemliness. Suppose a just excommunication: what reason is it that he which in his life and death would be as a pagan should be as a Christian in his burial? What is any or all this to purgatory?

The next intimation of our purgatory is our Christian burial; in the place, in the manner: the place, holy ground, the church, churchyard, &c: the manner, ringing, singing, praying over the corpse. Thus, therefore, you argue: We bury the body in the church or churchyard, &c: therefore we hold a purgatory of the soul.

A proof not less strange than the opinion. We do neither scorn the carcasses of our friends, as the old Troglodytes; nor, with the old Egyptians, respect them more than when they were informed with a living soul; but we keep a mean course betwixt both; using them as the remainders of dead men, yet as dead Christians, and as those which we hope one day to see glorious. We have learned to call no place holy in itself, since the temple, but some more holy in their use than others. The old *κοιμητήρια* of the Christians, wherein their bodies slept in peace, were not less esteemed of them, than they are scorned of you. Gallienus thought he did them a great favour, and so they took it, when he gave them the liberty not only of their churches, but of their former burying-places[g]. In the same book Eusebius commends Astyrius, a noble senator, for his care and cost of Marinus's burial[h]. Of all these rites of funeral and choice of place, we profess to hold, with Augustin[i], that they are only the comforts of the living, not helps of the dead: yet, as Origen also teacheth us[k], "We have learned to honour a reasonable," much more a Christian, "soul; and to commit the instrument or case of it honourably to the grave." All this might have taught our an-

[g] "Sleeping-places." Cæmeteria. Euseb. l. vii. c. 12. *τῶν τόπων θρησκευσίμων καὶ κοιμητήρ.* [Ed. Burt. c. 13.]

[h] Splendidissimæ sepulturæ tradidit. Euseb. l. vii. c. 15. [*περιστείλας τε εὖ μάλα πλουσίως τῇ προσηκούσῃ ταφῇ παραδίδωσι.* Ed. Burt. c. 16.]

[i] Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia quam subsidia mortuorum. Aug. de Civit. l. i. c. 12. [ut supra.] Si enim paterna vestis et annulus tanto carius est posteris—nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora. Aug. de Civ. l. i. c. 13. [p. 14.]

[k] Orig. cont. Cels. l. viii. [c. 30.] Rationalem animam honorare didicimus, &c. [*Ψυχὴν γὰρ λογικὴν τιμᾷν μόνην ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν.*]

swerer that we make account of an heaven, of a resurrection, not of a purgatory.

But we ring hallowed bells for the soul:—

Do not those bells hang in hallowed steeples too? and do we not ring them with hallowed ropes? What fancy is this? If papists were so fond of old, their folly and their bells, for the most part, are both out of date. We call them soul-bells, for that they signify the departure of the soul, not for that they help the passage of the soul. This is mere boy's play.

But we pray over or for the dead:—

Do we not sing to him also? Pardon me, I must needs tell you, here is much spite and little wit. To pray for the consummation of the glory of all God's elect, what is it but *Thy kingdom come?* How vainly do you seek a knot in a rush, while you cavil at so holy a petition! Go, and learn how much better it is to call them our brothers which are not, in an harmless overweening and over-hoping of charity, than to call them no brothers which are in a proud and censorious uncharitableness.

You cannot be content to tell an untruth, but you must face it out. Let any reader judge how far our practice in this hath dissented from our doctrine; would to God in nothing more!

Yes, saith this good friend, in the most other things, our words profess, our deeds deny. At once, you make us hypocrites, and yourselves Pharisees. Let all the world know that the English Church at Amsterdam professeth nothing which it practiseth not; we may not be so holy, or so happy.

Generality is a notable shelter of untruth. "Many more," you say "popish devices," yet name none. No, you cannot.

"Advanced above all that is called God?"—Surely this is a paradox of slanders. You meant at once to shame us with falsehood, and to appose us with riddles. We say to the Highest, *Whom have we in heaven but thee?* and for earth, yourself have granted we give too much to princes, which are earthen gods, and may come under Paul's πᾶν σέβασμα. Either name our deity, or crave mercy for your wrong. Certainly, though you have not remorse, yet you shall have shame.

SEP.

"You are far from doing to the Romish idols, as was done to the Egyptian idols, Mithra and Serapis; whose priests were expelled their ministry, and monuments exposed to utter scorn and desolation, their temples demolished and razed to the very foundation."

SECT. XLV.—*The Churches still retained in England.*

The majesty of the Romish petty-gods, I truly told you, was long ago, with Mithra and Serapis, exposed to the laughter of the vulgar.

You strain the comparison too far, yet we follow you.

Their priests were expelled: for, as your doctor yieldeth, other actors came upon the same stage: others in religion, else it had been no change.

Their ministry and monuments exposed to utter scorn: their masses, their oblations, their adorations, their invocations, their anoilings, their exorcizings, their shrift, their absolutions, their images, rood-lofts, and whatsoever else of this kind.

But the temples of those old heathens were demolished and razed[m]. Here is the quarrel: ours stand still in their proud majesty:

Can you see no difference betwixt our churches and their temples? The very name itself, if at least you have understood it, *kirk* or *church*, which is nothing but an abbreviation of κυρίακη, "the Lord's house," might have taught you that ours were dedicated to God, and theirs to the devil in their false gods.

Augustin answers you, as directly as if he were in my room. "The Gentiles," saith he[n], "to their gods erected temples; we, not temples unto our martyrs as unto gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living." These, then, if they were abused by popish idolatry, is there no way but *Down with them, down with them to the ground?*

Well fare the Donatists yet, your old friends: they but washed the walls that were polluted by the orthodox. By the same token that Optatus asks them[o], why they did not wash the books which ours touched, and the heavens which they looked upon:

[m] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. v. 16, 17.—Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. i. Cit. Gregor. Ep. Aug. suo c. 30. et Edilberto regi. c. 32.—Contra sibi, &c. Sed et Hæreticorum templa vastata a Constantino. Euseb. l. iii. c. 63. [Vit. Const. l. iii. c. 54.]

[n] August. de Civit. l. viii. c. 27. [ut sup. t. ii. p. 217.] Hooker, v. b. c. 13. Id. August. cont. Maximin. Arian.—Nonne si templum, &c.

[o] Optat. Milevitan. l. vi.—Lavistis, procul dubio, pallas: Judicate quid de codicibus fecistis. Aut utrumque lavate aut, &c. Si quod tangit aspectus lavandum esse censetis ut parietes, &c. Videmus tectum, videmus et cælum, &c. hæc a vobis lavari non possunt. [pp. 98, 99. Ed. Paris. 1631.]

what, are the very stones sinful? what can be done with them? The very earth where they should lie on heaps would be unclean.

But not their pollution angers you more than their proud majesty:—

What house can be too good for the Maker of all things? As God is not affected with state, so is he not delighted in baseness. If the pomp of the temple were ceremonial, yet it leaves this morality behind it, that God's house should be decent. And what if goodly? If we did put holiness in the stones, as you do uncleanness, it might be sin to be costly. Let me tell you, there may be as much pride in a clay wall as in a carved. Proud majesty is better than proud baseness. The stone or clay will offend in neither; we may in both. If you love cottages, the ancient Christians with us loved to have God's house stately; as appears by the example of that worthy bishop of Alexandria, and that gracious Constantine, in whose days these sacred piles began to lift up their heads unto this envied height[p]. Take you your own choice; give us ours: let us neither repine nor scorn at each other.

SEP.

"But your temples, especially your cathedral and mother churches, stand still in their proud majesty, possessed by archbishops and lord bishops; like the flamens and arch-flamens amongst the Gentiles, from whom they were derived, and furnished with all manner of pompous and superstitious monuments, as carved and painted images, massing copes and surplices, chaunting and organ-music, and many other glorious ornaments of the Romish harlot, by which her majesty is commended to and admired by the vulgar: so far are you in these respects from being gone or fled, yea, or crept either, out of Babylon."—"Now if you be thus Babylonish where you repute yourselves most Sion-like, and thus confounded in your own evidence, what defence could you make in the things whereof an adversary would challenge you? If your light be darkness, how great is your darkness!"

SECT. XLVI.—*The Founders and Furnitures of our Churches.*

All this while I feared you had been in popish idolatry; now I find you in heathenish.

These our churches are still possessed by their Flamens and arch-Flamens:—

[p] Athanas. [ad Imp. Const.] Apol.—Euseb. de Vita Const. [l. i. c. 42.]—Otho Frising. l. iv. c. 3.

I had thought none of our temples had been so ancient. Certainly I find but one poor ruinous building, reported to have worn out this long tyranny of time. For the most, you might have read their age and their founders in open records.

But these were derived from those: surely the churches as much as the men:—

It is true, the flamens and whatever other heathen priests were put down; Christian bishops were set up: are these therefore derived from those? Christianity came in the room of Judaism: was it therefore derived from it? Before, you told us that our prelacy came from that antichrist of Rome; now, from the flamens of the heathen: both no less than either[q]. If you cannot be true, yet learn to be constant.

But what mean you to charge our churches with carved and painted images? It is well you write to those that know them. Why did not you say we bow our knees to them and offer incense? Perhaps you have espied some old dusty statue[r] in an obscure corner, covered over with cobwebs, with half a face, and that miserably blemished; or perhaps half a crucifix inverted in a church-window: and these you surely noted for English idols: no less dangerous glass you might have seen at Geneva; a church that hates idolatry as much as you do us.

What more? Massing copes and surplices:—some copes, if you will; more surplices; no massing. Search your books again, you shall find albes in the mass, no surplices.

As for organ-music, you should not have fetched it from Rome, but from Jerusalem. In the reformed church at Middleburgh you might have found this skirt of the harlot, which yet you grant at least crept out of Babylon.

Judge now, Christian reader, of the weight of these grand exceptions, and see whether ten thousand such were able to make us no church, and argue us not only in Babylon, but to be Babylon itself.

Thus Babylonish we are to you, and thus Sion-like to God. Every true church is God's Sion; every church that holds the

[q] Lumb. l. iv. dist. 24. Isid. l. vii. Etymol. c. 12. [Basil. 1577. p. 174.]

[r] Theophilus Episc. cum cæteras statuas deorum confringeret, unam integram servari jussit, eamque in loco publico erexit, ut Gentiles, tempore progrediente, non inficiarentur se hujusmodi deos coluisse. Ammonius Grammaticus, hac de re valde discruciatus, dixit gravem plagam religioni Græcorum inflictam, quod illa una statua non everteretur. Socrat. l. v. c. 16.

foundation is true, according to that golden rule, Eph. ii. 21: every building that is coupled together in this corner-stone *groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.* No adversary, either man or devil, can confound us, either in our evidences or their own challenges. We may be faulty, but we are true; and if the darkness you find in us be light, how great is our light!

SEP.

"But for that not the separation but the cause makes the schismatic; and, lest you should seem to speak evil of the thing you know not, and to condemn a cause unheard, you lay down, in the next place, the supposed cause of our separation, against which you deal as insufficiently. And that you pretend to be none other than your consorting with the papists in certain ceremonies; touching which, and our separation in regard of them, thus you write."—"M. H. If you have taken but the least knowledge of the grounds of our judgment and practice, how dare you thus abuse both us and the reader, as if the only or chief ground of our separation were your popish ceremonies? But if you go only by guess, having never so much as read over one treatise published in our defence, and yet stick not to pass this your censorious doom both upon us and it, I leave it to the reader to judge whether you have been more lavish of your censure or credit. Most unjust is the censure of a cause unknown, though in itself never so blameworthy; which nevertheless may be praiseworthy for aught he knows that censures it."

SECT. XLVII.—*On what ground Separation or Ceremonies were objected.*

He that leaves the whole Church in a gross and wilful error is an heretic; he that leaves a particular church for appendances is a schismatic.

Such are you, both in the action and cause.

The act is yielded; the cause hath been in part scanned; shall be more.

This I vainly pretended to be our consorting in ceremonies with the papists:—

Behold here the ground of your loud challenge of my ignorance; ignorance of your judgment and practice: here is my abuse of you, of my reader.

And how durst I?—Good words, M. R.! What I have erred I will confess! I have wronged you, indeed, but in my charity I knew the cause of Brownism, but I knew not you; for, to say

ingenuously, I had heard and hoped that your case had been less desperate. My intelligence was, that, in dislike of these ceremonies obtruded, and an hopelessness of future liberty, you and your fellows had made a secession rather than a separation from our church, to a place where you might have scope to profess and opportunity to enjoy your own conceits; whence it was that I termed you ringleaders of the late separation, not followers of the first, and made your plea against our church imperfection not falsehood. I hoped you as not ours, so not theirs; not ours in place, so not quite theirs in peevish opinion. I knew it to be no new thing for men inclining to these fancies to begin new churches at Amsterdam, several from the rest: witness the letters of some, sometimes yours, cited by your own pastor[r]. I knew the former separation, and hated it; I hoped better of the latter separation, and pitied it. My knowledge, both of M. Smith, (which upon the Lord's Prayer hath confuted some positions of that sect,) whom you followed, and yourself would not let me think of you as you deserved. How durst I charge you with that which perhaps you might disavow?

It was my charity therefore that made my accusations easy: it is your uncharitableness that accuses them of ignorance. I knew why a Brownist is a true schismatic; I knew not you were so true a Brownist.

But why then did I write?—Taking your separation at best, I knew how justly I might take occasion by it to dissuade from separation; to others' good, though not to yours: now I know you better, or worse rather, I think you hear more. Forgive me my charity, and make the worst of my ignorance.

I knew that this separation, which now I know yours, stands upon four grounds, as some beast upon four feet. First, God worshipped after a false manner; secondly, profane multitude received; thirdly, antichristian ministry imposed; fourthly, subjection to antichristian government[s]. The ceremonies are but as some one paw in every foot; yet, if we extend the word to the largest use, dividing all religion into ceremony and substance, I may yet and do aver, that your separation is merely grounded upon ceremonies.

SEP.

"And touching the ceremonies here spoken of, howsoever we have formerly refused them, submitting, as all others did and do, to the

[r] Enquir. into M. White. [s] Bar. and Greenw. passim. Penr. Exam.

prelates' spiritual jurisdiction; herein, through ignorance, straining at gnats and swallowing camels; yet are we verily persuaded of them, and so were before we separated, that they are but as leaves of that tree, and as badges of that *man of sin*, whereof the pope is head, and the prelates shoulders. And so we for our parts see no reason why any of the bishops' sworn servants, as all the ministers in the Church of England are canonically, should make nice to wear their lords' liveries. Which ceremonies notwithstanding we know well enough, howsoever you for advantage extenuate and debase them unto us, to be advanced and preferred in your church, before the preaching of the Gospel."—"It is much that they, being not so much as reed[t] nor any part of the building (as you pretend), should overturn the best builders amongst you as they do."—"The proportion betwixt Zoar and them holds well. Zoar was a neighbour unto Sodom both in place and sin, and obnoxious to the same destruction with it; and it was Lot's error to desire to have it spared, Gen. xix. 15, 18–20; and so he never found rest nor peace in it, but forsook it, for fear of the same just judgment which had overtaken the rest of the cities, ver. 30. The application of this to your ceremonies I leave to yourself, and them to that destruction to which they are devoted by the Lord."

SECT. XLVIII.—*Estimation of Ceremonies, and subjection to the Prelates.*

And touching ceremonies, you refused them formerly, but not long; and when you did refuse them, you knew not wherefore; for immediately before your suspension you acknowledged them to be things indifferent; and for matter of scandal by them, you had not informed yourself, by your own confession, of a whole quarter of a year after. Why refused you then, but as the poet made his plays, to please the people? or, as Simon Magus was baptized, for company?

But, refusing them, you submitted to the prelates' spiritual jurisdiction. There was your crime; this was your camel, the other your gnats! Did ever any prelate challenge spiritual rule over your conscience? This they all appropriate to the great Bishop of our souls. And if other, grant them as your malice feigneth; what sin is it to be the subject of a tyrant?

Now upon more grace, refusing the prelacy, you have branded the ceremonies. So you did before your separation. Tell us, how long was it after your suspension and before your departure,

[t] Reed—thatch.

that you could have been content, upon condition, to have worn this linen badge of your *man of sin?* Was not this your resolution, when you went from Norwich to Lincolnshire after your suspension? Deny it not; my witnesses are too strong.

But let us take you as you are. These ceremonies, though too vile for you, yet are good enough for our ministers of England. As if you said, *Lord, I thank thee, I am not as this publican.*

Why for our ministers? Because those are the liveries, and these the sworn servants, of the antichristian bishops; we have indeed sworn obedience to our ordinary in honest and lawful commandments, but service to Christ, 1 Cor. iv. 1.

But doth all obedience imply servitude? This obedience is as to spiritual fathers, not to masters; yet so are we the servants of Christ, that we are ready to give our service to the least of his saints. Thus vile will we be for God; how much more to those whom God hath made, as Jerome says[w], *Principes ecclesiæ*, while they command for God! What do we herein, but that which Epiphanius urged of old against Arius[x]? What but the same which Ignatius, that holy and old martyr requires, not once, of all presbyters, and offers the engagement of his own soul for us in this act[y]?

As for our ceremonies, aggravate them how you can for your advantage, they are but ceremonies to us; and such as wherein we put no holiness, but order, decency, convenience.

But they are preferred, you say, in our Church, before the preaching of the Gospel:—

A most wrongful untruth. We hold preaching an essential part of God's service, ceremonies none at all. The Gospel preached we hold the life and soul of the Church; ceremonies either the garment or the lace of the garment. The Gospel preached we hold the foundation and walls, ceremonies hardly so much as reed or tile.

But how then, say you, have they overturned our best builders?

This is a word of rare favour. I had thought you had held us all ruiners, not builders; or, if builders, of Babel, not of Jerusalem; in which work the best builders are the worst.

[w] Hier. in Ps. xliv. [opp. ut sup. t. ii. p. 241.]

[x] Heming. Class. 3. Potest. Ec. c. 10. [Opusc. ut sup. 468.]

[y] Ut cuique suus clerus et sua plebs, in his, quæ Domini sunt, pie obsequerentur. Ignat. Epist. ad Tarsens. [Amstel. 1646. p. 80.]

Those whose hand hath been in this act would tell you, that not so much the ceremonies are stood upon as obedience. If God please to try Adam but with an apple, it is enough. What do we quarrel at the value of the fruit, when we have a prohibition? Shimei is slain; what! merely for going out of the city? The act was little; the bond was great. What is commanded matters not so much as by whom. Insult not; we may thank your outrage for this loss.

For your retortion of my Zoar and Sodom, I can give you leave to be witty, you use it so seldom: but when you have played with the allusion what you list, I must tell you, that he which will needs urge a comparison to go on four feet, is not worthy to go upon two. Zoar was near to Sodom, not part of it; Zoar was reserved when Sodom was destroyed; Zoar's nearness to the place where Sodom stood, needed not have given Lot cause of removal. Zoar might safely have been the harbour of Lot, his fear was for want of faith[z]. God promised him and the place security. The far-fetched application therefore of the wickedness of Zoar to our ceremonies, might well have been forborne and kept to yourself; much less needed you, like some anti-Lot, to call for fire and brimstone from heaven upon your Zoar.

SEP.

"How we would have behaved ourselves in the temple, where the money-changers were, and they that sold doves, we shall answer you, when you prove your church to be the temple of God, compiled and built of spiritually hewn and lively stones, 1 Kings v. 17, 18, and vi. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 5; and of the cedars, firs, and thyne trees of Lebanon, 2 Chron. ii. 8; framed and set together in that comely order, which a greater than Solomon hath prescribed; unto which God hath promised his presence. But whilst we take it to be, as it is, a confused heap of dead and defiled and polluted stones, and of all rubbish; of briers and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part fitter for burning than building; we take ourselves rather bound to shew our obedience in departing from it, than our valour in purging it; and to follow the prophet's counsel in *flying out of Babylon, as the he-goats before the flock*, Jer. l. 8."

[z] Fidem Domino habere debuerat qui se eam servaturum propter eum dixerat. Mercer. in Gen. [Prælect. in Gen. c. xix. v. 30. Genev. 1598. p. 364.]

SECT. XLIX.—*The State of the Temple, and of our Church in resemblance.*

How you would have behaved yourself in the temple to the money-changers, you will answer, when we prove our church to be God's temple, built of that matter and in that form which God hath prescribed:—

And here you send us to 1 Kings v. 17, and 2 Chron. ii. 8, ignorantly; as if Solomon's temple had stood till Christ's time; when neither the first nor second (though called *Beth*[a] *Gnolam*) outlasted more than four hundred years; or as if the market had been under the very roof of that temple. Whether Herod's were built of the same matter with Solomon's, and in full correspondence to it, I dispute not; it was certainly dedicated to God's service; and that, which you would hardly digest, in a solemn anniversary holyday, though not erected upon the word of any prophet.

But to let pass allegories; we must prove ourselves the true Church of God:—thus we do it. We are true Christians, for we were baptized into the name of Christ; we truly profess our continuance in the same faith into which we were baptized; we join together in the public services of God; we maintain every point of the most ancient creeds; we overthrow not the foundation by any consequence. Therefore, whatever is wanting to us, whatever is superfluous, in spite of all the gates of hell, we are the true Church of God.

Let me ask you: were not the people of the Jews, in the prophets' and in Christ's time, "a confused heap of dead, and defiled, and," for I will use your tautologics, "polluted stones, and of all rubbish; of briars and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part fitter for burning than building?" Can we be worse than they? If wickedness can defile a church, they shall justify us. Did either those prophets or our Saviour rather shew their obedience to God in departing from it, than their valour in purging it? You have well imitated these heavenly patterns!

But what! can your charity find nothing but rubbish? Not one square stone, not one living? You will be judging, till God judge you. If you take not heed of these courses, you will so run with the he-goats, that you will stand with the goats on the left hand. That God, whose place you have usurped, give you more wisdom and love!

[a] בית עולם

SEP.

"And what, I pray you, is the valour which the best hearted and most zealous reformers amongst you have manifested in driving out the money-changers? Doth it not appear in this, that they suffer themselves to be driven out with the two-stringed whip of ceremonies and subscription; by the money-changers, the chancellors and officials, which sell sins like doves; and by the chief priests, the bishops, which set them on work? So far are the most zealous amongst you from driving out the money-changers, as they themselves are driven out by them, because they will not change with them to the utmost farthing."

SECT. L.—*Whether Ministers should endure themselves silenced.*

The valour of our most zealous reformers hath truly shewed itself in yieldance. As in duels, so here, he is the most valiant that can so master himself as not to fight. You, according to the common opinion of swaggerers, blame the peaceable of cowardice, and accuse them of suffering.

Behold a new crime: That they suffer themselves to be driven out!

What should they have done? Should they have taken arms, and cry, *The sword of God, and Gideon?* You, that will not allow a prince to compel subjects, will you allow subjects to compel princes? God forbid! This were high treason against God's anointed.

What then? Should they approve the ceremonies by subscription, by practice? This you exclaim upon, as high treason against the Highest.

What yet more? Should they have preached with their mouths stopped? This is it which you have learned of your founder[b]; and, through not many hands, received; and required, with no less violence. Clamour and tumult is that you desire. Still let our sin be peaceable obedience; yours, fury and opposition.

Your headstrong conceit is, that it is a sin to be silenced. Men must preach, even when they may not.

All times, before you, would have wondered at this paradox: for, however the apostles, which had not their calling from men,

[b] Brown, Reform. without Tarrying.

would not be silenced by men; yet we find that all their successors held, that those hands which were laid upon their heads, might be laid upon their mouths. Look into all histories. Those constitutions, which though not apostolic yet were ancient, in the seventh canon punish a bishop or presbyter, that upon pretence of religion separates from his wife, with deposition[c]: and, if any presbyter shall shift his charge without licence, τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν[d]; and, lastly, inflicts the same penalty upon fornication, adultery, perjury. The great Nicene council takes the same order with some misliked bishops and presbyters, in divers canons[e]. Gaudentius, in the council of Sardi[f], takes it for granted that a bishop may by bishops be deposed. So the second council of Carthage, can. 13, so the fourth council of Carthage, more than once imposes degradation[g]. So Leo the First threats to put some offending persons from the office of the ministry[h]. So, that I may not be endless, blessed Cyprian advises Rogatianus, a good old bishop, which was abused by a malapert deacon, by the authority of his chair to right himself; and either to depose or suspend the offender[i]. Leontius, in Socrates[k], is deprived of his priesthood. Yea, what council or father gives not both rules and instances of this practice? See how far the ancient church was from these tumultuous fancies.

No, no, M. R., we well find it is doing that undoes the church, not suffering. If your fellows could have suffered more and done less, the church had been happy.

As for our church-officers, you may rail upon them with a lawless safety: there is a great ditch betwixt you and them; else, you might pay dear for this sin of slandering them, with their cheap pennyworths. How idly do you insult over those whom your money-changers have driven out of their pulpits; when you confess, after all your valour, that they have driven you both out of church and country! Who can pity a miserable insulter?

[c] ἁπιμενων δὲ καθαιρεῖσθω. [Can. 5. Bin. et sup. t. i. p. 5.

[d] "We charge him not to serve any more." [Ibid. Can. 15. p. 6.]

[e] So Can. 15.—Cum compertum fuerit, deponatur. Can. 10. De Clericatus honore periclitabitur. Can. 2. E Clero deponatur, et sit alienus a canone. Can. 17.—et Can. 18. A ministerio cessare debuerit [debebit].

[f] Concil. Sardic. c. 4. [Bin. t. i. p. 434.]

[g] Concil. Carth. [Bin. t. i. p. 542.] iv. c. 48 et 56, 57. [Bin. t. i. p. 554.]

[h] Leo Ep. 1 sect. 5. [Opp. Paris, 1675, t. i. p. 400.]

[i] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. [Ed. Fell. Ep. 3.]

[k] Socr. l. ii. c. 21. [c. 40. Hussey.]

SEP.

"For the wafers in Geneva and disorders in Corinth, they were corruptions, which may and do, or the like unto them, creep into the purest churches in the world: for the reformation whereof Christ hath given his power unto his Church; that such evils as are brought in by human frailty, may by divine authority be purged out. This power and presence of Christ you want; holding all by homage, or rather by villanage, under the prelates; unto whose sinful yoke you stoop, in more than Babylonish bondage; bearing and approving, by personal communion, infinite abominations."—"And in these two last respects principally, your Babylonish confusion of all sorts of people in the body of your church without separation, and your Babylonish bondage under your spiritual lords the prelates, we account you Babylon, and fly from you."

SECT. LI.—*Power of reforming Abuses given to the Church: and the issue of the neglect of it.*

You, that can grant there will be corruptions in all other churches, will endure none in ours. If England should have either unleavened wafers, or drunken love-feasts, though no other blemishes, she could not but be Babylon. We envy not your favours.

These, or whatsoever like enormities, Christ hath given power unto his Church to reform:—

But what if the Church neglect to use it? What if those evils, which are brought in by human frailty, will not by divine authority be purged out? Now the error, by your doctrine[1], is grown fundamental; so Christ is lost, and the foundation razed.

If we shall then assume, against our friends to convince our enemies, the church of Geneva hath been seriously dealt with in this corruption, and dissuaded by vehement importunity, yet still persisteth; how can you free them and charge us? See how we love to be miserable, with company!

This power to purge out all corruptions Christ hath not given us. If he hath given it you, you must first begin to purge out yourselves. You have done it: but still there remain some. Would God we had as much execution as power! Our church should be as clean as yours is schismatical. If you should measure faculties by their exercise, natural rest should be the

[1] Barr. against Gyff. pp. 27, 28.

greatest enemy to virtue, and the solitary Christian should be miserable.

This power of ours is not dead, but sleepeth. When it awaketh unto more frequent use, which we earnestly pray for, look you for the first handsel of it: none can be more worthy. As it is, we offend not more in defect than you in excess: of whom, that your Lazarello of Amsterdam, G. J., could say[m], That you have excommunication as ready as a prelate hath a prison.

Christ is in many that feel him not: but we want not the power only, but the presence of Christ:—

How so? he was with us while you were here. Did he depart with you? Will the separatists engross our Saviour to themselves[n], and, as Cyprian said[o] of Pupianus, go to heaven alone? yea, confine the God of heaven to Amsterdam?

What insolence is this! we have him in his word: we have him in his sacraments: we have him in our hearts: we have him in our profession: yet this enemy dare say, we want him:—

Wherein? I suppose in our censures. We have Peter's keys, as his true successors both in office and doctrine: our fault is, that we use them not as you would. What church doth so? Your first martyr doth as zealously inveigh[p] against the practice of Geneva and all other reformed congregations in this point, as against us; both for the wooden dagger, as he terms[q] it, of suspension, and for their consistorial excommunication.

Woe were to all the world if Christ should limit his presence only to your fashions! Here you found him; and here you left him. Would to God we did no more grieve him with our sins, than you please him in your presumptuous censures!

In the rest, you rail against our prelates and us. Can any man think that Christ hath left peaceable spirits, to go dwell with railers?

Indeed yours is freehold: so you would have it, free from subjection, free from obedience. This is looseness, more than liberty: you have broken the bonds, and cast the cords from you.

[m] Troubles and excommunications at Amsterdam.

[n] An tu solus ecclesia es? Et qui te offenderit a Christo excluditur? Hieron. Epiphan.

[o] Cypr.—Solus in cælum ascend. Pupianus? [Pupianus solus——in Paradiso atque in regno cælorum solus habitabit. Ed. Fell. Ep. 66. p. 168.] Et ad Acesium Novatianum Constan. Erigito tibi scalam, Acesi, et ad cælum solus ascendito. Socr. l. i. c. 7. [c. 10. 20. Hussey.]

[p] Barr. Gyff. Ref.

[q] So some of their own have termed their excommunication. Confess. by M. Johns. Enquiry, p. 65.

But you miscall our tenure. We hate villanage, no less than you hate peace; and hold, *in capite*, of him that is *the Head of his body, the Church;* Col. i. 18: under whose easy yoke we do willingly stoop, in a sweet Christian freedom; abhorring and reproving, and therefore, notwithstanding our personal communion, avoiding all abominations.

In these two respects, therefore, of our confusion and bondage, we have well seen in this discourse how justly your Sion accounts us Babylon. Since it is apparent, for the one, that here is neither confusion, nor Babylonish, nor without separation; for the other, no bondage, no servility; our prelates being our fathers, not our masters[r]; and if lords for their external dignity, yet not lords of our faith.

And if both these your respects were so; yet, so long as we do inviolably hold the foundation, both directly and by necessary sequel, any railer may term us, but no separatist shall prove us, Babylon.

You may fly whither you list: would God yet further; unless you had more love!

SEP.

"Master H., having formerly expostulated with us our supposed impiety in forsaking a ceremonious Babylon in England, proceeds, in the next place, to lay down our madness in choosing a substantial Babylon in Amsterdam: and if it be so found by due trial, as he suggesteth, it is hard to say whether our impiety or madness be the greater."—"Belike Master H. thinks we gather churches here by town-rows, as they do in England; and that all within the parish procession are of the same church. Wherefore else tells he us of Jews, Arians, and Anabaptists, with whom we have nothing common but the streets and market-place? It is the condition of the Church to live in the world, and to have civil society with the men of this world; 1 Cor. v. 10, John xvii. 11. But what is this to the spiritual communion of the saints, in the fellowship of the gospel, wherein they are separated and sanctified from the world unto the Lord? John xvii. 16; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18."

SECT. LII.—*The view of the Sins and Disorders of others, whereupon objected, and how far it should affect us.*

I need no better analyser than yourself, save that you do not

[r] Amari parens et episcopus debet, non timeri. Hier. ad Theophilum. [Ed. Ben. Ep. 39. t. iv. pars. 2. p. 335.]

only resolve my parts, but add more: whereas every motion hath a double term; from whence, and whither: both these could not but fall into our discourse.

Having therefore formerly expostulated with you for your (since you will so term it) impiety, in forsaking a ceremonious Babylon of your own making in England; I thought it not unfit to compare your choice with your refusal; England, with Amsterdam, which it pleaseth you to entitle a substantial Babylon. Impiety and madness are titles of your own choice: let your guiltiness be your own accuser.

The truth is, my charity and your uncharitableness have caused us to mistake each other.

My charity thus. Hearing, both at Middleburgh and here, that certain companies from the parts of Nottingham and Lincoln, whose harbinger had been newly in Zealand before me, meant to retire themselves to Amsterdam, for their full liberty, not for the full approbation of your church; not favouring your main opinions, but emulating your freedom in too much hate of our ceremonies, and too much accordance to some grounds of your hatred: I hoped you had been one of their guides; both because Lincolnshire was your country, and Master Smith your oracle and general. Not daring, therefore, to charge you with perfect Brownism, what could I think might be a greater motive to this your supposed change, than the view of our so oft proclaimed wickedness, and the hope of less cause of offence in those foreign parts? This I urged; fearing to go deeper than I might be sure to warrant.

Now comes my charitable answerer, and imputes this easiness of my challenge to my ignorance: and therefore will needs persuade his Christian reader, that I knew nothing of the first separation, because I objected so little to the second.

It were strange if I should think you gather churches there by town-rows, as we in England, who know that some one prison might hold all your refined flock. You gathered here by hedge-rows; but there, it is easier to tell how you divide than how you gather.

Let your church be an entire body, enjoying her own spiritual communion; yet, if it be not a corrosive to your heart to converse in the same streets, and to be ranged in the same town-rows with Jews, Arians, Anabaptists, &c., you are no whit of kin to him that vexed his righteous soul with the uncleannesses of foul Sodom.

That good man had nothing but civil society with those impure neighbours: he differed from them in religion, in practice; yet could he not so carelessly turn off this torment. His house was God's Church; wherein they had the spiritual communion of the saints: yet, while the city was so unclean, his heart was unquiet.

Separation from the world, how required.

We may, you grant, have civil society with ill men; spiritual communion only with saints: those must be accounted the world; these only, the Church. Your own allegations shall condemn you. *They are not of the world,* saith Christ, *as I am not of the world;* John xvii. 16. Both Christ and they were parts of the Jewish church: the Jewish church was not so sanctified, but the most were extremely unclean: therefore, we may be parts of a visible unsanctified church, and yet be separate from the world.

St. Paul writes to his Corinthians, *sanctified in Christ, saints by calling:* 1 Cor. i. 2:—True: but not long after he can say, *Ye are yet carnal;* 1 Cor. iii. 3. In his second epistle, *Come out,* saith he, *from among them:* but from whom? from infidels by profession, not corrupted Christians.

SEP.

"We indeed have much wickedness in the city where we live; you in the church. But, in earnest, do you imagine we account the kingdom of England, Babylon; or the city of Amsterdam, Sion? It is the Church of England, or state ecclesiastical, which we account Babylon; and from which we withdraw in spiritual communion: but, for the commonwealth and kingdom, as we honour it above all the states in the world, so would we thankfully embrace the meanest corner in it, at the extremest conditions of any people in the kingdom."—"The hellish impieties in the city of Amsterdam, do no more prejudice our heavenly communion in the Church of Christ, than the frogs, lice, murrain, and other plagues overspreading Egypt did the Israelites, when Goshen, the portion of their inheritance, was free; Exod. viii. 22: ix. 26: nor than the deluge, wherewith the whole world was covered, did Noah, when he and his family were safe in the ark; Gen. vii: nor than Satan's throne did the church of Pergamos, being established in the same city with it; Rev. ii. 12, 13."

SECT. LIII.—*The nearness of the State and Church, and the great errors found by the separatists in the French and Dutch Churches.*

The church and state, if they be two, yet they are twins! and that so, as either's evil proves mutual. The sins of the city, not reformed, blemish the church: where the church hath power and in a sort comprehends the state, she cannot wash her hands of tolerated disorders in the commonwealth. Hence is my comparison of the church (if you could have seen it, not the kingdom) of England with that of Amsterdam.

I doubt not but you could be content to sing the old song of us, *Bona terra, mala gens.* Our land you could like well, if you might be lords alone. Thanks be to God, it likes not you; and justly thinks the meanest corner too good for so mutinous a generation. When it is weary of peace, it will recall you. You, that neither in prison, nor on the seas, nor in the coasts of Virginia, nor in your way, nor in Netherland, could live in peace; what shall we hope of your ease at home? Where ye are, all you thankful tenants cannot, in a powerful Christian state, move God to distinguish betwixt the known sins of the city and the church.

How oft hath our gracious sovereign, and how importunately, been solicited for a toleration of religions! It is pity that the papists hired not your advocation, who in this point are those true Cassanders[s], which reverend Calvin long since confuted. Their wishes herein are yours; to our shame and their excuse. His Christian heart held that toleration unchristian and intolerable, which you either neglect or magnify. Good Constantine winked at it in his beginning[t]; but as David at the house of Zeruiah. Succeeding times found these Canaanites to be pricks and thorns; and therefore, both by mulcts and banishments, sought either their yieldance or avoidance. If your magistrates, having once given their names to the church, endeavour not to purge this Augean stable; how can you prefer their communion to ours?

But howsoever now, lest we should think your landlords have too just cause to pack you away for wranglers, you turn over all the blame from the church to the city: yet your pastor and church have so found the city in the church, and branded it with

[s] Cassand. de Offic. Boni [pii] Viri. Bellar. de Laicis.
[t] Euseb. in Vita Const.

so black marks, as that all your smooth extenuations cannot make it less Babylon than the Church of England. Behold, now, by your own confessions, either Amsterdam shall be, or England shall not be, Babylon.

These eleven crimes you have found and proclaimed in those Dutch and French churches[u].

First, That the assemblies are so contrived, that the whole church comes not together in one: so that the ministers cannot, together with the flock, sanctify the Lord's day; the presence of the members of the church cannot be known; and, finally, no public action, whether excommunication or any other, can rightly be performed. Could you say worse of us? Where neither sabbath can be rightly sanctified, nor presence or absence known, nor any holy action rightly performed, what can there be but mere confusion?

Secondly, That they baptize the seed of them, who are no members of any visible church: of whom, moreover, they have not care as of members; neither admit their parents to the Lord's supper. Mere Babylonism and sin in constitution; yea, the same that makes us no church! For, what separation can there be in such admittance? what other, but a sinful commixture? How is the church of Amsterdam now gathered from the world?

Thirdly, That in the public worship of God, they have devised and used another form of prayer, besides that which Christ our Lord hath prescribed, Matt. vi., reading out of a book certain prayers invented and imposed by man. Behold here our fellow-idolaters! And, as follows, a daily sacrifice of a set service-book, which, instead of the sweet incense of spiritual prayers, is offered to God: very swine's flesh! a new portuise[w]! and an equal participation with us of the curse of addition to the word[x]!

Fourthly, That rule and commandment of Christ, Matt. xviii. 15., they neither observe nor suffer rightly to be observed among them. How oft have you said that there can be no sound church without this course, because no separation! Behold the main blemish of England in the face of Amsterdam!

Fifthly, That they worship God in the idol temples of antichrist: so the wine is marred with the vessel; their service, abo-

[u] Fr. Johns. Articles against the French and Dutch Churches.
[w] [Breviary.]
[x] Barr. against Gyff.

mination with ours: neither do these antichristian stones want all glorious ornaments of the Romish harlot; yet more.

Sixthly, That their ministers have their set maintenance after another manner than Christ hath ordained; and that also such as by which any ministry at all, whether popish or other, might be maintained, either tithes, or as ill. Behold one of the main arguments whereby our ministry is condemned as false and antichristian, falling heavy upon our neighbours!

Seventhly, That their elders change yearly, and do not continue in their office, according to the doctrine of the apostles, and practice of the primitive church. What can our church have worse than false governors? Both annual and perpetual they cannot be. What is, if not this, a wrong in constitution?

Eighthly, That they celebrate marriage in the church, as if it were a part of the ecclesiastical administration. A foul shame and sin! and what better than our third sacrament?

Ninthly, That they use a new censure of suspension, which Christ hath not appointed. No less than English presumption!

Tenthly, That they observe days and times; consecrating certain days in the year to the nativity, resurrection, ascension of Christ. Behold their calendar as truly possessed: two commandments solemnly broken at once; and we not idolaters alone!

Eleventhly, which is last and worst, that they receive unrepentant excommunicates to be members of their church, which by this means becomes one body with such as be delivered unto Satan; therefore none of Christ's body. England can be but a miscelline rabble of profane men[y]. The Dutch and French churches are belike no better: who can be worse than an unrepentant excommunicate? Go now, and say, "It is the apostasy of antichrist to have communion with the world in the holy things of God, which are the peculiars of the church, and cannot, without great sacrilege, be so prostituted and profaned." Go, say that "The plaguy spiritual leprosy of sin, rising up in the foreheads of many in that church, unshut up, uncovered, yea wilfully let loose, infects all, both persons and things, amongst them." Go now, and fly out of this Babylon also, as the he-goats before the flock, or return to ours.

But, however these errors be gross, perhaps they are tractable. Not the sin undoes the church, but obstinacy:—Here is no eva-

[y] H. Ainsworth in his Counterpoison.

sion; for, behold, you do no more accuse those churches of corruption than of wilfulness. For divers times have you dealt with them about these fearful enormities: yea, you have often desired that knowledge thereof might be by themselves given to the whole body of their church; or that, at least, they would take order it might be done by you. They have refused both. What remains, but they be our fellow-heathens and publicans? and not they alone, but all reformed churches beside in Christendom, which do jointly partake in all these, except one or two personal, abominations? Will you never leave till you have wrangled yourselves out of the world?

But now I fear I have drawn you to say, that the hellish impieties both in the city and church of Amsterdam, are but frogs, lice, flies, murrain, and other Egyptian plagues, not prejudicing your Goshen. Say so, if you dare. I fear they would soon make the ocean your Red Sea, and Virginia your wilderness.

The Church is Noah's ark, which gave safety to her guests, whereof ye are part; but remember that it had unclean beasts also, and some savage. If the waves drown you not, yet methinks you should complain of noisome society. Satan's throne could not prejudice the church of Pergamos: but did not the Balaamites (the Nicolaitans)? yet their heavenly communion stood, and the angel is sent away with but threats.

SEP.

"It is the will of God and of Christ that his Church should abide in the world, and converse with it in the affairs thereof, which are common to both; but it is the apostasy of antichrist to have communion with the world in the holy things of God, which are the peculiars of the Church, and cannot, without great sacrilege, be so prostituted and profaned."

SECT. LIV.—*Conversation with the World.*

As it were madness to deny that the church should converse with the world in the affairs thereof, so to deny her communion in God's holy things with any of those of the world which profess Christianity (as yet uncensured), is a point of anabaptistical apostasy.

Such of the world are still of the church. As my censure cannot eject them, so their sin, after my private endeavour of redress, cannot defile me.

I speak of private communicants. If an unbidden guest come with a ragged garment and unwashen hands, shall I forbear God's heavenly dainties! The Master of the feast can say, *Friend, how camest thou in hither?* not "Friends, why come you hither with such a guest?" God bids me come: he hath imposed this necessity; never allowed this excuse. My teeth shall not be set on edge with the sour grapes of others. If the church cast not out the known unworthy, the sin is hers: if a man will come unworthy, the sin is his; but if I come not, because he comes, the sin is mine. I shall not answer for that other's sin; I shall answer for mine own neglect. Another man's fault cannot dispense with my duty[z].

SEP.

"The air of the Gospel which you draw in, is nothing so free and clear as you make show: it is only because you are used to it that makes you so judge."—"The thick smoke of your canons, especially of such as are planted against the kingdom of Christ, the visible Church, and the administration of it, do both obscure and poison the air which you all draw in, and wherein you breathe."—"The plaguy, spiritual leprosy of sin, rising up in the foreheads of so many thousands in the church, unshut up, uncovered, infects all, both persons and things, amongst you, Lev. xiii. 45–47; 2 Cor. vi. 17."—"The blasting hierarchy suffers no good thing to grow or prosper, but withers all both bud and branch."—"The daily sacrifice of the service-book, which, instead of spiritual prayer, sweet as incense, you offer up morning and evening, smells so strong of the pope's portuise, as it makes many hundreds amongst yourselves stop their noses at it: and yet you boast of the free and clear air of the Gospel wherein you breathe."

SECT. LV.—*The Impure Mixtures of the Church of England.*—

1. *Canons.*
2. *Sin uncensured.*
3. *Hierarchy.*
4. *Service-Book.*

As there is no element which is not, through many mixtures, departed from the first simplicity; so no church ever breathed in so pure an air, as that it might not justly complain of some thick and unwholesome evaporations of error and sin. If you challenge

[z] Duobus modis non te maculat malus: videlicet, si non consentis, et si redarguis. d. 23. q. 4. [c. 8.] A malis. [Gratian. Decr. ut sup. 2 pars, p. 1614.]

an immunity, you are herein the true brood of the ancient puritans.

But if too many sins in practice have thickened the air of our church, yet not one heresy; that smoke of the bottomless pit hath never corrupted it: and, therefore, justly may I aver, that here you might draw in the clear air of the Gospel; nowhere upon earth more freely.

And if this be but the opinion of custom, you, whom absence hath helped with a more nice and dainty scent, speak your worst. Show us our heresies, and shame us.

You have done it; and behold four main infections of our English air.

The first, the smoke of our canons. Wittily! I fear the great ordinances of the church have troubled you more with the blow than the smoke; for you tell us of their plantation against the kingdom of Christ. What kingdom? The visible church. Which is that? Not the reformedest piece of ours, whose best are but goats and swine: not the close Nicodemians of your own sect amongst us, which would be loth to be visible: not foreigners; to them they extend not: none therefore in all the world, but the English-parlour-full at Amsterdam. Can there be any truer Donatism? Cry you still out of their poisoning the air: we hold it the best cleansed, by the batteries of your idle fancies; by ridding you from our air; and by making this your church invisible to us. Smart you thus till we complain.

The second is the plague or leprosy of sin, unshut up and uncovered. We know that sin is as ill as the devil can make it; a most loathsome thing in the eyes of God, and his angels, and saints; and we grant, to our grief, that among so many millions of men there may be found some thousands of lepers. Good laws and censures meet with some; others escape: it is not so much our fault as our grief. But that this leprosy infects all persons and things, is shamefully overreached. Plague and leprosy have their limits, beyond which is no contagion: if a man come not near them, if he take the wind in an open air, they infect not. Such is sin; it can infect none but the guilty[a]: those which act, or assent to, or bear with it, or detest it not, are in this pollution; but those which can mourn for it, and cannot redress it, are free from infection. How many foul lopers spi-

[a] Certe nullius crimen maculat nescientem. Aug. Epist. 48. [ut sup. Ep. 93. t. ii. p. 236.]

ritually did our Saviour see in the public air of the Jewish church! wherewith yet he joined, and his; not fearing infection so much, as gracing the remnants of their ruinous church. Were those seven thousand Israelites, whose knees bowed not to Baal (1 Kings xix. 18), infected with the idolatry of their neighbours? yet continued they still parts of the same church. But this yet exceeds: not only all persons, but all things:—What! our Gospel? our heaven, earth, sea? our books, coin, commodities? Behold, you see the same heaven with us: you have no Bibles but ours: our air, in his circular motion, comes to be yours: the water that washeth our island perhaps washeth your hands: our unclean silver, I fear, maintains you: our commodities, in part, enrich your landlords: and yet all things amongst us infected! You are content to take some evil from your neighbours.

The third is, our blasting hierarchy suffers no good thing (that is, no Brownist, no singular fancy, for what good things have we but yours?) to grow or prosper amongst us; but withers all, both bud and branch: would to God the root also!

The last is the daily sacrifice of a service-book:—an incense, however unsavoury to you, yet such as all churches in Christendom hold sweet, and offer up as fit for the nostrils of the Almighty. We are not alone thus tainted: all Christian churches, that are or have been, present the same censers unto God. But ours smells strong of the pope's portuise:—see whether this be any better than trivial cavilling. If either an ill man or a devil shall speak that which is good, may not a good man use it? If a good angel or man shall speak that which is evil, is it ever the better for the deliverer? If Satan himself shall say of Christ, *Thou art the Son of the living God*, shall I fear to repeat it? Not the author, but the matter, in these things is worthy of regard[b]. As Jerome speaks of the poisoned works of Origen, and other dangerous treatisors, "Good things may be received from ill hands." If the matter of any prayer be popish, fault it for what it contains, not for whence it came. What say you against us in this, more than Master Smith, your stout anabaptist, saith of our baptizing of infants? Both of them equally condemned for antichristian.

[b] Patres nostri, non solum ante Cyprianum vel Agrippinum, sed postea, saluberrimam consuetudinem tenuerunt, ut, quicquid divinum atque legitimum in aliqua hæresi vel schismate integrum reperirent, approbarent potius quam negarent. August. [De Bapt. contra Donat. l. iii. § 28. ut sup. t. ix. p. 122.]

Still, therefore, we boast of the free and clear air of the Gospel, if it be annoyed with some practical evils: we may be foul; the Gospel is itself, and our profession holy: neither can we complain of all evils while we want you.

SEP.

"That all Christendom should so magnify your happiness, as you say, is much; and yet yourselves, and the best amongst you, complain so much, both in word and writing, of your miserable condition under the imperious and superstitious impositions of the prelates; yea, and suffer so much also under them, as at this day you do, for seeking the same church-government and ministry which is in use in all other churches save your own."—"The truth is, you are best liked where you are worst known. Your next neighbours of Scotland know your bishop's government so well, as they rather choose to undergo all the miseries of bonds and banishment, than to partake with you in your happiness this way; so highly do they magnify and applaud the same: which choice I doubt not other churches also would make, if the same necessity were laid upon them."—"And, for your graces, we despise them not, nor any good thing amongst you, no more than you do such graces and good things as are to be found in the church of Rome, from which you separate notwithstanding. We have, by God's mercy, the pure and right use of the good gifts and graces of God, in Christ's ordinance, which you want. Neither the Lord's people nor the holy vessels could make Babylon Sion, though both the one and the other were captived for a time."

SECT. LVI.—*The Judgment of our own and our Neighbours of our Church.*

That which followeth is but words. A short answer is too much.

That all Christendom magnifies the worthiness of our church in so clear evidences of their own voices, you cannot deny.

And now, when you see such testimonies abroad, lest you should say nothing, you fetch cavils from home. Those men, which you say complain so much of their miserable condition under the prelates' impositions, have notwithstanding, with the same pens and tongues, not only justified our church, but extolled it. You have found no sharper adversaries in this very accusation, for which you maliciously cite them. How freely, how fully have they evinced the truth! yea, the happiness, of the Church of England,

against your false challenges! And yet your forehead dare challenge them for authors. So hath their moderation opposed some appendances, that they have both acknowledged and defended the substance with equal vehemence to your opposition[c].

Neither do they suffer, as you traduce them, for seeking another church-government. Look into the Millenaries' petition (the common voice of that part); I am deceived if aught of their complaints sound that way, much less of their sufferings. Deformity in practice is objected to them, not endeavour of innovation. That quarrel hath been long silent: your motion cannot revive it. Would God you could as much follow those men in moderate and charitable carriage, as you have outrun them in complaint!

It pleaseth you to devise us, like pictures upon coarse canvass, which show fairest at farthest; attributing foreign approbation, which you cannot deny, to distance more than to desert. How is it then, that besides strange witnesses, we, which look upon this face without prejudice, commend it, God knows, without flattery? We can at once acknowledge her infirmities, and bless God for her graces. Our neighbours (yea, ourselves) of Scotland know our church so well, that they do with one consent praise her for one of God's best daughters: neither do the most rigorous amongst them more dislike our episcopal government than embrace our church. What fraud is this, to fly from the church in common to one circumstance? We can honour that noble church in Scotland: may we not dislike their alienations of church-livings? If one thing offend, do all displease?

Yet even this government, which you would have them resist to bonds and banishment[d] (who knows not?), begins to find both favour and place. What choice other churches would make, as you doubt not so, you care not. If you regard their sentence, how durst you revile her as a false harlot whom they honour as

[c] Socrat. lib. i. c. 4. Constant. Alex. et Ario.—Ac, tametsi vos inter vos vicissim de re quapiam minimi momenti dissentitis, siquidem neque omnes de omnibus rebus idem sentimus, nihilominus tamen fieri poterit, ut eximia concordia sincere inter vos integreque servetur, et una inter omnes communio et consociatio custodiatur.

[The following seems to be the passage in the original here cited, though the members of the sentence are much transposed:—*δύναται γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου τίμιον ὑμῖν ἀκέραιον φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ πάντων κοινωνία τηρεῖσθαι κἂν τὰ μάλιστα τὶς ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἐλαχίστου διαφωνία γένηται, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ πάντες ἐν πᾶσι ταὐτὸ βουλόμεθα.*—Socr. l. i. c. 7.]

[d] "Lastly, It is thus written, and we thus advised." M. Smith's retort upon M. Clifton, p. 50.

a dear sister? If you were more theirs than we, you might upbraid us. Now you tell us what perhaps they would do: we tell you what they do, and will do; even with one voice bless God for England, as the most famous and flourishing church in Christendom: your handful only makes faces, and envies this true glory.

Who yet, you say, despise not our graces, no more than we those of Rome:—See how you despise us, while you say you are free from despite! How malicious is this comparison; as if we were to you as Rome to us: and yet you despise us more. We grant Rome a true baptism; true visibility of a church, though monstrously corrupted: you give us not so much. Thanks be to God, we care less for your censure than you do for our church. We have, by God's mercy, the true and right use of the word and sacraments, and all other essential gifts and graces of God: if there might be some further helps in execution, to make these more effectual, we resist not: but those your other imaginary ordinances, as we have not, so we want not. Neither the Chaldeans, nor any idolatrous enemies, could not make Sion Babylon, nor the holy vessels profane, so as they should cease to be fit for God's use; but they were brought back at the return of the captivity to Jerusalem. Such were our worship, ministry, sacraments; and those manifold subjects of your cavils, which whilst you disgrace for their former abuse, you call our good evil, and willingly despise our graces.

SEP.

"Where the truth is a gainer, the Lord, which is truth, cannot be a loser. Neither is the thanks of ancient favours lost amongst them, which still press on towards new mercies. Unthankful are they unto the blessed majesty of God, and unfaithful also, which, knowing the will of their Master, do it not; but go on presumptuously, in disobedience to many the holy ordinances of the Lord and of his Christ, which they know, and in word also acknowledge, he hath given to his Church to be observed, and not for idle speculation, and disputation without obedience."—"It is not by our sequestration, but by your confusion, that Rome and hell gains. Your odious commixture of all sorts of people in the body of your church, in whose lap the vilest miscreants are dandled; sucking her breasts as her natural children, and are beblest by her, as having right thereunto, with all her holy things, as prayer, sacraments, and other ceremonies; is

that which advantageth hell, in the final obduration and perdition of the wicked, whom by these means you flatter and deceive."—"The Romish prelacy and priesthood amongst you, with the appurtenances for their maintenance and ministrations, are Rome's advantage: which, therefore, she challengeth as her own, and by which she also still holds possession amongst you, under the hope of regaining her full inheritance at one time or other."—"And, if the papists take advantage at our condemnation of you, and separation from you, it concerns you well to see where the blame is, and there to lay it; lest, through light and inconsiderate judgment, you justify the wicked and condemn the righteous."

SECT. LVII.—*The Issue of Separation.*

All the sequel of my answerer is merely sententious. It is fitter for us to learn than reply.

Where the truth gains, say you, God loseth not:—I tell you again, where God loseth the truth gaineth not; and where the church loseth, God, which endowed her, cannot but lose. Alas! what can the truth either get or save by such unkind quarrels? Surely, suspicion on some hands, on others rejection: for, as Optatus of his Donatists[e], betwixt our *licet* and your *non licet*, many poor souls waver and doubt, neither will settle, because we agree not. Thanks are not lost where new favours are called for, but where old are denied. While your posy is, "Such as the mother, such is the daughter," where are our old, our any mercies? They are unthankful, which know what God hath done, and confess it not: they are unthankful to God and his deputy, which, knowing themselves made to obey, presume to overrule; and, upon their private authority, obtrude to the church those ordinances to be observed which never had being but in their own idle speculation.

Your sequestration and our confusion are both of them beneficial where they should not: and as you pretend our confusion for the cause of your separation, so is your separation the true cause of too much trouble and confusion in the church. Your odious tale of commixture hath cloyed and surfeited your reader already, and received answer to satiety: this one dish so oft brought forth argues your poverty. The visible Church is God's drag-net, and field, and floor, and ark: here will be ever, at her best, sedge, tares, chaff, unclean creatures; yet is this no pre-

[e] Inter licet vestrum, et non licet nostrum, nutant ac remigant animæ Christianorum. Optat. contr. Parm.

tence for her neglect[f]: the notoriously evil she casts from her breast and knee, denying them the use of her prayers; and, which your leaders mislike, of her sacrament. If divers through corruption of unfaithful officers escape censure, yet let not the transgressions of some redound to the condemnation of the whole church. In God's judgment it shall not; we care little if in yours[g]. We tell wicked men they may go to hell with the water of baptism in their faces, with the church in their mouths; we denounce God's judgments unpartially against their sins and them. Thus we flatter; thus we deceive! If yet they will needs run to perdition, *Perditio tua ex te, Israel.*

Our clergy is so Romish as our baptism:—If therefore Romish, because they came thence, we have disproved it; if therefore Romish, because they have been used there, we grant and justify it. That ancient confession of their faith, which was famous through the world, we receive with them. If they hold one God, one baptism, one heaven, one Christ, shall we renounce it? Why should we not cast off our Christendom and humanity because the Romans had both? How much Rome can either challenge or hope to gain in our clergy and ministration, is well witnessed by the blood of those martyrs, eminent in the prelacy, which, in the fresh memories of many, was shed for God against that harlot; and by the excellent labours of others, both bishops and doctors, whose learned pens have pulled down more of the walls of Rome than all the corner-creeping Brownists in the world shall ever be able to do while Amsterdam standeth.

It is you that furnish these adversaries with advantages, through your wilful divisions. Take Scilurus's[h] arrows single out of the sheaf, the least finger breaks them, while the whole bundle fears no stress. We know well where the blame is. Our deservings can be no protection to you; you went from us, not we from you. Plead not our constraint: you should not have been compelled to forsake us while Christ is with us. But who compels you not to call us brethren, to deny us Christians? Your zeal is so far from justifying the wicked, that it condemns the righteous.

[f] Non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos mali tolerandi sunt, &c. Sicut toleraverunt Prophetæ, &c.—Aug. Ep. 48. [ut sup. Ep. 93. t. ii. p. 237.]

[g] Barr. against Gyff.

[h] See the well-known story. Plutarch. de Garrul. Opp. Francof. 1620. t. ii. p. 511.

SEP.

"And, for the suspicion of the rude multitude, you need not much fear it. They will suspect nothing that comes under the king's broad seal: they are ignorant of this fault. Though it were the mass that came with authority of the magistrate, they for the most part would be without suspicion of it; so ignorant and profane are they in the most places. It is the wise-hearted amongst you that suspect your dealings; who will also suspect you yet more, as your unsound dealing shall be further discovered."

SECT. LVIII.—*The Brownists' scornful opinion of our people.*

How scornfully do you turn over our poor rude multitude, as if they were beasts, not men; or if men, not rude but savage! This contempt needed not. These sons of the earth may go before you to heaven.

Indeed, as it was of old said that all Egyptians were physicians, so may it now of you, "All Brownists are divines: no separatist cannot prophesy: no sooner can they look at the skirts of this hill, but they are rapt from the ordinary pitch of men[1]."

Either this change is, perhaps, by some strange illumination, or else your learned paucity got their skill amongst our profane and rude multitude. We have still many in our rude multitude whom we dare compare with your teachers; neither is there any so lewd and profane that cannot pretend a scandal from your separation. Even these souls must be regarded, though not by you. *Such were some of you, but ye are washed, &c.* 1 Cor. vi. 11.

The wise-hearted amongst us do, more than suspect, find out our weaknesses, and bewail them; yet do they not more discover our imperfections than acknowledge our truth. If they be truly wise, we cannot suspect them, they cannot forsake us. Their charity will cover more than their wisdom can discover.

SEP.

"Lastly, the terrible threat you utter against us, that 'even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer than separation,' would certainly fall heavy upon us, if this answer were to be made in your consistory courts, or before any of your ecclesiastical judges: but, because we know that, not antichrist, but Christ shall be our judge,

[1] 1 Sam. x. 10.

we are bold, upon the warrant of his word and testament, which being sealed with his blood may not be altered, to proclaim to all the world, separation from whatsoever riseth up rebelliously against the sceptre of his kingdom; as we are undoubtedly persuaded, the communion, government, ministry, and worship of the Church of England do."

SECT. LIX.—*The Conclusion.—From the fearful Answer of Separation.*

My last threat, of the easier answers of whoredoms and adulteries than separation, you think to scoff out of countenance. I fear your conscience will not always allow this mirth.

Our consistories have spared you enough; let those which have tried[k] say, whether your corrupt eldership be more safe judges. If ours imprison justly, yours excommunicate unjustly. To be in custody is less grievous than out of the church; at least if your censures were worth anything but contempt. As Jerome said of the like, it is well that malice hath not so great power as will. You shall one day, I fear, find the consistory of heaven more rigorous, if you wash not this wrong with your tears[l]. That tribunal shall find your confidence presumption, your zeal fury.

You are bold, surely, more than wise, to proclaim: we have no need of such cries: doubtless your head hath made proclamations long; now your hand begins.

What proclaim you? "Separation from the communion, government, ministry, and worship of the Church of England:"—What needed it? Your act might have saved your voice: what should our eyes and ears be troubled with one bad object?

But why separate you from these? Because they "rise up rebelliously against the sceptre of Christ:"—The sceptre of Christ is his word. He holds it out; we touch and kiss it. What one sentence of it do we wilfully oppose? Away with these foolish impieties: you thrust a reed into your Saviour's hand, and say, *Hail, King of the Jews;* and will needs persuade us, none but this is his rod of iron.

Lastly, upon what warrant? "Of his will and testament:"—

[k] Troub. and Excom. at Amst. G. Johns. professes he found better dealing in the bishops' consistories; and might have found better in the inquisition.

[l] Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat.—Ad pacis præmium venire non poterunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt. [Ed. Fell. ut sup. de Unit. Eccl. p. 112.] Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordia, nec passione purgatur. Ibid.

You may wrong us; but how dare you fasten your lies upon your Redeemer and Judge? What clause of his hath bid you separate? We have the true copies: as we hope or desire to be saved, we can find no sentence that soundeth toward the favour of this your act. Must God be accused of your wilfulness? Before that God and his blessed angels and saints, we fear not to protest that we are undoubtedly persuaded, that whosoever wilfully forsakes the communion, government, ministry, or worship of the Church of England, are enemies to the sceptre of Christ, and rebels against his Church and anointed: neither doubt we to say, that the mastership of the hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse), might have procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England should not have been made by John Robinson.

TO MY

REVEREND AND WORTHILY DEAR FRIEND,

MR. WILLIAM STRUTHERS[a];

ONE OF THE PREACHERS OF EDINBURGH.

The haste of your letters, my reverend and worthy Mr. Struthers, was not so great as their welcome; which they might well challenge for your name, but more for that love and confidence which they imported. Thus must our friendship be fed, that it may neither feel death nor age.

The substance of your letter was partly relation, and partly request.

For the first: rumour had in part prevented you, and brought to my ears those stirs which happened after my departure; and, namely, together with that impetuous protestation, some rude deportment of ill-governed spirits towards his majesty. Alas, my dear brother! this is not an usage for kings. They are the nurses of the Church. If the child shall fall to scratching and biting the breast, what can it expect but stripes and hunger? Your letter professes that his majesty sent you away in peace and joy: and why would any of those rough-hewn zealots send him away in discontentment? But this was, I know, much against your heart, whose often protestations assured me of your wise moderation in these things. How earnestly have you professed to me, that if you were in the Church of England, such was your indifferency in these indifferent matters, you would make no scruple of our ceremonies! Yea, how sharp hath your censure been of those refractories amongst us, that would forego their stations rather than yield to these harmless impositions! So

[a] [This letter, as appears from the bishop's autobiographical sketch, was written soon after king James's visit to Scotland in 1617, when he was endeavouring to bring about an uniformity between the Churches of England and Scotland. The five Articles referred to, were admitted by an Act of an Assembly convened at Perth, Aug. 25, 1618, and afterwards, in 1621, confirmed by Act of Parliament.]

much the more therefore do I marvel, how any delator could get any ground from you whereon to place an accusation in this kind!

But this, and the rest of those historical passages, being only concerning things past, have their end in my notice. Let me rather turn my pen to that part which calleth for my advice; which for your sake I could well wish were worthy to be held such, as that yourself and your colleagues might find cause to rest in it: howsoever, it shall be honest and hearty, and no other than I would in the presence of God give to my own soul.

Matters, you think, will not stand long at this point, but will come on further, and press you to a resolution. What is to be done? Will you hear me counselling, as a friend, as a brother? Since you foresee this, meet them in the way, with a resolution to entertain them and persuade others.

There are five points in question: the solemn festivities; the private use of either sacrament; geniculation at the eucharist; confirmation by bishops.

For these, there may be a double plea insinuated, by way of comparison, in your letters: expedience in the things themselves; authority in the commander. Some things are therefore to be done, because they are commanded; some others are therefore commanded, because they are to be done: obedience pleads for the one, justice for the other.

If I shall leave these in the first rank, I shall satisfy; but if in the second, I shall supererogate; which if I do not, I shall fail of my hopes.

Let me profess to you seriously, I did never so busily and intentively study these ritual matters, as I have done since your letters called me unto this task. Since which time, I speak boldly, I made no spare either of hours or papers. *Neque enim magna exiliter, nec seria perfunctorie;* as I have learned of our Nazianzen: and besides, this, under one name, seemed a common cause, and therefore too worthy of my care.

These are not, you know, matters of a day old; neither is it his majesty's desire to trouble you with new coins, but to rub up the rusty and obliterate face of the ancient.

And surely the more my thoughts were bent upon them, the more it appeared to me that his majesty's intention is to deal with your church as he hath lately done with your universities; from which, I know not what indiscreet and idle zeal had banished all

higher degrees: the name of a school-doctor was grown out of date: only one graduate, that I heard of, at St. Andrew's, outlived that injury of the times. Now comes his majesty, as one born to the honour of learning, and restores the schools to their former glories. This is no innovation, you will grant, but a renovation. No other is that which his majesty wisheth to your church.

For, tell me, I beseech you, my dear Mr. Struthers, do not you think that those which took upon them the reformation of your church went somewhat too far, and as it is in the fable, entrapped the stork together with the cranes? I know your ingenuity such as you cannot deny it. This you will grant apparently in the church-patrimony (witness your own learned and zealous invective how miserably spoiled); in the exauthoration of episcopal office and dignity; in the demolition of churches; and too many other of this stamp: so violent was that holy furor of piety, that hence it might well appear what difference there is betwixt the orderly proceedings of princely authority and popular tumult.

And why should you not yield me this, in the business questioned? Do but consider how far it is safe for a particular church to depart from the ancient and universal, and you cannot be less liberal. Surely no Christian can think it a slight matter, what the Church, diffused through all times and places, hath either done or taught. For doctrine or manners there is no question; and why should it be more safe to leave it in the holy institutions that concern the outward forms of God's service? Novelty is a thing full of envy and suspicion; and why less in matters of rite than doctrine? The Church is *the mother of us all:* the less important those things are, which in the power of a parent she enjoins, the more hateful is the detrectation of our observance. You remember the question of the Syrian's wise servants, *Father, if he had commanded thee some great matter, wouldst thou not have done it?*

True it is that every nation hath her own rites, gestures, customs; wherein it was ever as free for it to differ from the rest of the world as the world from it: yet, in the mean time, the sacred affairs of God have been ever acknowledged to have one common fashion of performance; in those points especially, wherein hath been an universal agreement. Every face hath his own favour, his own lines, distinct from all others; yet is there a certain common habitude of countenance, and disposition of the forehead, eyes, cheeks, lips, common unto all; so as who under this

pretence of difference shall go about to raise an immunity from such ceremonies, do no other than argue, that, because there is a diversity of proportions of faces, we may well want a brow or a chin.

There is nothing that the pontificians do so commonly and with so much noise upbraid us with, as our discession from the mother church; that is, as they interpret, the Roman: neither is there any one amongst all the loads of their reproaches, that hath wrought us more envy than this. And how do we free ourselves from the danger of this odious crimination, but thus, not to stand upon the imperious title of motherhood; that since, for order's sake, we acknowledged this primacy of the western church, we never departed one inch from the Roman, save where she is perfidiously gone from God and herself?

Now, the cases questioned are, for the most part, only such, as you will confess, before the suspicion of antichristian apostasy, to have obtained eachwhere in the Church.

Begin, if you please, with the solemn festivities.

Turn over, I beseech you, the histories of times and places; you shall never find where these were either newly appointed, or not constantly and continuedly observed in the Church of God. I confess, with Socrates, that neither Christ nor any apostle enacted a law for these; but withal, I must put you in mind, that what he denies to constitution he grants to custom: and, *observatio inveterata*, that I may speak with Tertullian, *præveniendo statum facit*[b].

As for the solemn feast of Easter, which the Ancyran council called *diem magnum*, how hotly the Church, even then in her swathing bands, contended about it, all the world knows. I speak nothing of the friendly differences of Polycarpus and Analectus, nor of the Angel of Hermes. The east and west were in this point fearfully divided: one part pleads a tradition from John and Philip, the other from Peter and Paul: both sides fought long and sore: at last the Roman victor won the day, *postquam Asiæ episcopos fulmine sacro perculisset.* Let Irenæus deeply censure him as a furious disturber of the public peace; I meddle with neither part. This strife, at last well laid, is after revived by the Syrian divines. How strongly doth the famous Nicene council oppose itself to these new *Tesseradecatites*[c], as those

[b] [Tert. De Corona, c. iii. Paris. 1675. p. 101.]

[c] [Bin. t. i. p. 650.]

times called them! Yea, what other cause was there, except the madnesses of Arius and his followers the Meletians and Colluthians, of calling that venerable assembly together? After all this, what discourses passed betwixt Leo the first archbishop of Reme and Paschasinus Lylibetanus[d] were needless to rehearse; and how hot Chrysostom was in this cause, need no other proof than that, as Socrates witnesses, he took away the churches from them which tied Easter to the fourteenth moon. Now then, wherefore, I beseech you, was all this Asian conflict? wherefore this triumph of Victor? wherefore this infamous brand of the *Quartadecimani?* Wherefore were those paschal letters of the ancient or golden number, or the calculations of the bishops of Alexandria, or the curious determinations of the Nicene Fathers, or the nice reckonings of Leo and Paschasinus, if this might have passed for lawful, with one breath to deny the day, and with one dash to blot it out of the holy calendar? Certainly the ancients knew not how to be thus witty; neither durst they thus boldly cut that knot, in the untying whereof perhaps they overspent their care and diligence. O ridiculous head of antiquity, if this short course might have been safely held in those former ages! Yea, tell me, I pray you, in all your readings, where ever you met with any man, besides those whom the Church hath held worthy the black mark of heresy, who either denied all observations of this solemnity, or approved the refusal of it by others. I can name you Aërius, a man blemished with more than the scars of one heresy. "And what," saith he, "is the pasch that you keep? You are again addicted to Jewish fables. We must keep no pasch, *for Christ our pasch is offered for us.*" And I can show you Epiphanius, flying in his face with this just reply: "Who is likely to know more of these matters; this seduced wretch, which is yet living in the world; or those witnesses which have been before us, and had the tradition of the Church with them; which received from their fathers that which their fathers received from their forefathers, and still retains what they taught, both for faith and tradition[e]?"

The same reason is there for the other feasts. Unto this of the Easter, that I may speak in Leo's words to the bishops of Sicily, is added the sacred solemnity of Pentecost, in memory of the coming of the Holy Ghost, which depends upon the time of

[d] [Bin. t. i. pp. 971, 972.] [e] [Epiph. Opp. Paris. 1622. t. i. lib. iii. pp. 908, 910.]

the paschal feast. Neither did Eusebius doubt to call this *festivitatum omnium principem.* You know how honourable mention is made of it by Gregory Nazianzen: "The Jew," saith he, "keeps feast days, but according to the letter; the Gentile keeps feast days, but according to the flesh; we keep feast days also, but that we may say or do something according to the Spirit." And soon after, "The Hebrews keep their Pentecost; and we keep it, as we do some other Jewish rites: but they, typically; we, mystically: we celebrate Pentecost for the coming of the Holy Ghost, as the day set for the performance of this promise, and the fulfilling of our hope: and how great a mystery is this; how sacred!

I cannot therefore pass over that ἁμάρτημα μνημονικὸν of our centurists, which can say there is scarce any express mention of any of the feasts in antiquity besides Easter. I may not admit all the beadroll that Polydore Vergil inserts into the apostolical solemnities: I had rather hold the midway between both. That memorable place of Austin is to me instead of a thousand witnesses: neither need we care for other evidence whilst we have one so absolute. You know where to find it, in the 118th epistle, to Januarius: *Illa, autem, quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, dantur intelligi, vel ab ipsis apostolis, vel plenariis conciliis (quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima authoritas) commendata, atque statuta retineri: sicuti quod Domini passio, et resurrectio, et ascensio in cœlum, et adventus de cœlo Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur, et si quod aliud occurrit; quod servatur ab universa, quacunque se diffundit, ecclesia*[f].

But if these feasts could not show so ancient and noble a pedigree, what hinders that the Church may not appoint certain days to the blessed memory of these excellent benefits? Doubtless this right she hath heretofore challenged to herself in lesser occasions; and I do not find any man that ever accused her of rashness or presumption. How solemn the days of Purim were to the Jews is known to all, denied of none: and their ἐγκαίνια, "feast of Dedication," which Castalio affectedly calls *Renovalia*, set apart to the memory not so much of the temple as the altar recovered from former profanation, our Saviour himself, you know, honested with his presence. Look on the history of the Maccabees (that

[f] [Opp. Ed. Ben. Ep. 54. t. ii. p. 124.]

book, if for matter of faith it be apocryphal, yet hath canon enough for matter of fact), you shall find that when Nicanor, the deadly enemy of the Jews, was discomfited and slain, a day was appointed by public authority, next before Mardochee's feast, to be kept anniversarily sacred unto the memory of that deliverance and victory. And what other do we in this happy island, while we yearly celebrate those two blessed days to the miracle of the preservation of our king, church, state, with the joy both of love and duty? Then do the streets of your Edinburgh smoke with many thankful fires; and your Arthur's-Seat flames with the bonfires of your triumph and exultation: and shall the days of Christ, wherein we were graciously delivered from the jaws of hell, carry from us less joy and celebrity? Surely your church shall abate nothing of her purity in joining herself to all the rest of the world, ancient and modern, in the observation of the feast of her Saviour!

As for the private administration of both the sacraments, the difference of time or place cannot be of that value, as that for it the participation of those divine mysteries should be neglected. There is a direct precept for either sacrament, given by the heavenly Author of both, and commended by the hands of the apostles to the succeeding Church: there is no precept of time or place; and shall we omit that which Christ hath commanded, for that which he commanded not?

The holy mysteries are as the body, circumstances are as the clothes: it were to be wished that a goodly beautiful body should be fitly suited with clothes of due colours and fashions; but if it should fall out, through extremity of want, that there must be a meet elegancy lacking in the clothes, shall we therefore despise the body, and cast it out for an unprofitable carcass?

If there did not a great necessity lie upon the sacraments; if there did not much divine consolation flow from them; why would Christ leave them to his own spouse, the Church, as the precious pledges of his love?

A necessity of the means no man can deny: the necessity of the end is not undeservedly litigious. Indeed, God hath not bound himself to any means (good reason his omnipotency should be free); but he hath thought good to bind us unto means; so as whosoever shall wittingly and wilfully omit these saving institutions, is justly guilty of the violation of so holy an ordinance, and, withal, of his own judgment.

The dilation of the sign of that old covenant, you know how heavy it lay upon holy Moses; and the voluntary neglect of that other sacrament beyond the double day appointed, was wont, you know, to be punished with no less than excision from the congregation of Israel: and is there less necessity, less use, of the evangelical sacraments?

To follow this instance a little further: tell me, I pray you, were not both those ancient sacraments accustomed unto private roofs? Of the paschal dish there can be no doubt: that holy feast was, by the Author of it, destined to the private families of his Israel. Perhaps you will stick a little at the other. I do not tell you of Abraham, of Zipporah. Look but upon the forerunner of Christ, you will find it likely that his circumcision was within doors: his mother Elizabeth was either present or not far off: at the ceremony, as it is most probable, she changed his name, upon the act: now it could not be that the eighth day of her childbirth could allow her to go forth, whose uncleanness by the law pent her up for thirty days. But what do I urge this uncertainty? Still, by the tradition of the Jews, either the synagogue or the chamber is indifferently allowed to this act.

And why should the sacrament of the new law be so affixed to our churches, that not necessity itself should be able to fetch these wholesome remedies home to our houses? Sure I am, the Fathers of the ancient Church were of another mind, who, before the fancy of *opus operatum* was hatched, conceived such necessity of the sacraments, that Cyprian can tell you of *Clinici*, as well as *Peripatetici*; that others, in case of extremity, would have no difference made of land or water, house or way, bed or pavement. And how is it, that our liberty hath made us more strict, or our straitness hath made us more free? more strict for the place, more free for the conceit of necessity.

But if privacy be so opposite to the nature of a sacrament, why may it not be avoided, even in a parlour? for in such a case the church removes thither. The walls, you think, confer nothing: the people are, by the order of the church, commanded to assemble, in a due frequence, to the honour of either sacrament. So as now I see not other difference but this: those which, in the case of some private fast, can be content for their preaching to change the church into a chamber, in the case of baptism make dainty to change a chamber into a church.

For geniculation in the eucharist, I am deceived if ever cere-

mony could complain of a more unjust displeasure, or plead better desert.

For the antiquity of it, those that fetch it from Honorius are ill heralds. They might know that Averroes, an age before him, could say, in a misprision of the gesture, *Christiani adorant quod edunt:* and the best of the Fathers, many ages before him, *Nemo manducat nisi prius adoraverit.*

For the expedience, what business can pass betwixt heaven and earth, God and man, so worthy of reverence, as that wherein man receives God? Even the smallest gifts we receive from princes upon our knees; and now, when the Prince of our peace gives himself to us, shall we grudge to bow?

I know the old challenge, Artolatry. But shall others' superstition make us unreverent? Shall not God have our knees, because idols have had the knees of others?

But what do I press this to you, who professed to me, if I remember well, your approbation hereof in our English congregations? The sacrament is everywhere the same. Nothing but want of use hath bred a conceit of uncouthness in that which custom would approve and commend.

As for confirmation by bishops, I need to say little, because it little concerns you, as an action appropriate to superiors: neither, I think, do you envy it to them.

That the ceremony itself is both of ancient and excellent use, I know you will not deny.

For the one, Melancthon gives it the praise of, *Utilis ad eruditendos homines, et retinendos in vera agnitione Dei*[g].

For the other, Zuinglius can assure you, *Confirmationem tum sumpsisse exordium, cum vulgo cœptum est infantes tingi*[h].

In regard of both, reverend Calvin wisheth it again restored to the Church, with no small fervency.

All the doubt is in the restriction to bishops: wherein I will only send you to learned Bucer: *Signum impositionis manuum, etiam soli episcopi præbebant, et non absque ratione: sive enim sit fœdus Domini baptizatis confirmandum, sive reconciliandi qui gravius peccaverunt, sive ecclesiis ministri ordinandi, hæc omnia ministeria maxime decent eos, quibus ecclesiarum cura demandata est*[i]. This, as it was done only at first by the apostles in the case of the Samaritans; so, from them, was by the

[g] [Confess. Eccl. Sax. Opp. Witeberg. 1580. p. 138.]

[h] [Opp. t. ii. Tigur. 1581. p. 217. 2.]

[i] [Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. p. 570.]

Church derived to the bishops, as Chrysostom directs; *præpositis suis*, as Cyprian and Austin speak. But what need I cite Fathers or Councils for that which worthy Calvin himself both confesses and teaches? Certainly nothing but continuance and abuse hath distasted these things; which, if time had been their friend, never wanted that which might procure them grace and respect from the world.

For their own sakes, therefore, I need not doubt to say that all these are worthy of your good entertainment; much more then, when they come to you with the billets of authority in their hands. Were they but things in the lowest rank of indifferency, the power that commands them might challenge their welcome: how much more then, when they have an intrinsical worthiness to speak for them!

Your letter hath well insinuated what the power of princes is, in things of middle natures; whereof your apostle's rule will eternally hold, *Not for fear, but for conscience.*

Indeed, wherein is the power of royal authority, if not in these things? Good and evil have their set limits, determined by God himself: only indifferent things have a latitude allowed for the exercise of human commands; which if it might be resisted at pleasure, what could follow, but an utter confusion of all things?

This ground, as it hath found just place in your own breast, so were very fit to be laid by all your public discourses, in the minds of the people: as that which would not a little rectify them both in judgment and practice.

There is no good heart whom it would not deeply wound, to hear of the least danger of the dissipation of your church. God in heaven forbid any such mischief! Our prayers shall be ever for your safety. But if any inconvenience should, on your parts, follow upon the lawful act of authority, see ye how ye can wash your hands from the guiltiness of this evil. This is, I hope, but your fear. Love is in this sense full of suspicions, and commonly projects the worst. It is Nazianzen's advice, *Dum secundo vento navigas, naufragium time: tutior eris a naufragio, adjutorem tibi ac socium adjungens timorem.*

Far, far is it from the heart of our gracious sovereign, who holds it his chief glory to be *Amicus Sponsæ*, to intend aught that might be prejudicial to your church. If his late journey, his laboursome conferences, his toilsome endeavours, his beneficial designs, have not evinced his love to you, what can do it? And

can any of yours think that this affection can stand with a will to hurt you? I know nothing, if I may except his own soul, that he loves better than your church and state: and if he did not think this a fruit of his love, he would be silent. What shall he gain by this, but that advantage which he promiseth to himself of your good, in your assimilation to other churches? a matter wherein, I need not tell you, there is both honour and strength.

The mention whereof draws me, towards the closure of my long letter, whether to an apology or interpretation of myself.

Belike some captious hearers took hold of words spoken in some sermon of mine, that sounded of too much indifferency in these businesses: *ubi bos herbam, vipera venenum,* as he said: as if I had opened a gap to a lawless freedom, in teaching that no church should prescribe to other; that each should sit peaceably down with her own fashions. But did I say (you that heard can clear me), that one church should not be moved with the good example of other? that there are not certain sacred observations, which should be common to all churches? that though one church might not prescribe to other, because they are sisters, one king may not prescribe to two churches, whereof he is head? None of these, which I hate as monstrous. Examples may move, authority may press, the use of things indifferent, expedient; and it is odious to seem more holy than all others, or to seem more wise than our heads.

You have my opinion at large, my loving and beloved Mr. Struthers. How pleasing it may be I know not: how well meant I know. If your letter were an history, my answer is proved a volume. My love, and desire of your satisfaction, hath made me, against my use, tedious. How well were every word bestowed, if it might settle you where I would! Howsoever, my true endeavour looks for your acceptation, and my affections and prayers shall ever answer yours; who am,

Your unfeignedly loving friend

and fellow labourer,

JOS. HALL.

Waltham Abbey.
Octob. 3. [1617.]

Return my thanks and kind remembrance to those worthy gentlemen, from whom you sent me commendations; and to your wife, and all our friends.

A LETTER

FOR THE

OBSERVATION OF THE FEAST

OF

CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

SIR, WITH MY LOVING REMEMBRANCE:

It cannot but be a great grief to any wise and moderate Christian, to see zealous and well-meaning souls carried away after the giddy humour of their new teachers, to a contempt of all holy and reverend antiquity, and to an eager affectation of novel fancies, even while they cry out most bitterly against innovations: when the practice and judgment of the whole Christian world ever from the days of the blessed apostles to this present age is pleaded for any form of government or laudable observation, they are strait taught, that *old things are passed*, and that *all things are become new*; making their word good by so new and unheard-of an interpretation of scripture, whereby they may as justly argue the introducing of a new church, a new gospel, a new religion, with the annulling of the old: and that they may not want an all-sufficient patronage of their fond conceit, our blessed Saviour himself is brought in, who in his Sermon on the Mount controlled the antiquity of the pharisaical glosses of the law; *Ye have heard that it was said by them of old*, thus and thus; *but I say unto you*, &c.: as if the Son of God, in checking the upstart antiquity of a misgrounded and unreasonable tradition, meant to condemn the truly ancient and commendable customs of the whole Christian Church; which all sober and judicious Christians are wont to look upon with meet respect and reverence.

And certainly, whosoever shall have set down this resolution with himself, to slight those either institutions or practices, which are derived to us from the primitive times, and have ever since been entertained by the whole Church of Christ upon earth, that

man hath laid a sufficient foundation of schism and dangerous singularity; and doth that which the most eminent of the fathers, St. Augustin, chargeth with no less than most insolent madness.

For me and my friend, God give us grace to take the advice which our Saviour gives to his spouse, to *go forth by the footsteps of the flock, and to feed our kids beside the shepherds' tents*, Can. i. 8; and to walk in the sure paths of uncorrupt antiquity.

For the celebration of the solemn feasts of our Saviour's nativity, resurrection, ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost, which you say is cried down by your zealous lecturer, one would think there should be reason enough in those wonderful and unspeakable benefits which those days serve to commemorate unto us.

For, to instance in the late feast of the nativity, when the angel brought the news of that blessed birth to the Jewish shepherds, *Behold*, saith he, *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day a Saviour.* If then the report of this blessing were the best tidings of the greatest joy that ever was, or ever could be possibly incident into mankind, why should not the commemoration thereof be answerable? Where we conceive the greatest joy, what should hinder us to express it in a joyful festivity?

But, you are taught to say, the day conferred nothing to the blessing; that every day we should, with equal thankfulness, remember this inestimable benefit of the incarnation of the Son of God, so as a set anniversary day is altogether needless.

Know then, and consider, that the all-wise God, who knew it fit that his people should every day think of the great work of the creation, and of the miraculous deliverance out of the Egyptian servitude, and should daily give honour to the almighty Creator and Deliverer, yet ordained one day of seven for the more special recognition of these marvellous works; as well knowing how apt we are to forget those duties wherewith we are only encharged in common, without the designment of a particular rememoration. Besides, the same reason will hold proportionably against any monthly or annual celebration whatsoever: the Jews should have been much to blame, if they had not every day thankfully remembered the great deliverance which God wrought for them from the bloody design of cruel Haman; yet it was thought requisite, if not necessary, that there should

be two special days of Purim set apart for the anniversary memorial of that wonderful preservation. The like may be said for the English Purim of our November: it is well if, besides the general tie of our thankfulness, a precise day ordained by authority can enough quicken our unthankful dullness to give God his own for so great a mercy: shall we say now, "It is the work of the year, what needs a day?" As therefore no day should pass over our head without a grateful acknowledgment of the great mystery of God incarnate; so withal the wisdom of the primitive church, no doubt by the direction of the Holy Ghost, hath pitched upon one special day wherein we should entirely devote our thoughts to the meditation of this work, which the angels of heaven cannot enough admire.

But you are told that perhaps we miss of the day, since the season is litigious, uncertain, unknown, and in likelihood other than our December; and that it is purposely not revealed, that it may not be kept.

As to the first, I deny not that the just day is not certainly known. The great Saviour of the world, that would have his second coming without observation going before it, would have his first coming without observation following it. He meant to come down without noise, without a recorded notice. Even in the second hundred (so ancient we are sure this festivity is) there was question and different opinions of the season; the just knowledge and determination whereof matters nothing at all to the duty of our celebration. Most sure we are that such a day there was; and no less sure that it was the happiest day that ever looked forth into the world. It is all one to us whether this day or that: we content ourselves with this, that it hath pleased the church for many hundred years to ordain this day for the commemoration of that transcendent blessing. What care we to stand upon those twelve hours that made up the artificial day wherein this wonderful work was wrought; which we are sure cannot but be much changed by so many intercalations? So long and constant a practice of the Christian church, upon so holy grounds, is no less warrant to us than if an angel from heaven should have revealed unto us the just hour of this blessed nativity.

As to the second, surely whosoever shall tell you that God did purposely hide this day from us that it might escape a celebration, as he concealed the burial of Moses to avoid the danger of an idolatrous adoration, makes himself a presumptuous commenter

upon the actions of the Almighty. Where did God tell him so? or what revelation can he pretend for so bold an assertion? If this were the matter, why then did not the same God with equal caution conceal the day of the passion, resurrection, ascension, of our blessed Saviour, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost? the observation of all which days is, with no less vehemence and upon the same danger, cried down by these scrupulous persons. Either therefore let him say that God would have these other feast-days observed because he would have them known to the world, or yield that he did not therefore conceal the day of the nativity of Christ because he would not have it observed.

But you hear it said, "There is popery and superstition in keeping that day."

Tell those that suggest so that they cast a foul slander upon the saints of God in the primitive times; upon the holy and learned fathers of the church, who preached and wrote for and kept the feast of Christ's nativity with sacred solemnity, many hundred years before popery was hatched: and that they little know what wrong they do to religion and themselves, and what honour they put upon that superstition which they profess to detest, in ascribing that to popery which was the mere act of holy and devout Christianity.

But to colour this plea, you are taught that the mystery of iniquity began early to work, even in the very apostolic times; and that antichrist did secretly put in his claw before his whole body appeared.

Surely there is singular use wont to be made of this shift, by those which would avoid the countenance of all primitive authority, to any displeasing (however lawful and laudable) institutions and practices. So the anabaptist tells us that the baptizing of children is one of the timely workings of the mystery of iniquity; so the blasphemous Nearians of our time tell us that the mystery of the blessed trinity of Persons in the unity of one Godhead is but an ancient device of antichrist, working underhand before his formal exhibition. Every sect is apt to make this challenge; and therefore it behoves us wisely to distinguish betwixt those things which men did as good Christians and those which they did as engaged to their own private or to the more common interest of others. What advantage can we conceive it might be to antichrist, that Christ should have a day celebrated to the memory of his blessed birth, and that devout Christians should meet together in their

holy assemblies to praise God for the benefit of that happy incarnation? and what other effect could be expected from so religious a work but glory to God and edification to men? Who can suppose that the enemy of Christ should gain by the honour done to Christ? Away therefore with this groundless imagination; and let us be so popish, so superstitious, as those holy fathers and doctors of the primitive church, famous for learning and piety, who lived and died devout observers of this Christian festival.

But you are bidden to ask what warrant we find in the word of God, which is to be the rule of all our actions, for the solemn keeping of this day.

In answer you may, if you please, tell that questionist, that to argue from scripture negatively in things of this nature is somewhat untheological. Ask you him again, with better reason, what scripture he finds to forbid it: for if it be unlawful to be done which is not in God's word commanded, then much rather that which is not there forbidden cannot be unlawful to be done. General grounds of edification, decency, expedience, peaceable conformity to the injunctions of our spiritual governors, are in these cases more than enough to build our practice upon.

If it be replied, that we are enjoined six days to labour, and forbidden to observe days and times, as being a part of the Jewish pædagogue; two common pretences wherewith the eyes of the ignorant are wont to be bleared; know that, for the first it is not so much preceptive as permissive; neither was it the intention of the Almighty to intersperse the command of human affairs in the first table of his royal law, wherein himself and his service is immediately concerned. In such like expressions, *mayest* and *shalt* are equivalent, and promiscuously used. That instance is clear and pregnant, Gen. ii. 16. *The Lord,* saith the text, *commanded the man, saying, Eating thou shalt eat of every tree in the garden;* which our last version renders well to the sense, *Thou mayest freely eat of every tree in the garden.* And if the charge in that fourth commandment were absolute and peremptory, what human authority could dispense with those large shreds of time which are usually cut out of the six days for sacred occasions? What warrant could we have to intermit our work for a daily lecture, or a monthly fast, or for an anniversary fifth of November? And if notwithstanding this command of God it be allowed to be in the power of man, whether sovereign (as Constantine appropriated it) or spiritual, to ordain the setting apart of some

set parcels of time to holy uses, why should it be stuck at in the requiring and observing the pious and useful celebrity of this festival?

As for that other suggestion of the Apostle's taxation of observing days and times, any one that hath but half an eye may see that it hath respect to those Judaical holydays which were part of the ceremonial law, now long since out of date, as being of typical signification, and shadows of things to come. Should we therefore go about to revive those Jewish feasts, or did we erect any new day to an essential part of the worship of God, or place holiness in it as such, we should justly incur that blame which the Apostle casts upon the Galatian and Colossian false teachers. But to wrest this forbiddance to a Christian solemnity which is merely commemorative of a blessing received, without any prefiguration of things to come, without any opinion of holiness annexed to the day, is no other than an injurious violence.

Upon all this which hath been said, and upon a serious weighing of whatever may be further alleged to the contrary, I dare confidently affirm that there is no just reason why good Christians should not with all godly cheerfulness observe this, which that holy father styled the metropolis of all feasts. To which I add, that those which by their example and doctrine slight this day, causing their people to dishonour it with their worst clothes, with shops open, with servile works, stand guilty before God of an high and sinful contempt of that lawful authority under which they live; forasmuch as by the statutes of our land, made by the full concurrence of king and state, this day is commanded to be kept holy by all English subjects; and this power is backed by the charge of God, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.*

If now, after all this, I should let my pen loose to the suffragant testimonies, whether of antiquity or of modern divines and reformed churches, I should try your patience; and, instead of a letter, send you a volume.

Let it suffice that ever since the second hundred year after Christ this feast hath without contradiction obtained in the Church of God; and hath received many noble elogies and passionate enforcements from the learned and holy fathers of the church.

Amongst the rest, that of Gregory Nazianzen is so remarkable that I may not omit it; as that which sets forth the excess of

joyful respect wherewith the ancient Christians were wont to keep this day. "Let us," saith he[a], "celebrate this feast; not in a panegyrical but divine, not in a worldly but supersecular manner; not regarding so much ourselves or ours as the worship of Christ, &c. And how shall we effect this? Not by crowning our doors with garlands, nor by leading of dances, nor adorning our streets; not by feeding our eyes; not by delighting our ears with songs; not by effeminating our smell with perfumes; not with humouring our taste with dainties; not with pleasing our touch; not with silken and costly clothes, &c.; not with the sparkling of jewels; not with the lustre of gold; not with the artifice of counterfeit colours, &c.: let us leave these things to pagans for their pomps, &c. But we, who adore the Word of the Father, if we think fit to affect delicacies, let us feed ourselves with the dainties of the law of God, and with those discourses especially which are fitting for this present festival." So that learned and eloquent father to his auditors of Constantinople.

Whereto let me, if you please, have leave to add one or two practical instances.

One shall be of the good emperor Theodosius, lying now for eight months under the severe censure of bishop Ambrose. When the feast of the nativity drew near, what moan did that religious prince make to his courtiers, that he was by that resolute bishop shut out (for his blood-guiltiness) from partaking with the assembly in that holy service! and what importunate means did he make for his admission[b]! Had that gracious emperor been of the diet of these new divines, he would have slighted that repulse, and gladly taken this occasion of absence from that superstitious solemnity: or, had one of these grave monitors been at his elbow, he might have saved that pious prince the expense of many sighs and tears, which now he bestowed upon his abstention from that dearly affected devotion.

The other shall be an history of as much note as horror[c]; too clear a proof of the ancient celebration of this festival. It was under the tyranny of Dioclesian and his co-partner Maximinus, that twenty thousand Christians, which were met to celebrate the

[a] In his Oration upon the day of the Nativity of Christ. [*τοιγαροῦν ἑορτάζωμεν μὴ πανηγυρικῶς ἀλλὰ θεικῶς, μὴ κοσμικῶς ἀλλ' ὑπερκοσμίως* &c. Orat. 38. Opp. Paris, 1630. t. i. p. 614.]

[b] Histor. Tripartitæ. l. ix. c. 30. [Niceph. Eccl. Hist. l. xii. c. 41. Paris, 1630. t. ii. p. 317.]

[c] Nicephor. l. vii. c. 6. [Ut sup. t. i. p. 447.]

feast of this blessed nativity in the large church of Nicomedia, were made an holocaust; and burnt, together with that goodly fabric, to ashes, on that day. Lo, so great a multitude as twenty thousand Christians, of all ages, of both sexes, had not thus met together in the time of so mortal a danger to celebrate this feast, if the holy zeal of their duty had not told them they ought to keep that day which these novellers teach us to contemn. Now let these bold men see of how contrary a disposition they are to these blessed martyrs, which as this day sent up their souls like to Manoah's angel to heaven in those flames.

After thus much said I should be glad to know, since reason there can be none, what authority induces these gainsayers to oppose so ancient and received a custom in the Church of God.

You tell me of a double testimony cited to this purpose.

The one, of Socrates the historian; which I suppose is fetched out of his fifth book of Ecclesiastical Story, chap. xxi; where, upon occasion of the feast of Easter, he passeth his judgment upon the different nature of all those ancient feasts which were of use in the primitive times; showing that the apostles never meant to make any law for the keeping of festival days, nor imposed any mulct upon the not keeping them, but left men to the free observation thereof. For answer whereunto I do not tell you that this author is wont to be impeached of Novatianism, and therefore may seem fit to yield patronage to such a client: I rather say that, take him at the worst, he is no enemy to our opinion or practice. We agree with him, that the apostles would have men free from the servitude of the Jewish observation of days; that they enacted no law for set festivals, but left persons and places so to their liberty in these cases, that none should impose a necessity upon other. This were to be pressed upon a Victor, bishop of Rome, who violently obtruded a day for the celebration of Easter upon all churches; supposing, in the meanwhile, an Easter universally kept of all Christians, though not on the same day. This makes nothing against us, who place no holiness in the very hours, nor plead any apostolical injunction for days, nor tie any person or church to our strict calendar; but only hold it fit, out of our obedience to the laws both of our church and kingdom, to continue a joyful celebration of a memorial day to the honour of our blessed Saviour.

But that other authority, which you tell me was urged to this purpose, I confess doth not a little amaze me. It was, you say,

of king James, our learned sovereign of late and blessed memory, whose testimony was brought in before the credulous people, not without the just applause of a Solomonlike wisdom, as crying down these festivals; and in a certain speech of his, applauding the purity of the church of Scotland above that of Geneva, for that it observed not the common feasts of Christ's nativity and resurrection, &c. Is it possible that any mouth could name that wise and good king in such a cause, whom all the world knows to have been as zealous a patron of those festivals as any lived upon earth? And if he did let fall any such speech before he had any down upon his chin, and whilst he was under the ferule, what candour is it to produce it now, to the contradiction of his better experience and ripest judgment? Nay, is it not famously known, that it was one of the main errands of his journey into his native kingdom of Scotland, to reduce that church unto a conformity to the rest of the churches of Christendom, in the observation of these solemn days? and to this purpose was it not one of the main businesses which he set on work in the assembly at Perth, and wherein he employed the service of his worthy chaplain, Dr. Young, dean of Winchester, to recall and reestablish these festivals[d]? And accordingly, in pursuance of his majesty's earnest desire this way, was it not enacted in that assembly, that the said feasts should be duly kept? Doubtless it was, and that not without much wise care and holy caution: which Act, because it cannot be had everywhere, and is well worthy of your notice, and that which clears the point in hand, I have thought good here to insert.

The tenor of it therefore is this:—

"As we abhor the superstitious observation of festival days by the papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuse thereof by the common sort of professors; so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ's birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost, was commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole church of the world, and may be also now: therefore the assembly ordains that every minister shall, upon these days, have the commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent texts of scripture, and frame their doctrine and exhortation

[d] One of the Five Articles of Perth.

thereto, and rebuke all superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof."

I could, if it were needful, give you other proofs of king James's zeal for these days: but what, should I spend time in proving there is a sun in the heaven, and light in that sun? The name of that great king suffereth for his excess this way.

Shortly then, the Church of God, his anointed, law, antiquity, reason, are for us in this point, and I doubt not but you will gladly be on their side. Away with all innovations and frivolous quarrels: we were divided enough before, and little needed any new rents. The God of peace quiet all these distempers, and unite our hearts one to another, and all to himself!

Farewell, in the Lord.

CERTAIN

IRREFRAGABLE PROPOSITIONS,

WORTHY OF

SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

BY J. H., B. OF EXON.

TO MY DREAD SOVEREIGN,

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

[CHARLES I.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

As one whose heart, amongst many thousands, bleeds with the sad thoughts of the woful divisions of our dear fellow-subjects, and unfeignedly pities the misguidance of those poor well-meaning souls amongst them whose credulity hath heedlessly betrayed them into a zealous error, I have let fall these few propositions, which I have presumed to set down, not as in the way of a challenger; for most if not all of them are such as be not capable of contradiction; but rather of a faithful remembrancer to my dear brethren, of those points which they cannot but know and yield: as well supposing that nothing but mere want of consideration can be guilty of this perilous distraction in them, who profess to love their king and the truth.

Now the good God of heaven open the eyes and hearts of us all, that we may both see and be sensible of the invaluable blessing of our peace, and the happy freedom of his gospel, which we do comfortably enjoy under your majesty's sweet and religious government, to the wonder and envy of all other nations; and compose the hearts of all your native subjects to meet your majesty's most gracious indulgence with all humble thankfulness!

And the same God forbid that any of us should be weary of our happiness, and be drawn to do any act that may, before all the world, pour shame upon our holy profession! whose chief glory it hath always hitherto been, to render us still LOYAL and OBEDIENT; and in this very regard to triumph over the false religion of our opposites.

Such shall be ever the prayers of

Your majesty's most humble
and faithful subject,
and ancientest chaplain,
JOSEPH EXON.

SEVEN

IRREFRAGABLE PROPOSITIONS,

CONCERNING

OATHS AND COVENANTS.

---

1. No man may swear, or induce another man to swear, unlawfully.

2. It is no lawful oath that is not attended with *truth*, *justice*, and *judgment*, Jer. iv. 2: the first whereof requires that the thing sworn be true; the second, that it be just; the third, that it be not undue and unmeet to be sworn and undertaken.

3. A promissory oath which is to the certain prejudice of another man's right cannot be attended with justice.

4. No prejudice of another man's right can be so dangerous and sinful as that prejudice which is done to the right of public and sovereign authority.

5. The right of sovereign authority is highly prejudiced, when private subjects encroach upon it, and shall, upon suspicion of the disavowed intentions or actions of their princes, combine and bind themselves to enact, establish, or alter any matters concerning religion, without, and therefore much more if against, the authority of their lawful sovereign.

6. A man is bound in conscience to reverse and disclaim that which he was induced unlawfully to engage himself by oath to perform.

7. No oath is or can be of force, that is made against a lawful oath formerly taken: so as he that hath sworn allegiance to his sovereign, and thereby bound himself to maintain the right,

power, and authority of his said sovereign, cannot by any second oath be tied to do aught that may tend to the infringement thereof: and if he have so tied himself, the obligation is, *ipso facto*, void and frustrate.

COROLLARY.

If, therefore, any sworn subject shall, by pretences and persuasions, be drawn to bind himself by oath or covenant, to determine, establish, or alter any act concerning matter of religion, without or against the allowance of sovereign authority, the act is unlawful and unjust; and the party so engaged is bound in conscience to reverse and renounce his said act: otherwise, besides the horrible scandal which he shall draw upon religion, he doth manifestly incur the sin of the breach of the third and fifth commandments.

TWO, AS UNDOUBTED,

PROPOSITIONS,

CONCERNING

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

---

1. No man living, no history, can show any well-allowed and settled national church in the whole Christian world, that hath been governed otherwise than by bishops, in a meet and moderate imparity, ever since the times of Christ and his apostles, until this present age.

2. No man living, no record of history, can show any lay-presbyter, that ever was in the whole Christian Church until this present age.

COROLLARY.

If men would as easily learn as Christian wisdom can teach them, to distinguish betwixt callings and persons, betwixt the substance of callings and the not-necessary appendances of them, betwixt the rules of government and the errors of execution, these ill-raised quarrels would die alone.

Da Pacem, Domine.

AMEN.

J. E.

EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT, ASSERTED.

BY JOS. BISHOP OF EXETER.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

OUR MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN LORD,

CHARLES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,

KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

WHEN, about a year ago, I presumed to tender to your royal hands some few short propositions concerning church government, I little thought that either the public or my own diocesan occasions would have called on me for so large and speedy a pursuance of them as now I am invited unto.

Episcopacy, since that time, hath suffered in the north, even to the height of patience; and I have met with some affronts within my own jurisdiction.

All evils, especially those of schism, are, as the plague, very catching, and do much mischief both in their act and the spreading. It was therefore time for me to bend my best endeavours, both to the remedy of what had happened in mine own diocese, and prevention of what future mischief might ensue.

And long I sat down and waited for the undertaking of some abler pen; but seeing such a silence in so needful a subject, as one that might not be too long wanting, either to the vindication of the common cause or the safety of my own charge, I have thus boldly rushed forth into the press.

I cannot be so weakly inconsiderate as to think that I could put my finger into this fire and not be scorched. I do well know, never any man touched upon this quarrel who was not branded with the deepest censure. Yet I do willingly sacrifice myself herein to God and his truth.

I confess my heart burns within me, to see a righteous cause thus martyred through unjust prejudice; and to see some honest and well-minded Christians misled into a palpable error, under the pretence of zeal and piety, by the mere names of two or three late authors, not more learned and godly than in this point grossly mistaken.

If your majesty's great cares of state could part with so much leisure as to peruse this short but faithful relation of the first ground and original of this unhappy division in the Church, it might please your majesty to be informed that, when Petrus Balma, the last bishop of Geneva, was by his mutinying citizens frighted and driven out of his place, and that church was now left headless, Farell and Viret, two zealous preachers there, devised and set up a new platform of church government, never before heard of in the Christian world. Themselves would supply the bishop; and certain burgesses of the city should supply his assistant clergy; and both these together would make up the body of an ecclesiastical senate or consistory.

This strange bird, thus hatched by Farell and Viret, was afterwards brooded by two more famous successors: and all this within the compass of our present age.

Now had this form, being at first devised only out of need for a present shift, contained itself within the compass of the banks of the Leman lake, it might have been there retained, with either the connivance or pity of the rest of the Christian world: but now, finding itself to grow in some places, through the fame of the abettors, into request and good success, it hath taken the boldness to put itself forth to the notice and approbation of some neighbour churches.

And some there are, which I bless myself to see, that have taken such liking to it, that they have affected a voluntary conformity thereunto; and, being weary of that old form of administration which hath without contradiction continued in the whole Christian Church from the times of the blessed apostles of Christ inclusively until this present age, are not only eager, out of their credulity, to erect this new frame, but dare venditate it to the world, after fifteen hundred years' deep silence, for the very ordinance and kingdom of Christ: whereas, if any living man can show any one lay-presbyter that ever was in the Christian world, till Farell and Viret first created him, let me forfeit my reputation to shame, and my life to justice.

This is the true ground of this woful quarrel. Wherein I cannot but heartily pity the misguidance of many well-meaning souls of your majesty's subjects, which are impetuously carried away in the throng by the mere sway of names and tyranny of an ignorant zeal; not being so much as suffered to know where they are, or on what ground they go: the fervent desire of whose reclamation, as of the settlement of others, whom the ill condition of the time might cause to stagger, hath put my pen upon this envious but necessary task.

Whereto also my zeal was the more stirred by an information which I received

from the late meeting at Edinburgh; in the eighth session whereof it is reported that one M. G. Grahame, bishop of Orkney, had openly, before the whole body of the assembly, renounced his episcopal function, and craved pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed some heinous offence. This uncouth act of his was more than enough to inflame any dutiful son of the church, and to occasion this my ensuing most just expostulation.

Only I had need to crave pardon of your majesty, for the boldness of this interpellation; that I have dared to move your majesty to descend so low as to take view of this on my part so confidently undertaken duel. Although, if the combatants be single, yet the cause is so common, as that the whole Church of God claims her interest in it.

But your majesty's long-known goodness encourages me to this presumption. And withal, I could not but have some due regard to that right and propriety which your majesty may justly challenge in all the labours of this kind, from whose pen soever, as being under God appointed the great patron of all divine truths, the great guardian and protector of these parts of his Church upon earth, whose true, ancient, and apostolical government is here questioned, and whose deserved devotions and faithful prayers shall be continually poured out to the God of heaven for your majesty's long and happy preservation; amongst which shall be duly paid the daily tribute of

Your majesty's most humble,
loyal, and zealously devoted
subject and servant,

[1639.] JOS. EXON.

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EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT.

INTRODUCTION.

Sect. I.—*An expostulatory entrance into the question.*

Good God! what is this that I have lived to hear? That a bishop, in a Christian assembly, should renounce his episcopal function, and cry mercy for his now abandoned calling!

Brother that was, whoever you be, I must have leave awhile to contest seriously with you. The act was yours; the concernment the whole church's. You could not think so foul a deed could escape unquestioned. The world never heard of such a penance: you cannot blame us if we receive it both with wonder and expostulation, and tell you it had been much better to have been unborn than to live to give so heinous a scandal to God's church, and so deep a wound to his holy truth and ordinance. If Tweed, that runs between us, were an ocean, it could not either drown or wash off our interest or your offence. However you may be applauded for the time by some ignorant and partial abettors, wiser posterity shall blush for you, and censure you too justly for some kind of apostasy. Sure I am you have done that to yourself, which, if your presbytery had done to you, would have been, in the construction of the great council of Chalcedon, no other than sacrilege[a].

For me, I am now breathing towards the end of my race. The goal is already in mine eye. Young men may speak, out of ambitious hopes or passionate transportations: I, that am now setting foot over the threshold of the house of my age, what aim can I have, but of the issue of my last account, whereto I am ready to

[a] Concil. Chalced. of 150 bishops, Can. 29. *ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστι* [*ἐστιν* Routh].

be the summoned before the Judge of quick and dead? Neither can you look, as is likely, to be long after me. Setting therefore that awful tribunal, to which we shall shortly be presented, before our eyes, let us reason the case in a modest earnestness.

I should be ashamed to find less zeal in myself for holy episcopacy than you think you have showed in disclaiming it. Say therefore, I beseech you, before God and his elect angels, say what it is, (besides perhaps the fear of plundering a fair temporal estate by the furious multitude;) say what it can be that induced you to this sinful, to this scandalous repentance: show me true grounds, and take me with you. How weary should I be of this rochet, if you can show me that episcopacy is of any less than divine institution! The eminence of that calling, which you have given up as too good for you, will not allow you (though perhaps you might) to plead ignorance. Win him by your powerful arguments, who is so far from being wedded to the love of this misconceived pomp that he envies the sweet peace of his inferiors.

Let me tell you, it is your person that aggravates your crime. For a sheep to stray it is no wonder; but for a shepherd, yea a guide and director of shepherds, (such God and the church had made you,) not to wander himself only, but to lead away his flock from the green pastures and comfortable waters of divine truth, to the dry and barren deserts of human inventions, it cannot be but as shameful as it is dangerous; both in an high degree. That some poor seduced souls of your ignorant vulgar should condemn that calling, which they were never suffered to look at but with prejudicate eyes; or that some of your higher-spirited clergy, out of an ambition of this dignity, and anger of the repulse, should snarl at this denied honour; or that some of your great ones, who perhaps do no less love the lands than they envy and hate the preeminence of bishops, should cry down that sacred function; could be no other than might, in times so conditioned, be expected, and by fore-expectation made the more tolerable: but, for a man held once worthy to be graced with the chair of episcopacy to spurn down that once-honourable seat, and to make his very profession a sin, is so shameful an indignity, as the judicious of the succeeding ages will shake their heads at, and not mention without just indignation.

If you were guilty to yourself of any noted personal exorbitances, or of any insolencies, or offensive miscarriages in your

ill-placed government, such perhaps as have enraged your angry vulgar, these had been just matter of your humble penitence, and worthy of your most submiss deprecation: but to repent you of a most lawful, honourable, holy, divine vocation, and thereby to cast mire in the faces of the blessed apostles, who received it from their God and Saviour, and by the guidance of his Spirit ordained it, is such an act as can scarce be expiated with floods of overlatest tears.

Come then, I beseech you, and let us, in the fear of God, reason sadly together: not in a vain affectation of victory, like some young sophisters; but as sober divines, in a fervent pursuit of that truth which God and his purer church have left and consigned to us.

That God, who is the Father of lights and the God of truth and peace, enlighten the eyes of his poor seduced people, that they may see and acknowledge his truth; not suffering themselves to be blinded with unjust prejudices and false suggestions; and that they may know those things which belong to their peace!

Sect. II.—*The difference of the condition of Foreign Churches and Divines, from those of our Northern Neighbours.*

But first, ere we enter these lists, let me advise you and your now-master the faction, not to deceive yourselves vainly with the hope of hiding your heads under the skirt of the authority of those divines and churches abroad which retain that form of government whereto you have submitted.

For know, their case and yours is far enough different. They plead to be, by a kind of necessity, cast upon that condition, which you have willingly chosen. They were not, they could not be, what you were and might still have been. Did any of them forsake and abjure that function of episcopacy, which he might freely have enjoyed with the full liberty of professing the reformed religion? It is true many bishops have been faulty in their own persons, and condemned too justly of exorbitance in managing their calling; but where the calling is, as it should be, severed from these exceptions to the person, did ever any wise man or Christian church condemn that calling for itself?

Yea, if the last bishop of Geneva had become a protestant, and consented in matter of doctrine to Calvin, Farell, Viret, have you or any man living just cause to think that the city would not

gladly have retained his government still, and thought themselves happy under such a protection? Would they have ejected him as an enemy, whom they might have enjoyed as a patron? Would they have stood upon his episcopacy, while they had his concurrence in the truth of religion? No man that hath either brain or forehead will affirm it; since the world knows the quarrel was not at his dignity, but at his opposition to the intended reformation.

But because this is only a suggestion of a then future conditionate contingency, and may perhaps meet with some stubborn contradiction, hear what Calvin himself saith, for himself and his copartners. "If they would," saith he[b], "bring unto us such an hierarchy, wherein the bishops shall so rule as that they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they depend upon him as their only head, &c.; then surely, if there shall be any that shall not submit themselves to that hierarchy, reverently and with the greatest obedience that may be, I confess there is no anathema of which they are not worthy." Thus he, in the treatise of the necessity of reforming the church.

Do you hear your doom from your own oracle? Lo, such, and no other, was that hierarchy wherein you lately bore a part, and which you have now condemned: make account, therefore, of the merit and danger of Calvin's just anathema.

Yet again, the same author, in his Confession of Faith, written in the name of all the French churches, speaking of the depraved estate of the Roman church, then in the *fieri* of reforming, plainly writes thus[c]; *Interea, tamen:* "Yet, in the meantime, we would not have the authority of the church, or of those pastors or superintendents to whom the charge of governing the church is committed, taken away. We confess, therefore, that these bishops or pastors are reverently to be heard, so far forth as according to their function they teach the word of God."

[b] Calvin. de Necessit. Eccles. Reformandæ.—Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant episcopi ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur, &c. tum, vero, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt, qui non eam reverenter summaque obedientia observant. [Calvin. Tract. Theol. Genev. 1597, p. 81.] Cited also, as approved, by Chamier. De Membris Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 1.

[c] Interea, tamen, ecclesiæ authoritatem, vel pastorum, et superintendentium, quibus ecclesiæ regendæ provincia mandata est, sublatam nolumus. Fatemur, ergo, episcopos sive pastores reverenter audiendos, quatenus pro suæ functionis ratione Verbum Dei docent. Confess. Fidei nomine Gall. Eccles. [Tract. Theol. ut sup. p. 127.]

And yet more plainly: "Certainly," saith he[d], speaking even of popish bishops, "if they were true bishops, I would yield them some authority in this case: not so much as themselves desire; but so much as is required to the due ordering of the policy or government of the church."

Lastly, for it were easy to heap up this measure, in an epistle of his, wherein the question is purposely discussed, What is to be done if a popish bishop shall be converted to the reformed religion? he so determines it; That it is fit such an one, first, renounce his popish power of sacrificing, and profess to abstain from all the superstitions and fœdities of the Romish religion; then, that he must do his utmost endeavour that all the churches which belong to his bishoprick may be purged from their errors and idolatry: and at last concludes that both his possessions and authority too should be left him; by virtue whereof he must take order that the ministers under him do duly preach God's word, as himself also must do. Thus he, wisely and moderately: not first of all stripping him of his episcopal power, and discharging all his clergy of their respects and obedience to him, and reducing him to the rank of the meanest plebeian presbyter, as some hot heads would have done.

You hear how judicious and moderate Calvin's opinion was then; and, had he been in your late pretended assembly at Glasgow, or this of Edinburgh, what vote he would have given. Had he had the casting voice, your coat had not been cast for him. How happy were it for your churches, if all among you who so much honour his name would as readily submit to this his judgment! Sure I am, had it been so with you, you had been as far from defying episcopacy in holy professors as you are now from truth and peace.

Sect. III.—*The Judgment of the German Reformers concerning the retaining of Episcopacy.*

And, that the French reformers may not herein be thought to go alone, take notice, I beseech you, what the German divines of the Augsburg Confession have freely professed to this purpose; who, taking occasion to speak of canonical ordination, break forth into these words following: *Sed episcopi, &c.*: "But the bishops," say they, "do either force our priests to disclaim

[d] Sane, si veri episcopi essent, aliquid eis in hac parte authoritatis tribuerem: non quantum sibi postulant; sed quantum ad politiam ecclesiæ rite ordinandam requiritur. Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 10. [Genev. 1592. fo. 241. b.]

and condemn this kind of doctrine which we have here confessed; or, by a certain new and unheard-of kind of cruelty, put the poor and innocent souls to death. These causes are they which hinder our priests from receiving their bishops; so as the cruelty of the bishops is the cause why that canonical government or policy which we earnestly desired to conserve[e], is in some places now dissolved." And not long after in the same chapter, *Prorsus hic iterum, &c.:* "And now, here again we desire to testify it (to the world) that we will willingly conserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government, if only the bishops will cease to exercise cruelty upon our churches. This our will shall excuse us before God, and before all the world unto all posterity: that it may not be justly imputed unto us that the authority of bishops is impaired amongst us; when men shall hear and read that we, earnestly deprecating the unjust cruelty of the bishops, could obtain no equal measure at their hands."

Thus those learned divines and protestants of Germany, wherein all the world sees the apologist professeth for them that they greatly desired to conserve the government of bishops; that they were altogether unwillingly driven from it; that it was utterly against their heart that it should have been impaired or weakened; that it was only the personal cruelty and violence of the Romish persecutors, in a bloody opposition to the doctrine of the gospel, which was then excepted against.

To the same purpose is that which Camerarius reports[f] concerning those two great lights of Germany, Melancthon and Luther; that Philip Melancthon, not only by the consent but the advice of Luther[g], persuaded the protestants of that time, that if bishops would grant free use of the true doctrine, their ordinary power and administration over their several dioceses should be restored unto them. And the same Melancthon, in an epistle to Luther[h], hath thus: "You do not believe in how great hatred I am, both with the Noricians, and I know not whom else, for restoring to the bishops their jurisdiction:" and, in a most true

[e] Quam nos magnopere conservare cupiebamus.

[f] Camer. in Vitâ Melancth. [Non modo astipulatore sed etiam autore ipso Lutero. Nimirum episcopi si concederent libertatem et usum puræ doctrinæ cœlestis veritatis secundum expositionem confessionis editæ ne recusaretur et denegaretur restitutio ordinariæ potestatis, &c. Vita Hag. Com. 1655. p. 124.]

[g] Who professeth also so much in the Smalcaldian Articles. Art. 10. [drawn up at Smalcald or Smalkalden by Luther in 1537, on occasion of a meeting of the Protestant Electors, Princes, and States at that place. See Mosheim. cent. XVI. sect. 3. part ii. c 1.]

[h] Melanct. Epist. Luthero.

censure, in his History of the Augustan Confession[i], *Hoc autem male habet quosdam immoderatiores, reddi jurisdictionem, restitui politiam ecclesiasticam;* "This," saith he, "troubles certain immoderate men, that jurisdiction is redelivered to the bishops, and their ecclesiastical policy restored."

As for Bucer, he is noted and confessedly acknowledged for a favourer of religious episcopacy[k].

See now, I beseech you, how willing these first reformers were to maintain and establish episcopal government; how desirous to restore it; how troubled that they might not continue it. Might they have enjoyed the gospel, they would have enjoyed episcopacy.

In whose steps then do you tread, while you defy it? Certainly, if the Genevan and German prelacy would have but tolerated a reformation of the papal corruptions, there had never been either a parity of ministers or a lay-presbyter in the world to this day.

Sect. IV.—*The Attestation of famous Divines abroad to our Episcopacy.*

What should I need to press you with those attestations of high respect which the most eminent divines of foreign churches have ever wont to give to our episcopacy?

To begin with Beza: though a truer back-friend to the hierarchy than his cooler predecessor, yet this he can say for ours[l]: "If now the reformed churches of England, under-propped with the authority of bishops and archbishops, do hold on [continue]; as this hath happened to that church in our memory, that she hath had men of that calling not only most notable martyrs of God but also excellent pastors and doctors; *Fruatur sane istâ singulari Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua:* Let her, in God's name, enjoy this singular bounty of God, which I wish she may hold for ever [may be perpetual unto her]."

As for learned and moderate Zanchius, he hath spent his judgment so freely on our part that he confesseth a certain great man, and we guess whom he means, took exceptions at his favour of episcopacy.

[i] Melanct. Camerario Hist. Confes. August. per Chytræum. [See Survey of Discipline, Lond. 1593. p. 116.]

[k] Buc. de Regno Christi. He that desires to see more testimonies of this kind, I refer him to the Survey of Discipl. chap. 8. [p. 115] ut supra.

[l] Beza. Resp. ad Sarav. p. 111. Vid. Surv. Discipl. p. 135. [ut supra.]

Let me, not without the professions of my dear respects to my ancient and worthy friend D. Molinæus, tell you what he heartily writes[m] to our late admirable bishop of Winchester, *Egone male vellem ordini vestro &c.:* "What! that I should have an ill conceit of your order, of which I never spake without honour! as who do well know, that the restoration of the English church and eversion of popery, next under God and your kings, is chiefly to be ascribed and owed to the learning and industry of your bishops; some whereof, being crowned with martyrdom, subscribed the gospel with their blood; whose writings we have; whose acts and zeal we record, as no whit inferior to the best of God's servants which France or Germany hath yielded: he that denies this is either wickedly foolish, or envious to the glory of God, &c."

What should I need to thicken the air with clouds of witnesses?

There is witness enough in the late synod of Dort. When the bishop of Landaff[n] had, in a speech of his, touched upon episcopal government, and showed that the want thereof gave opportunities to those divisions which were then on foot in the Netherlands; Bogermannus, the president of that assembly, stood up, and in a good allowance of what had been spoken said, *Domine, nos non sumus adeo felices:* "Alas! my Lord, we are not so happy." Neither did he speak this in a fashionable compliment: neither the person, nor the place, nor the hearers, were fit for that: but in a sad gravity, and conscionable profession of a known truth. Neither would he, being the mouth of that select assembly, have thought it safe to pass those words before the deputies of the states and so many venerable divines of foreign parts (besides their own), if he had not supposed this so clear a truth as that synod would neither disrelish nor contradict.

What do I single out a few? All the world of men, judicious and not prejudiced with their own interests, both do and must say thus; and confess, with learned Casaubon, Fregeville, and Saravia, that no church in the world comes so near to the apostolic form, as the Church of England.

And are you weary of that condition which other good and wise men proclaim happy? Do you dote upon that which they would be glad to change?

[m] P. Molin. Ep. 3. Reverendiss. Viro, Præsuli dignissimo, D. Episc. Winton. [Op. Lanc. Ep. Wint. Lond. 1679, p. 179.]

[n] [George Carleton, elected 1617.]

SECT. V.—*The particularity of the Difference in our Freedom, and the Benefit of a Monarchial Reformation.*

SAY now therefore no more that you have conformed yourselves to the pattern and judgments of some other reformed churches.

This starting-hole is too strait to hide you. We can at once tenderly respect them, and justly censure you.

Acts done out of any extremity can be no precedents for voluntary and deliberate resolutions. The mariner casts out his goods in a storm: would we censure him for less than a madman who should do thus in a calm, or in a fair gale? When a house is on fire in the city, we pull down the next roof, though firm and free, to prevent the spreading of the flame: would we not wonder at the man that should offer this violence to his neighbour's house when there is no appearance of danger? We cut off a limb to prevent the deadly malignity of a gangrene: is this any warrant to dismember the sound?

Right thus stands the case betwixt other churches and yours.

They found themselves in danger to be wrecked with the impetuous storms of popish tyranny; to be consumed with the flames of Romish persecution; to be struck dead with the killing gangrene of superstition. They saw, on the sudden perhaps, no other way left them for their freedom and safety, but to eject, pull down, cut off, the known instruments of that papal tyranny, persecution, infection; as without whose perfect exauthorization they could conceive no hope of enjoying the gospel and themselves. Neither could they find any glimpse of hope that the sovereign state under which they then lived, being governed by a superstitious clergy, would so far favour them as to allow them an episcopal government of their own profession, opposite to the overprevalent faction of Rome[o]. Hereupon, therefore, they were forced to discard the office as well as the men: but yet the office, because of the men; as popish, not as bishops: and to put themselves, for the present, into such a form of government, at a venture, as under which they might be sure, without violent interruption, to sow the seeds of the saving and sincere truth of the

[o] Non culpa vestra abesse *episcopatum*, sed injuria temporum: non, enim, tam propitios habuisse reges vestram Galliam in ecclesia reformanda, quam habuit Britannia nostra. Episc. Winton. Molinæo. Epist. 3. [Opusc. ut sup. p. 197.]

gospel[p]. Though, also, it is very considerable whether the condition they were in doth altogether absolutely warrant such a proceeding: for was it not so with us, after reformation was stept in, during those fiery times of queen Mary? Was it not so with you when those holy men, Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, sowed the first seeds of reformation among you in their own blood; with that spirit the Holy Ghost endued them, of patience and constancy, crowned with martyrdom; not of tumult and furious opposition, to the disquiet of the state and hazard of the Reformation itself, or to the abjuring and blaspheming of an holy order in the church, and dishonouring of Almighty God while they pretended to seek his honour?

This was their case; but what is this to yours?

Your church was happily gone out of Babylon. Your and our most gracious and religious sovereign sincerely professeth, maintaineth, encourageth the blessedly-reformed religion: his bishops preach for it, write for it; and profess themselves ready, after the example of their predecessors, to bleed for it. Your and our late learned and pious sovereign of blessed memory, with the general votes of a lawful assembly, reinforced that order of episcopacy which had been, as I take it, but about seventeen years discontinued.

And how can you now think of paralleling your condition with the foreign?

But, that you may not think that I speak at random and upon blind conjectures of the state of this difference, hear, I pray you, what wise Fregevillæus (a deep head, and one that was able to cut even betwixt the league, the church, and the state), saith concerning it. "The ministers of the Reformation," saith he[q], "which planted it [Reformation] in France, had respect to their business, and to the work they took in hand, when they brought in this equality; which was, to plant a church, and to begin after the manner of the apostles when they planted a church at Hierusalem. As also they meant not to reverse the state of the clergy, or to submit it to their orders whensoever the clergy or whole state of France should happen to admit reformation; but their purpose hath tended to overthrow superstition, and in the meantime to bear themselves according to their simple equality:

[p] Nisi eos coegerit dura necessitas, cui nulla lex est posita. Hadr. Sarav. Resp. ad Bez. de Grad. Ministr. Factum ecclesiarum reformatarum accipio et excuso; non incuso, nec exprobro. Ibid.

[q] Fregevil. Politique Reform. p. 70. of the translation into English. [p. 69.]

whereupon I infer, that he that would take occasion of this equality brought into France, to reverse the estate of the episcopal clergy among the reformed, should greatly wrong the cause of those who thereunder have reformed France, and had never that intent." Thus he. Whereto add, that the same author professeth that it is not the degrees of the clergy which the reformers except against, but the superstition. In the meantime he judiciously professeth that the French ministers have taken up this equality of government, only provisionally reserving liberty to alter it according to occurrences. To which purpose he projecteth to the French king the creation of one supreme bishop or patriarch of France, to whom the whole estate of the French clergy might upon fair terms be subjected.

Do you not now, in all this which hath been said, see a sensible difference betwixt their condition and yours? Can you choose but observe the blessing of monarchical reformation amongst us, beyond that popular and tumultuary reformation amongst our neighbours? ours a council, theirs an uproar; ours beginning from the head, theirs from the feet; ours proceeding in a due order, theirs with confusion; ours countenancing and encouraging the converted governors of the church, theirs extremely overawed with adverse power, or totally overborne with foul sacrilege: in a word, ours comfortably yielding what the true and happy condition of a church required, theirs hand-over-head taking what they could get for the present. And what now? shall we, instead of blessing God for our happiness, emulate the misery of those whom we do at once respect and pity?

Suppose the late kings and parliaments of France, before these separate forms of administration were pitched upon, would have said; "You of the reformed profession enjoy your religion freely; and if you think it more safe to live under church-governors of your own, let your clergy recommend unto us such grave and worthy persons as may be fit for those places, they shall forthwith be established over you, with full authority and just maintenance: would any of the learned divines of those times have slighted the offer, and have said, "By your leave, Sir, we like it not: we have other projects in hand: we will set up a new government that will better befit our purposes?" Certainly I should wonder at the man that should entertain such an impossible imagination of those wise and godly-learned professors, who were, by the iniquity of the times, in a manner forcibly driven,

at least as they imagined, upon this form, and necessarily put to this choice, whether they would still submit to popery, or no longer submit to episcopal administration which there was only managed by popish hands.

What need more words? Themselves have, as we have already seen, clearly decided it.

Go now and take these men and times for your patterns; who never meant to make themselves and their condition imitable precedents, but rather the objects of our better wishes. It was a modest word of Beza[r], That he never meant to prescribe the ecclesiastical policy of Geneva to other churches; for this were high presumption. And will you be prescribing to yourselves that which he would not prescribe to you? Will you create that to be an universal ordinance of God, which he dare not warrant for any other than a local constitution?

Neither is there a more sensible difference between the authority and success of a monarchical or popular reformation, than there is between the forms which are fit and expedient for large churches living under the sway of a monarch, and those which particular cities or territories may admit under a democratical or aristocratical government. "Hereupon," saith the reformed politic discreetly, "I do infer that, in the state of a mighty and peaceable church, as that of England, or as the church of France, or such like might be if God should call them to reformation, the state of the clergy ought to be preserved; for equality would be hurtful to the state, and in time breed confusion." Thus he.

And indeed, besides those holy and divine considerations whereof we shall treat in the sequel, it stands with great reason that there should be a correspondence betwixt the church and the state, and a meet respect to the rules of both. As therefore, because in a free city or state we find certain *optimates* who by successive elections sway the government according to their municipal rules, not without the assistance and consent of a greater number of plebeian burgesses; and see, perhaps, this form of administration in those places successful; it were a crime of strange brainsick giddiness, to say nothing of the heinous moral transgression, to cast off the yoke of just and hereditary monarchy, and to affect this *πολυκοιρανίαν*, "many-headed sovereignty:" so were it no less unreasonable, where a national

[r] Hadr. Sarav. Fregevil in Præf. ad Palmam Christ.

church is happily settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave overseers, ruling under one acknowledged sovereign, by wholesome and unquestionable laws, and by these laws punishable if they overlash or be defective in their charge; in a fastidious discontentment to seek to abandon this ancient form, and to betake themselves to a popular form of discipline borrowed from abroad, which, what were it other, than to snatch the reins out of the hands of a skilful coachman, and either to lay them loose on the horses' necks, or to deliver them to the hands of some ignorant and unskilful lackeys that run along by them? But of this point more elsewhere.

My zeal and my respects to the churches abroad, and my care and pity of many seduced souls at home, have drawn me on further in this discourse than I meant: for who can endure to see simple and well-meaning Christians abused with the false colour of conformity with other churches, when there is apparently more distance in the ground of their differences than in the places of their situation?

Be wise, my dear brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be cheated of the truth by the miszealous suggestions of partial teachers. Reserve your hearts free for the clearer light of scripture and right reason, which shall in this discourse offer to shine into your souls.

For you, sir, (*feu frère*) confess, unless you can in truth deny it, that you go alone; and that you have reason absolutely to quit all the hope of the patrocination of other churches which you might seem to challenge from their example and practice. For, now that I have got you alone, I shall be bold to take you to task; and do, in the name of almighty God, vehemently urge and challenge you to maintain, if by any skill or pretence you may, your own act of the condemnation of episcopacy, and your penitent submission to a presbyterial government. Wherein I doubt not but I shall convince you of a high and irreparable injury done by you to God, his ordinance, and his church.

SECT. VI.—*The Project and Substance of the Treatise following.*

For the full and satisfactory performance whereof I shall only need to make good these two main points.

First, That episcopacy, such as you have renounced, even that which implies a fixed superiority over the rest of the clergy and jurisdiction, is not only an holy and lawful, but a divine institu-

tion, and therefore cannot be abdicated without a manifest violation of God's ordinance.

Secondly, That the presbyterian government, so constituted as you have now submitted to it, (however venditated under the glorious names of Christ's kingdom and ordinance, by those specious and glozing terms to bewitch the ignorant multitude, and to ensnare their consciences,) hath no true footing, either in scripture or the practice of the church, in all ages from Christ's time to the present.

That I may clearly evince these two main points, wherein indeed consists the life and soul of the whole cause, I shall take leave to lay down certain just and necessary Postulata as the groundworks of my ensuing proofs; all which are so clear and evident, that I would fain suppose neither yourself nor any ingenuous Christian can grudge to yield them: but if any man will be so stiff and close fisted as to stick at any of them, they shall be easily wrung out of his fingers by the force of reason and manifest demonstration of truth.

THE FIRST GROUND OR POSTULATE.

SECT. VII.—*That Government whose foundation is laid by Christ, and whose fabric is raised by the Apostles, is of Divine institution.*

THE first whereof shall be this: That government, whose ground being laid by our Saviour himself, was afterwards raised by the hands of his apostles, cannot be denied to be of Divine institution.

A proposition so clear, that it were an injury to go about to prove it.

He cannot be a Christian who will not grant that, as in Christ, the Son of God, the Deity dwelt bodily; so in his servants also and agents under him, the apostles, the Spirit of the same God dwelt; so as all their actions were God's by them. Like as it is the same spring-water that is derived to us by the conduit-pipes; and the same sun-beams which pass to us through our windows.

Some things they did as men; actions natural, civil, moral: these things were their own; yet they, even in them, no doubt

were assisted with an excellent measure of grace. But those things which they did as messengers from God (so their names signify), these were not theirs but his that sent them.

An ambassador dispatcheth his domestical affairs as a private man; but when he treats or concludes matters of state in his prince's name, his tongue is not his own, but his master's. Much more is it so in this case, wherein, besides the interest, the agents are freed from error. The carefullest ambassador may perhaps swerve from his message: these, which was one of the privileges of the apostles, were through the guidance of God's Spirit in the acts of their function inerrable.

So then, if the foundation were laid by Christ, and the walls built up by his apostles, the fabric can be no less than divine.

THE SECOND GROUND.

SECT. VIII.—*That the practice and recommendation of the apostles is sufficient warrant for an apostolical institution.*

Secondly, it must also be granted, That not only the government which was directly commanded and enacted, but that which was practised and recommended by the apostles to the church, is justly to be held for an apostolical institution.

In eminent and authorised persons even examples are rules; much more in so sacred.

Neither did the Spirit of God confine itself to words, but expressed itself also in the holy actions of his inspired servants. As Chrysostom therefore truly said, that our Saviour did not only speak but work parables; so may we say here, that the apostles did not only enact, but even act laws for his holy church.

And this is learned Calvin's determination about imposition of hands. "Although," saith he[a], "there is no certain precept concerning imposition of hands, yet, because we see it was in perpetual use with the apostles, their so accurate observation of it ought to be unto us instead of a command:" and therefore, soon after he affirms plainly, that this ceremony proceeded from the Holy Ghost himself. And in the foregoing chapter, speaking of the distribution of pastors to their several charges, he saith, *Nec humanum est inventum, &c:* "It is no human device, but the institution of God himself; for we read that Paul and Barna-

[a] Licet autem nullum extat [certum] præceptum de manuum impositione, &c. —Calv. l. iv. Instit. c. 3. s. 16. [Genev. 1692. p. 218.]

bas ordained presbyters in all the churches of Lystra, Antioch, Iconium." And that direction, which the great apostle of the Gentiles gave to Timothy, was, as Calvin truly, *Mandati nomine*, "in the name and nature of a command."

And what else, I beseech you, would the rigid exactors of the over-severe and Judaical observation of the Lord's day, as an evangelical sabbath, seem to plead for their warrant, were they able to make it good any way, but the guise and practice of the apostles? Precept certainly there is none, either given or pretended.

Thus the bitter Tileno-mastix can say [b], "There was a double discipline of the apostles, *Docens* and *Utens*: in the first they gave precepts to the church and her governors; in the second, their practice prescribes their government; although," as he adds without book, "not without the church's own consultation and consent:" which, if it be granted, makes the more for us, who ever since we were a church have consented to the apostles' practice, and constantly used the same.

What do I stand upon this? They are the words of Cartwright himself: *αὐτος ἔφη*. "The example of the apostles, and general practice of the churches under their government, draweth a necessity."

THE THIRD GROUND.

SECT. IX.—*That the Forms ordained for the Church's administration by the apostles were for universal and perpetual use.*

Thirdly, it is no less evident that the form which the apostles set and ordained for the governing of the church, was not intended by them for that present time or place only, but for continuance and succession for ever.

For no man I suppose can be so weak as to think that the rules of the apostles were personal, local, temporary; as some dials or almanacs that are made for some special meridians; but as their office and charge, so their rules, were universal to the whole world, as far and as long as the world lasteth [c]. For, what reason is there that Crete or Ephesus should be otherwise provided for than all the world besides? Or what possibility to

[b] Paracles. l. i. c. 4.

[c] Præcepta ipsa disciplinæ omnibus in futurum Ecclesiis, dictante Sp. Sancto, tradiderunt.—Sco. Wy. Paracles. l. i. c. 4.

think that those first planters of the gospel should leave all the rest of Christ's church, as the ostrich doth her eggs in the dust, without any further care?

The extent and duration of any rule will best be measured, as by the intention of the author, so by the nature and use of it.

St. Paul's intention is clearly expressed for a continuance *until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1 Tim. vi. 14.

As for the nature of the several directions, they carry perpetuity and universality of use in the face of them; there being the same reason of their observation, by all persons concerned, and in all times and places. Why should not every bishop be as unreprovable as a Cretian or an Ephesian? Why should an accusation be received against an elder upon more slender evidence in one place than another? Why should there not be the same courses taken for ordination and censure in all ages and churches, since the same things must of necessity be done everywhere, in all ages and churches?

But why should I strive for a granted truth? for it is plain that the isle of Crete and Ephesus were but the patterns of other churches, and Timothy and Titus of other faithful overseers.

If therefore it shall appear that episcopacy, so stated as we have expressed, was in these persons and churches ordered and settled by apostolical direction, it must necessarily be yielded to be of apostolic, and therefore Divine institution.

THE FOURTH GROUND.

SECT. X.—*That the universal practice of the Church immediately succeeding the apostolic times, is a sure commentary upon the practice of the Apostles, and our best direction.—The two famous rules of Tertullian and St. Augustin to this purpose asserted.*

Fourthly, I must challenge it for a no less undoubted truth, that the universal practice of the church immediately succeeding the apostles, is the best commentary upon the practice of the apostles; and, withal, that the universal practice of God's church in all ages and places is, next unto God's word, the best guide and direction for our carriages and forms of administration.

The copartners and immediate successors of those blessed men could best tell what they next before them did; for who can better tell a man's way or pace than he that follows him close at the heels? And if particular men or churches may mistake, yet

that the whole church of Christian men should at once mistake that which was in their eye, it is far more than utterly improbable. A truth, which it is a wonder any sober Christian should boggle at. Yet such there are, to our grief, and to the shame of this late giddy age; even the great guides of their faction.

Our mislearned countryman Parker, the second *ignis fatuus* of our poor misled brethren, and some seconds of his, stand peremptorily and highly upon the denial. "It is false," saith he[d], "that the universal practice of the church is sufficient to prove anything to be of apostolic original." And jeeringly soon after, *Universa ecclesiæ praxis, et consensus patrum, unica hierarchicorum Helena est*[e]: "The universal practice of the church, and consent of fathers," saith he, "is the only darling of the abettors of the hierarchy. But the practice of the church immediately after the apostles is no evidence."

Hear now, I beseech you, my dear brethren, all ye who would pretend to any Christian ingenuity, and consider whether you have not reason to distrust such a leader as would persuade you to slight and reject the testimony and practice of the whole church of God upon earth, from the first plantation of it to this present age, and to cast yourselves upon the private opinions of himself and some few other men of yesterday. Surely, in very matter of doctrine, this could be no other than deeply suspicious, than foully odious. If no man before Luther and Calvin had excepted against those points wherein we differ from Rome, I should have hated to follow them: how much more must this needs hold in matter of fact!

Judge what a shame it is, to hear a Christian divine carelessly shaking off all arguments drawn from antiquity, continuance, perpetual succession in and from apostolic churches, unanimous consent, universal practice of the church, immediate practice of all the churches succeeding the apostles, as either popish or nothing: and all these are acknowledged for our grounds, and are not popish!

For me, I profess I could not, without blushing and astonishment, read such stuff; as confounded in myself to see that any son of the church should be not only so rebelliously unnatural to his holy mother as to broach so putrid a doctrine, to her utter disparagement, but so contumelious also to the Spirit of God in his providence for the dear spouse of his Saviour here upon earth!

[d] Falsum [igitur (quod Augustinus) universam ecclesiæ praxim sufficere ut quid probetur apostolicum esse].—Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 7. [e] Ibid.

Holy Irenæus, I am sure, was of another mind. *Agnitio vera*, saith he[f]: "The true acknowledgment is the doctrine of the apostles, *et antiquus ecclesiæ status*, and the ancient state of the church in the whole world, by the succession of bishops to whom the apostles delivered the church which is in every place." And then, while we have both these, the doctrine of the apostles, seconded by the ancient state of the church, who can outface us?

What means then this wilful and peevish stupidity? *Nihil pro apostolico habendum:* "Nothing," saith Parker[g], "is to be held for apostolic, but that which is found recorded in the writings of the apostles." Nothing? Was all registered by themselves which we must believe they did or enacted? For doctrine necessary for salvation we are for him; but surely for evidence of fact or ritual observation, this is no better than absurd rigour, than unchristian incredulity. Where is there express charge for the Lord's day? where for pædobaptism? where for public churches? where for texts to be handled in sermons? where for public prayers of the church before and after them; and many such like, which yet we think deducible from those sacred authorities?

That is true of Jerome[h]: *Quæ, absque authoritate, &c.:* "Those things which men either find or feign as delivered by apostolic tradition, without the authority and testimonies of scripture, are smitten by the sword of God's Spirit." But what is this to us, who find this which we challenge for apostolical recorded in the written word of God? or with what conscience is this alleged against us, which is directly bent against the heretical doctrines and traditions of the Marcionites, either utterly without or expressly against the scripture?

Sect. XI.—*The two famous rules of Tertullian and St. Augustine to this purpose asserted.*

I may not balk two pregnant testimonies of the fathers, wherewith this great antihierarchist and his northern ὑπερασπιστής is as much and justly troubled as our cause is advantaged; not so much because they are the sentences of ancient fathers, which they have learned to turn off at pleasure with scorn enough, as

[f] Iren. l. iv. contr. Hæres. [c. 63. Basil. 1526. p. 269.]

[g] Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 7.

[h] Hieron. tom. vi. in Agge. i. [Paris 1704. t. iii. p. 1690.]

for that they carry in them such clearness and strength of reason as will not admit of any probable contradiction.

The former is that of Tertullian[i]: *Constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum:* "That shall clearly appear to be delivered by the apostles, which shall have been religiously observed in the churches of the apostles." What evasion is there of so evident a truth? "Meseems," saith Parker[j], "that Tertullian understands only those churches which were in the very time of the apostles, not the subsequent; for he saith not *quod est*, but *quod fuerit;* and thus it may be held true." But this is to mock himself and those that trust him, and not to answer all the father's testimony. The question must be, what in Tertullian's time should be held to have been apostolic; and therefore he saith *constabit*, not *constitit:* now, if he shall speak to Parker's sense, he shall say, "That which was religiously kept in the churches planted by the apostles, and in their own time, is to be held apostolic." What is the reader ever the wiser; since it were equally hard to know what their churches then did, and what they themselves ordained to be done, were it not for the continued tradition and practice descending from them to the succeeding ages? so as either they must trust the churches then present for the deduction of such truth, or else nothing would be proved apostolic. Neither is there anything more familiar with the fathers than to term those the churches of the apostles, even for some hundreds of years after their decease, wherein they after some residence had established a government for future succession; which had *αὐθεντίαν ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς*, as Synesius speaketh; as it were too easy to instance in a thousand particularities. Yea, that it may appear how Parker shuffles here, against his own knowledge, there is a flat mention of the churches after the time of St. John, the longest liver of all that holy train, which he calls *Joannis alumnas ecclesias*[k]. So as this of Parker's is a miserable shift, and not an answer.

The other is that famous place of St. Augustin against the Donatists, agitated by every pen: *Quod universa &c.:* "That which is held by the universal church, and not ordained by any council, but hath been always retained in the church, is most truly believed to be delivered by no other than apostolical au-

[i] Tertull. contr. Marcion. l. iv. [c. 5. Paris 1675. p. 415.]

[j] Ubi supra.

[k] Tert. l. iv. contr. Marc. c. 5. [ibid.]

thority:" which Parker sticks not to profess the Achillæan argument of the hierarchists.

Neither have they any cause to disclaim it: the authority of the man is great, but the power of his reason more. For that which obtaineth universally must either have some force in itself to command acceptation, or else must be imposed by some overruling authority: and what can that be but either of the great princes (as they are anciently called) of the church, the holy apostles, or of some general councils, as may authoritatively diffuse it through all the world? If then no councils have decreed the observation of an ordinance, whence should an universal, not reception only, but retention proceed, save from apostolic hands? No cause can work beyond his own sphere: private power cannot exceed its own compass.

Let not any adversary think to elude this testimony with the upbraiding to it the patronage of the popish opinion concerning traditions. We have learned to hate their vanities, and yet to maintain our own truths without all fear of the patrocination of popery. We deny not some traditions (however the word, for want of distinguishing, is from their abuse grown into an ill name,) must have their place and use: and in vain should learned Chamier, Fulk, Whitakers, Perkins, Willet, and other controversers labour in the rules of discerning true apostolical traditions from false and counterfeit, if all were such, and if those which are certainly true were not worthy of high honour and respect. And what and how far our entertainment of traditions is and should be, I refer my reader to that sound and judicious discourse of our now most reverend metropolitan against his Jesuit A. C[k].

Onwards therefore I must observe, that whereas Chamier doth justly defend[l], that the evidence of these kind of traditions from the universal receipt of the church doth not breed a plerophory of assent, he doth not herein touch upon us; since his opposition is only concerning points of faith, our defence is concerning matter of fact: neither do we hold it needful there should be so full a sway of assent to the testimony of the church's practice herein, as there ever ought to be to the direct sentence of the sacred scripture. Will none but a divine faith serve the turn in these cases, which Parker himself professes to be far from importing

[k] [See abp. Laud's Conference with Fisher.]

[l] Cham. Panstrat. de Traditionibus. [lib. viii. de Canon. c. 13. Francof. 1627. t. i. p. 129.]

salvation? Is it not enough that I do as verily believe, upon these human proofs, what was done by the apostles for the plantation and settlement of the church, as I do believe there was a Rome before Christ's incarnation; or that a Julius Cæsar was emperor or dictator there, or Tully an orator and consul, or Cato a wise senator, or Catiline a traitor? Certainly thus much belief will serve for our purpose. Whoso requires more, besides the grounds of the apostolic ordinances recorded in scripture, thus seconded, may take that counsel which boys construe the lapwing to give for her nest.

Two things are answered hereto by Parker and his clients.

The one, that the rule of St. Augustin avails us nothing, since that the original of episcopacy is designed as from decree by St. Jerome, as from councils by St. Ambrose: but what that decree was or could be besides apostolical, or what those councils were, he were wise that could tell; he and all his abettors I am sure cannot. But of this in the sequel.

The other, after some misapplied testimonies of our own authors, who drive only at matter of faith, that he can make instance in divers things which were both universally and perpetually received, no council decreeing them, and yet far from an apostolic ordination.

Sibrandus Lubbertus helps him to his first instance, borrowed from St. Augustin; a fixed day for the celebration of Easter. And what of that? How holds his argument in this? for, that this or that day should be universally set and perpetually kept for that solemn feast, who that ever heard of the state of the primitive time can affirm; since those famous quarrels, and contrary pretences of their several derivations of right from the two prime apostles, are still in every man's eye? but, that an Easter was agreed to be solemnly kept by the primitive church universally, those very contentions betwixt Polycarpus and Anicetus[m] do sufficiently declare, and Parker himself confesseth[n]. Thus it was kept, and withal decreed by no council; "yet not," saith he, "by any apostolical institution." How doth that appear? *Nihil illi de festis &c.:* "They," i. e. the apostles, "never delivered aught concerning feast-days, nor yet of Easter:" why but this is the very question. Parker denies it; and must we take his word

[m] Euseb. l. v. Hist. c. 24.

[n] Quanquam, enim, in ipso die differentia erat, in hoc tamen omnes ecclesiæ conspirarunt, diem paschatis observandum aliquem esse. — Ibid. Polit. Eccles. [l. ii. c. 7.]

for proof; whereas we have the apostle's direct ἑορτάζωμεν, *Let us keep the feast?* And afterwards there is a plain deduction of it from and through the times succeeding; as is fully and excellently set forth by our incomparably learned the late bishop of Winchester; to whose accurate discourse of this subject[o] I may well refer my reader.

His second instance is the Apostles' Creed, which our authors justly place within the first three hundred years after Christ; used and received by the whole church, and not enacted by any councils; yet not, in respect of the form of it, delivered by the apostles. A doughty argument, and fit for the great controller of times and antagonist of government! We speak of the matter of the Creed; he talks of the form of it: we of things, he of words. And just so Tilenus, his friend, instances in ἀρχιερεὶς and κλῆρος, found in Ignatius. But do these men suppose St. Augustin meant to send us to seek for all common expressions of language to the apostles? Let them tell us: Is there anything in the substance of that Creed which we cannot fetch from the apostles? are not all the several clauses, as he cites them from St. Augustin, *per divinas scripturas sparsæ, inde collectæ, et in unum redactæ;* "scattered here and there in the scriptures, penned by the apostles, gathered up and reduced into this sum?" As for the syntax of words and sentences, who of us ever said they were, or needed to be, fathered upon those great legates of the Son of God? Our cause is no whit the poorer, if we grant there were some universal terms derived by tradition to the following ages, whereof the original authors are not known. This will not come within the compass of his (*quiddam*) *vox est, præterea nihil.*

His third instance is in the observation of Lent; for which indeed there is so great plea of antiquity, that himself cannot deny it to be acknowledged even by old Ignatius, a man contemporary to some of the apostles; and, as overcome by the evidence of all histories, grants it to be apparent, that the whole church constantly ever observed some kind of fast before their Easter[p]; no less than Theophilus Alexandrinus, *Lex abstinendi:* "The law of fasting in Lent hath been always observed in the church." And what need we more? "And yet," saith Parker, "for all

[o] B. Andrews's Serm. of the Resur. Serm. 13. [Lond. 1635, p. 518.]

[p] Polit. Eccles. [l. ii. c. 7. Universam etiam ecclesiam quoddam ante Pascha jejunium constanter observasse constat.]

that, Lent was not delivered by apostolic authority: *et in eo lapsi sunt patres;* therein the fathers are mistaken." Magisterially spoken! and we must believe him rather than St. Jerome, who plainly tells us it is *secundum traditionem apostolorum*, "according to the tradition of the apostles." The specialties indeed of this fast admitted of old very great variety: in the season; in the number of days; in the limitation, subject, and manner of abstinence; as Socrates hath well expressed[q]: but for a *quoddam jejunium*, "some kind of fast," I see no reason why the man, that can be so liberal as to grant it always observed by the universal church, should be so strait-laced as to deny it derivable from the tradition of the holy apostles: and when he can as well prove it not apostolic as we can prove it universal, we shall give him the bucklers.

To what purpose do I trace him in the rest? the ancient rites of the eucharist and of baptism, urged out of Baronius; of gestures in prayer; of the observation of solemn feasts and embers? Let one word serve for all: it will be a harder work for him to prove their universality and perpetuity, than to disprove their original. Let it be made good that the whole church of Christ always received them, we shall not be niggardly in yielding them this honour of their pedigree, deducible from an apostolical recommendation.

In the meantime, every (not ungracious) son of this spiritual mother will learn to kiss the footsteps of the universal church of Christ; as knowing the dear and infallible respects betwixt him and this blessed spouse of his, as to whom he hath engaged his everlasting presence and assistance; *Behold, I am with you always, to the end of the world;* and will resolve to spit in the face of those seducers who go about to alienate their affections from her, and to draw them into the causeless suspicions of her chaste fidelity to her Lord and Saviour.

To shut up this point, therefore: if we can show that the universal practice of the church, immediately after the apostles, and ever since, hath been to govern by bishops, superior to presbyters in their order and jurisdiction, our cause is won.

[q] Socrat. l. v. c. 22. ὡς περὶ τουτοῦ τῇ ἑκάστου γνώμῃ, ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

THE FIFTH GROUND.

SECT. XII.—*That the primitive saints and fathers neither would nor durst set up another form of government different from that they received of the apostles.*

Fifthly, we may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the saints and fathers of the primitive church, that they who were the immediate successors of the apostles would or durst set up a form of government different from that which was fore-designed to them; and that either faulty or self-devised.

Certainly it must needs follow, either those succeeding governors practised, maintained, and propagated, that form which they immediately before received from the hands of the apostles, or else they quite altered it and established a new.

If the first, we have what we desire: if the latter, those holy men were guilty of a presumptuous innovation; which were a crime to think. *Charity thinks not evil:* and what evil can be worse, than to violate or transgress apostolical ordinances?

How highly doth the apostle of the Gentiles praise the Corinthians, that they kept all his orders and observed his traditions[r]! and would he have less deeply blamed those that should have wilfully broken them? *Vultis veniam in virga? Will ye that I shall come to you with a rod?* saith the same apostle. All the Christian world knew how sacred the authority of those great delegates of our Saviour was; how infallible their determinations; how undoubted their inspirations. Withal it must be granted that the first ages were the purest; as the water that first rises from the spring is clearer than that which by a long decursion hath mixed itself with the soil of the channel. Can it therefore enter into any wise and honest heart that those prime saints, even in the greatest purity of the church, would wilfully vary from the holy institutions of the blessed apostles; and, as the fickle Israelites did so soon as Moses's back was turned, worship idols of their own invention? Surely he must be strongly uncharitable that shall think so; strangely impudent that dares maintain it; and wickedly credulous that can believe it.

But the defection began in the church presently after the apostles; yea, in their time[s]: (a point eagerly urged by the

[r] *πάντα μου.* 1 Cor. xi. 2. *παραδόσεις.*

[s] Quæ defectio in ecclesia quidem ipsa apostolorum ætati proxima adeo cœpit, ut argumento certo [nedum certissimo] illius universa praxis esse nequeat. Parker, Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8. [1621, p. 187.]

faction:) it is no trusting therefore to the universal practice of the successors:—

Our own authors are frequently alleged for the earliness of this apostasy; Whittakers, Reynolds, Field, Mornay: what need it, when the apostle himself tells us, the *mystery of iniquity* began then to work? yea, and as it is said your moderator lately told you, St. Paul himself by appointing bishops was himself a worker in it?

The *mystery of iniquity!* What is that but the plots of that antichrist?—

Yea, but you ordinarily speak of him, as I thought, but as one: the Roman vice-god. Now I perceive it is a mistake: there was the antichrist at Jerusalem; the antichrist of Antioch; of Alexandria; shortly, in every church one.

But let them say now, do they repute the bishop of Rome to be the antichrist or not? If they do, let them show us what it is that makes him so, which all good bishops do not as mainly oppose. What hand hath the patriarch of Constantinople, or Alexandria, or the Abassine bishops, in his transcendent supremacy and usurpation? These disclaim him: these resist him. Did the episcopacy of these and all other Christian churches give any aid to the advancement of that usurper's infallibility or universal supremacy? Did or do the Christian bishops of all other churches give him their shoulder, to hoise him up above all that is called God? If they help him up, who offers to pull him down? Shortly then, if the *mystery of iniquity* did then work for Rome, yet not for the Grecian, Syrian, Asian churches. No, no: it was not any point of the defection this, but rather of the perfection of the church.

But here we are choked with the examples of some churches, which soon after their plantation swerved from their former purity. Of Israel it is said, *Rehoboam left the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him;* 2 Chr. xii. 1; of the Galatians, *I marvel that you are so soon turned away from Christ;* Gal. i. 6: and several errors are reckoned up of succeeding churches and men. It is no such strange matter therefore that the Christian church should in some sort fail after the decease of the apostles:—

How little reason and great uncharitableness is there in this argument! If there were some errors, shall we suspect all truths? And if some particular churches failed in some opin-

ions, shall we therefore misdoubt the practice of the universal? Parker grants that in the times of the apostles the church was in her ἀκμη; the height of her health. Even then, were there not quarrels? were there not foul misopinions in the churches of Corinth, Galatia, Thessalonica, Colossæ? If these particular failings did not hinder the soundness in doctrine and εὐταξία in government of the universal Christian church, what reason have we to cast this aspersion upon the subsequent? It is true, as physicians observe, that in seven years the body changes; and in thirty there is, as Keckerman observes not ill, a remarkable alteration in every state. Neither is the church privileged from mutability: but, as a man changes his complexion but still holds his visage, and as the state changes its officers but still retains the laws and forms of administration, so the church may perhaps alter some customs, and either mend or impair in manners, and yet still continue the rules and forms of her government. Neither have we reason to think otherwise of those which succeeded the apostolic: and if some men therein declined towards error or heresy, God forbid the church should suffer, as guilty of their lapses! But as for the main laws of church discipline, if the succeeding governors should have so foully forgotten themselves, after the decease of the two great apostles, of the Gentiles and the circumcision: yet St. John lived a fair age after, no less than sixty-eight years after our Saviour; and had leisure enough to control their exorbitances, had they been such; neither would he have endured any such palpable and prejudicial innovation in the church of God.

Briefly then, if it shall appear that these holy men, who were immediate successors in the apostolic chairs, continued and maintained an imparity and superiority of the episcopal function, we have evicted what we plead for.

THE SIXTH GROUND.

SECT. XIII.—*That if the next successors would have innovated the form of government, yet they could not in so short space have diffused it through the whole Christian world.*

But, sixthly, if the succeeding church governors would or durst have owned so much presumption as to alter or innovate the form of a government left by the apostles; yet they could not possibly,

in so short a space, have diffused their new uniform platform of administration through the whole Christian world.

For who knows not that universality of power and jurisdiction died with the apostles? They only could claim the whole world for their diocese; neither could they leave any heirs behind them of their apostleship. The succeeding administrators of the several churches were fixed to their own charges; having neither power to command in another man's division, nor such eminence of authority as that their example should be a rule to their neighbours. How then can any living man conceive it possible, if there had not been an uniform order settled by the apostles, that all the world should so suddenly meet in one form of policy, not differing so much as in the circumstances of government?

That which Parker thinks to speak for his advantage, (*neque uno impetu disciplina statim mutata est, sed gradatim et paulatim*[t]; that "the discipline was not changed at once, but by little and little, as by insensible degrees") makes strongly against him, and irrefragably for us: for here were no lingering declinations towards that government which we plead for, but a present and full establishment of it in the very next succeeding hands, which could not have been but by a supereminent and universal command.

If we do but cast our eyes upon those churches which now, dividing themselves from the common rule of administration, affect to stand upon their own bottom; do we not see our countrymen of Amsterdam varying from those of Leyden concerning their government; and in the New-English colony those of the Boston leaders from the western plantation? When we see drops of water spilt upon dry sand running constantly into one and the same stream, we may then hope to see men and churches not overswayed otherwise with one universal command, running everywhere into a perfect uniformity of government, especially in a matter of such nature and consequence as subordination and subjection is.

It was the singular and miraculous blessing of the gospel in the hands of the first propagators of it, that *there* was *no speech nor language where their voice* was *not heard. Their line*, of a sudden, went *out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. The sun, which rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race*, could scarce outgo them, Ps. xix. 3, 4, 5.

[t] Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8. [ut supra.]

But as for their followers, the very next to them, they must be content to hold their own a much slower pace, and by leisure to reach their journey's end.

If therefore it shall be made to appear, that presently after the decease of the apostles one uniform order of episcopal government, so qualified as we have spoken, was without variation or contradiction received in all the churches of the whole Christian world, it must necessarily be granted that episcopacy is of no other than apostolical constitution.

THE SEVENTH GROUND.

SECT. XIV.—*That the ancientest histories of the church, and writings of the first fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the primitive state of the church, than the latest authors.*

Seventhly, I must challenge it for a truth not capable of just denial, that the ancientest histories of the church, and writings of the first fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the primitive state of church government, than those of this present age.

A truth so clear, that a reasonable man would think it a shame to prove; yet such as some bold leaders of the faction that would be thought learned too, have had the face to deny.

Parker, the late oracle of the schism, hath dared to do it in terms; who speaking of the testimony of the primitive times, *Hæcne ecclesia illa est, quæ certum testimonium in causa disciplinaria præstitura* [*præbitura*] *nobis est?* "Is this," saith he[u], in the high scorn and pride of his heart, "the church that shall give us so sure a testimony in the cause of discipline?" and everywhere disparaging the validity of the ancient histories, prefers the present. Is Eusebius mentioned, who records the succession of primitive bishops from their first head? *At Eusebio defuit, &c:* "But," saith he[x], "Eusebius, being carried away with the sway of that age, wanted that golden reed which is given to the historians of our times, Apoc. xi. 1. to measure the distance of times, the difference of manners, the inclinations of churches, and the progress and increases of the antichristian hierarchy, &c." Are any of the holy fathers alleged? "Alas, poor men," saith he, "they were much mistaken!" yet howsoever they are much beholden to him; for, saith he[y], *Non volentes, sed nescientes;*

[u] Park. Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8. [ut supra.]

[x] Ibid. l. ii. c. 5.

[y] Ibid. l. ii. c. 8.

non per apostasiam aut contemptum, sed per infirmitatem et ignorantiam, lapsi sunt patres, qui in disciplina aberrarunt: "The fathers who erred in this matter of discipline did not offend out of will, but out of want of knowledge; not through apostasy or contempt, but through infirmity and ignorance."

But can I now forbear to ask who can endure to hear the braying of this proud schismatic? For the love of God, dear brethren, mark the spirit of these men; and if you can think it a reasonable suggestion to believe that all ancient histories are false, all the holy and learned fathers of the church ignorant and erroneous, and that none ever saw or spake the truth, not of doctrine only, but not of fact, until now that these men sprung up; follow them, and rely upon their absolute and unerring authority: but if you have a mind to make use of your senses and reason, and not to suffer yourselves to be wilfully besotted with a blind and absurd prejudice, hate this intolerable insolence, and resolve to believe that many witnesses are rather to be believed than none at all; that credible, judicious, holy witnesses are rather to be trusted for the report of their own times, than some giddy corner-creeping upstarts, which come dropping in some sixteen hundred years after.

But what then will ye say to this challenge? *Quid, autem? Patres, qui adversus nos, &c.* "The fathers," saith Parker[z], "which by the favourers of episcopacy are produced against us, were for the most part bishops; so as while they speak for episcopacy they plead for themselves: *Ecquis, eos igitur, credendos dicet?* Will any man therefore say they are to be believed? Or will any man forbid us to appeal from them?"

Blessed God! that any who bears the title of a Christian should have the forehead thus to argue!

Appeal! To whom, I pray? To the succeeding doctors and fathers? no; they were in the same predicament. To the rest of the whole church? they were governed by these leaders. Whither therefore can they imagine to appeal, but to themselves? And what proves this then, but their own case? And if the fathers may not be suffered to be our witnesses, will it not become the house well that these men should now be the fathers' judges?

But the fathers were bishops: the case was their own:—True, they were bishops; and it is our glory and comfort that we have

[z] Ibid. l. ii. c. 19.

had such predecessors. In vain should we affect to be more holy and more happy than they. Let them, if they can, produce such precedents of their parity. But the case was theirs:—Had there been then any quarrel or contestation against their superiority, this exception might have carried some weight: but while there was not so much as the dream of an opposition in the whole Christian world, how could they be suspected to be partial?

They wrote then according to their unanimous apprehension of the true meaning of the scriptures, and according to the certain knowledge of the apostolic ordinances derived to them by the undoubted successions of their known predecessors. Heaven may as soon fall as these evidences may fail us.

See then, I beseech you, brethren; the question is, whether a man may see any object better in the distance of one pace or of a furlong: whether present witnesses are more to be believed than the absent: whether those which speak out of their own certain knowledge and eyesight, or those which speak out of mere conjecture.

And if this judgment be not difficult, I have what I would. If I shall make it good that all ancient histories, all testimonies of the holy fathers of the church of Christ, are expressly for this government which we maintain and you reject, the cause is ours.

THE EIGHTH GROUND.

SECT. XV.—*That those whom the ancient church of God and all the holy fathers of the church have condemned for heretical, are no fit guides for us to follow in that their judgment of the government for which they were so condemned.*

Eighthly, I must challenge it for an unquestionable truth, that those men whom the ancient church of God and the holy and orthodox fathers have condemned for erroneous and heretical, are not fit to be followed of us, as the authors of our opinion or practice for the government of the church, in those points for which they were censured.

It may fall out too oft, that a man whose belief is sound in all other points may fail in one, and proceed so far as to second his error with contumacy.

The slips of the ancients are too well known, and justly pitied; but they pass, as they ought, for private oversights. If any of them have stood out in a public contestation, as holy Cyprian did

in that case of rebaptizing, the church takes up his truth as her common stock; balks his error, not without a commiserating censure.

Now if any man shall think fit to pitch upon the noted misopinions of the holiest authors for imitation or maintenance, what can we esteem of him but as the fly, who passing by the sound parts of the skin falls upon a raw and ulcered sore?

And if the best saints may not be followed in their faults, how much less may we make choice of the examples or judgments of those who are justly branded by the whole church for schism or heresy? What were this other than to run into the prophet's woe, in justifying the wicked, and taking away the righteousness of the righteous from them? Isa. v. 23. Is not he like to make a good journey that chooses a blind or lame guide for his way?

When the spouse of Christ inquires after the place of his feeding, and where he maketh his flock to rest at noon, he answers her, *If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids besides the shepherds' tents,* Cant. i. 7, 8. What is his flock but Christian souls? and his shepherds but the holy and faithful pastors? The footsteps then of this flock, and the tents of these shepherds, are the best direction for any Christian soul, for the search of a Saviour, and of all his necessary truths. To deviate from these, what is it but to *turn aside by the flocks of the companions?*

If then it shall be made to appear, that one only branded heretic in so many hundred years hath opposed the received judgment and practice of the church concerning episcopal government, I hope no wise and sober Christian will think it safe and fit to side with him, in the maintenance of his so justly exploded error, against all the churches of the whole Christian world.

THE NINTH GROUND.

SECT. XVI.—*That the accession of honourable titles and compatible privileges makes no difference in the substance of a lawful and holy calling.*

Ninthly, it must be yielded, that the accession of honourable titles or not incompatible privileges makes no difference in the substance of a lawful and holy calling.

These things, being merely external and adventitious, can no more alter the nature of the calling, than change of suits the body.

Neither is it otherwise with the calling than with the person whose it is. The man is the same, whether poor or rich. The good patriarch was the same, in Potiphar's dungeon and on Pharaoh's bench. Our Saviour was the same, in Joseph's workhouse and in the hill of Tabor. St. Paul was the same while he sat in the house with Aquila making of tents, that he was reigning in the pulpit, or disputing in the school of Tyrannus.

As a wise man is no whit differently affected with the changes of these his outward conditions, but looks upon them with the same face, and manages them with the same temper; so the judicious beholder indifferently esteems them in another, as being ready to give all due respects to them whom the king holds worthy of honour, without all secret envy; yet not preferring the gold ring before the poor man's richer graces; valuing the calling according to its own true worth, not after the price or meanness of the habiliments wherewith it is clothed.

If some garments be coarse, yet they may serve to defend from cold: others, besides warmth give grace and comeliness to the body. There may be good use of both; and perhaps one and the same vesture may serve for both purposes.

It is an old and sure rule in philosophy, that degrees do not diversify the kinds of things. The same fire that flashes in the tow, glows in the juniper: if one gold be finer than another, both are gold: if some pearls be fairer than other, yet their kind is the same.

Neither is it otherwise in callings and professions. We have known some painters, and in other professions many, so eminent, that their skill hath raised them to the honour of knighthood. In the meantime their work and calling is the same it was.

But what do I go about to give light to so clear a truth? If therefore it shall be made to appear that the episcopacy of this island is for substance the same with that of the first institution by the apostles, howsoever there may have been, through the bounty of gracious princes, some additions made to it in outward dignity or maintenance, the cause is ours.

THE TENTH GROUND.

SECT. XVII.—*That those scriptures, whereon a new and different form of government is raised, had need to be more evident and unquestionable than those which are alleged for the former that is rejected.*

Tenthly, it cannot but be granted, that those passages of holy scriptures, wherein any form of government, different from the anciently received and established, is pretended to be grounded, had need to be very clear and unquestionable, and more evident and convictive than those whereon the former now rejected policy was raised.

For if only scripture must decide this question, and no other either evidence or judgment will be admitted besides it; and if withal there be difference concerning the sense of the texts on either sides alleged; it must needs follow that the clearer scriptures must carry it, and give light to the more obscure.

We are wont to say that possession is eleven points of the law: surely where that is had, and hath long been held, it is fit there should be a legal ejection; and that ejection must be upon better evidence of right. If therefore the church of God have been quietly possessed of this government by bishops for above these sixteen hundred years, it is good reason the ejectors should show better proof than the ancient professors, ere they be ousted from their tenures. And what better proof can there be than more clear scripture?

Shortly then, if it shall be made to appear that the scriptures brought for a lay-presbytery are few, doubtful, litigious, full of diverse and uncertain senses, and such as many and much clearer places shall plainly show to be otherwise meant by the Holy Ghost than these new masters apply them; then it cannot be denied that the lay-presbytery hath no true footing in the word of God, and that the old form of administration in an imparity of ministers ought only to be continued in the church.

THE ELEVENTH GROUND.

SECT. XVIII.—*That if Christ had left this pretended order of government, it would have ere this time been agreed upon what that form is, and how to be managed.*

Eleventhly, I may well take it for granted, neither can it reasonably be denied, that if the order which they say Christ

and his apostles did set for the government of his church, which they call the kingdom and ordinance of Christ, be but one, and that certain and undoubted; then certainly it must and should and would have been ere this agreed upon by the abettors of it what and which it is.

For it cannot without impiety be conceived, or said without blasphemy, that the Son of God should erect such a kingdom upon earth as, having lien hid for no less than sixteen hundred years, cannot yet be fully known and accorded upon, so that the subjects may be convinced both that it is his, and by what officers and what rules it must be managed.

If then it shall be made to appear that the pretenders to the desired discipline cannot yet all this while agree upon their verdict for that kingdom of Christ which they challenge, it will be manifest to every ingenuous reader that their platforms of this their imagined kingdom are but the chimerical devices and whimsies of men's brains, and worthy to be entertained accordingly.

THE TWELFTH GROUND.

SECT. XIX.—*That if this which is challenged be the kingdom of Christ, then those churches which want any essential part of it are mainly defective; and that there is scarce any at all entire.*

Twelfthly, it must be yielded, that if this which they call for be the kingdom and ordinance of Christ, then it ought to be erected and maintained in all congregations of Christians all the world over; and that where any essential part thereof is wanting, there the kingdom of Christ is not entirely set up, but is still mainly defective.

If therefore it shall appear that, even in most of those churches which do most eagerly contend for the discipline, there neither are nor ever were all those several offices which are upon the list of this spiritual administration, it will irrefragably follow that either those churches do not hold these offices necessary which, having power in their hand, they have not yet erected; or else that there are but very few churches, if any, upon earth rightly constituted and governed; which to affirm, since it were grossly uncharitable, and highly derogatory from the just glory of God's kingdom under the gospel, it will be consequent that the device is so lately hatched that it is not yet fledged, and that there

is great reason rather to distrust the plots of men than to condemn the churches of God.

THE THIRTEENTH GROUND.

SECT. XX.—*That true Christian policy requires not anything absurd or impossible to be done.*

Thirteenthly, I have reason to require it granted, that true Christian policy requires not anything which is either impossible or absurd to be done.

If therefore it shall be pretended that, upon the general grounds of scripture, this sacred fabric of discipline raised by the wisdom of some holy and eminent reformers conform to that of the first age of the church, it is meet it should be made manifest that there is some correspondence in the state of those first times with the present, and of the condition of their churches with ours; otherwise, if there be an apparent difference and disproportion betwixt them, it cannot sound well that one pattern should fit both. If then both the first planters and the late reformers of the church did that which the necessity of the times would allow, this is no precedent for the same persons (if they were now living) and at their full liberty and power; neither can the churches of those cantons or cities which challenge a kind of freedom in a democratical state be meet examples for those which are already established under a settled monarchy: if therefore it shall appear that many foul and unavoidable inconveniences, and, if not impossibilities yet unreasonable consequences, will necessarily follow upon the obtrusion of a presbyterian government upon a national church otherwise settled, all wise Christians who are members of such churches will apprehend great and just cause why they should refuse to submit and yield approbation to any such novel ordinances.

THE FOURTEENTH GROUND.

SECT. XXI.—*That new truths never before heard of, especially in main points, carry just cause of suspicion.*

Fourteenthly, it must be granted, that those truths in divinity which are new and hitherto unheard of in the church (but especially in those points which are by the fautors of them held main and essential), carry just causes of suspicion in their faces, and are not easily to be yielded unto.

And surely, if, according to Tertullian's rule, *quod primum*

verum, that "the first is true;" then the latest is seldom so where it agrees not with the first. After the teeming of so many ages it is rarely seen that a new and posthumous verity is any other than spurious.

It was the position it seems of Poza, the brainsick professor of divinity, set up by the Jesuits at Madrid, that "It is free for any man, besides and against the judgment of the holy fathers and doctors, to make innovations in the doctrine of religion[a]."

And, for his warrant of contemning all ancient fathers and councils in respect of his own opinions, borrows the words in Ecclesiasticus, cited by the council of Constantinople[b], *Beatus, qui prædicat verbum inauditum*, "Blessed is he that preaches the word never before heard of;" impiously and ignorantly marring the text, mistaking the sense, belying the author, slandering the council; the misprision being no less ridiculous than palpable: for whereas the words are εἰς ἀκοὴν, *in auditum*, he turns them both into one adjective *inauditum*, and makes the sentence as monstrous as his own stupidity. Pope Hormisda, in his epistle to the priests and deacons of Syria, turns it right, *Qui prædicat verbum in aurem obedientis*, "He that preaches a word to the obedient."

Far be it from any sober and orthodox Christian to entertain so wild and wicked a thought. He hath learned that the old way is the good way, and will walk therein accordingly; and in so doing finds rest to his soul, Jer. vi. 16. He that preacheth this word is no less happy than he that obediently hears it; neither shall a man find true rest to his soul in a new and untrodden by-way.

If therefore it shall be made to appear that this government by lay-presbyters is that which the ancient and succeeding church of God never acknowledged until this present age, I shall not need to persuade any wise and ingenuous Christian, if otherwise he have not lost the free liberty of his choice, that he hath just cause to suspect it for a misgrounded novelty. For such it is.

[a] Liberum esse, præter et contra sanctorum patrum et doctorum sententiam, in religionis doctrina innovare. —Alphons. Var. Toletan. de Stratagem. Jesuit. [Alphons. de Varg. Tolet. sive Gasp. Scioppii ut fertur Relatio, &c. 1636. p. 122.]

[b] Concil. Constantinop. Act. 5. Ecclesiast. xxv. 9. μακάριος ὁ κηρύττων τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀκοὴν ὑπακούοντος. [ὁ διηγούμενος εἰς ὦτα ἀκουόντων. — Sept. Vers.]

THE FIFTEENTH GROUND.

SECT. XXII.—*That to depart from the judgment and practice of the universal church of Christ ever since the apostles' times, and to betake ourselves to a new invention, cannot but be, besides the danger, vehemently scandalous.*

Lastly, it must upon all this necessarily follow, that to depart from the judgment and practice of the universal church of Christ ever since the apostles' times, and abandon that ancient form wherein we were and are legally and peaceably infeoffed, to betake ourselves to a new one, never till this age heard of in the whole Christian world; it cannot but be extremely scandalous, and savour too much of schism.

How ill doth it become the mouth of a Christian divine which Parker hath let fall to this purpose! who dareth to challenge learned Casaubon for proposing two means of deciding the modern controversies[c], scriptures, and antiquity. What more easy trial can possibly be projected? Who but a professed novelist can dislike it? Τὰ ἀρχαῖα was the old and sure rule of that sacred council; and it was Solomon's charge, *Remove not the old landmarks;* Prov. xxiii. 10.

If therefore it shall [illegible]ade to appear that episcopacy, as it presupposeth an imparity of order and superiority of government, hath been a sound stake pitched in the hedge of God's church ever since the apostles' times; and that parity and lay-presbytery are but as new-sprung briars and brambles lately woven into the new-plashed fence of the church: in a word thus, if it be manifest that the government of bishops in a meet and moderate imparity, in which we assert it, hath been peaceably continued in the church ever since the apostolical institution thereof; and that the government of lay-presbyters hath never been so much as mentioned, much less received, in the church, until this present age: I shall need no further argument to persuade all peaceable and well-minded Christians to adhere to that ancient form of administration, which with so great authority is derived unto us from the first founders of the gospel, and to leave the late supply of a lay-presbytery to those churches who would and cannot have better.

[c] Quod duo κριτήρια posuerit.—Park. Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 1. [ed. 1621. p. 148.]

THE SECOND PART.

SECT. I.—*The terms and state of the question settled and agreed upon.*

These are the grounds; which, if they prove, as they cannot but do, firm and unmoveable, we can make no fear of the superstructure.

Let us therefore now address ourselves to the particular points here confidently undertaken by us, and make good all those several issues of defence which our holy cause is most willingly cast upon.

But, before we descend to the scanning of the matter, reason and order require that, according to the old and sure rules of logicians, the terms be cleared and agreed upon; otherwise we shall perhaps fight with shadows and beat the air.

It hath pleased the provi[illegible]od so to order it, that, as the word itself, the Church, so the names of the offices belonging to it, in their several comprehensions, should be full of senses, and variety of use and acception; and that in such manner, that each of them runs one into other, and oftentimes interchanges their appellations.

A prophet, we know, is a foreteller of future things; an evangelist, in the natural sense of the word, is he that preaches the glad tidings of the gospel; an apostle, one of Christ's twelve great messengers to the world; a bishop, ἐπίσκοπος, an overseer of the church; a presbyter, some grave ancient churchman; a deacon, a servant or minister in the church: yet all these in scripture are so promiscuously used, that a preacher is more than once termed a prophet; an evangelist an apostle; an apostle a bishop; an apostle a presbyter; a presbyter an apostle, as Romans xvi. 7; a presbyter a bishop[c]; and, lastly, an evangelist and bishop, a deacon or minister: for all these met in Timothy alone, who, being bishop of Ephesus, is with one breath

[c] 1 Cor. xiv; Acts i. 20; 2 John 1; 1 Pet. v. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 6.

charged to do the work of an evangelist, and to fulfil his διακονίαν or ministry; 2 Tim. iv. 5.

It could not be otherwise likely, but from this community of names there would follow some confusion of apprehensions: for, since names were intended for distinction of things, where names are the same how can the notions be distinguished?

But, howsoever it pleased the Spirit of God in the first hatching of the evangelical church to make use of these indistinct expressions; yet all this while the offices were several; known by their several characters and employments: so, as the function and work of an apostle was one, viz., to plant the church and to ordain the governors of it; of a bishop another, to wit, to manage the government of his designed circuit, and to ordain presbyters and deacons; of a presbyter another, namely, to assist the bishop, and to watch over his several charge; of a deacon another, besides his sacred services, to order the stock of the church, and to take care of the poor: yet all these agreed in one common service, which was the propagation of the gospel, and the founding of God's church.

And soon after the very terms were contradistinguished, both by the substance of their charge, and by the property of their titles; insomuch as blessed Ignatius, that holy martyr, who lived many years within the times of the apostles, in every of his epistles, as we shall see in the sequel, makes express mention of three distinct orders of government, bishops, presbyters, deacons.

Now we take episcopacy, as it is thus punctually differenced, in an eminence from the two inferior orders of presbyter and deacon; so as to define it, "Episcopacy is no other than an holy order of church governors, appointed for the administration of the church:" or, more fully thus; "Episcopacy is an eminent order of sacred function, appointed by the Holy Ghost in the evangelical church, for the governing and overseeing thereof; and for that purpose, beside the administration of the word and sacraments, endued with power of imposition of hands and perpetuity of jurisdiction."

Wherein we find that we shall meet with two sorts of adversaries.

The one are furiously and impetuously fierce, crying down episcopacy for an unlawful and antichristian state, not to be suffered in a truly evangelical church; having no words in their mouths but the same which the cruel Edomites used concerning

Jerusalem, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.* And such are the frantic separatists, and semi-separatists of our time and nation, who are only swayed with mere passion, and wilfully blinded with unjust prejudice. These are reformers of the new cut, which if Calvin or Beza were alive to see they would spit at, and wonder whence such an offspring should come: men that defend and teach there is no higher ecclesiastical government in the world than that of a parish; that a parochial minister, though but of the blindest village in a country, is utterly independent and absolute, a perfect bishop within himself, and hath no superior in the church upon earth; and do no less inveigh even against the overruling power of classes, synods, &c. than of bishops. You are not perhaps of this strain; for we conceive that our northern neighbours desire and affect to conform unto the Genevan or French discipline[f], for which we find Beza's directions. Although both your act of abrenunciation, and some speeches let fall in the assembly of Glasgow, and the plea of covenanters (fetching episcopacy within the compass of things abjured), might seem to intimate some danger of inclination this way, our charity bids us hope the best, which is, that you hate the frenzies of these our wild countrymen abroad, for whom no answer is indeed fit but dark lodgings and hellebore.

The other is more mild and gentle, and less unreasonable; not disallowing episcopacy in itself, but holding it to be lawful, useful, ancient; yet such as was by mere human device, upon wise and politic considerations, brought into the church and so continued, and therefore upon the like grounds alterable.

With both these we must have to do. But since it is wind ill lost to talk reason to a madman, it shall be more than sufficient to confute the former of them in giving satisfaction to the latter: for, if we shall make it appear that episcopacy is not only lawful and ancient, but of no less than divine institution, those raving and black mouths are fully stopped, and those more easy and moderate opposites at once convinced.

But, before we offer to deal blows on either side, it is fit we should know how far we are friends, and upon what points this quarrel stands.

It is yielded by the wiser fautors of discipline, that there is a certain polity necessary for the retention of the church's

[f] Honoratiss. Do. Glanico [Glamico, or Glamiso, i. e. Lord Glamis] 'Cancellario Scotiæ Respon. ad Sex Questiones.'

peace: that this polity requires that there must be several congregations or flocks of Christians; and that every flock should have his own shepherd: that since those guides of God's people are subject to error in doctrine and exorbitance in manners, which may need correction and reformation, and many doubtful cases may fall out which will need decision, it is requisite there should be some further aid given by the counsel and assistance of other pastors: that those pastors, met together in classes and synods, are fit arbiters in differences, and censurers of errors and disorders: that in synods thus assembled there must be due order kept: that order cannot be kept where there is an absolute equality of all persons convened; that it is therefore necessary that there should be a head, president, or governor of the assembly, who shall marshal all the affairs of those meetings, propound the cases, gather the voices, pronounce the sentences and judgments; but in the meanwhile he, having but lent his tongue for the time to the use of the assembly, when the business is ended returns to his own place without any personal inequality. A lively image whereof we have in our lower house of convocation; the clerks whereof are chosen by the clergy of the several dioceses: they all, having equal power of voices, assemble together, choose their prolocutor: he calls the house, receives petitions or complaints, proposes the businesses, asks and gathers the suffrages, dismisses the sessions; and, the action once ended, takes his former station, forgetting his late superiority.

This is the thing challenged by the patrons of discipline, who do not willingly hear of an upper house, consisting of the peers of the church, whose grave authority gives life to the motions of that lower body. They can be content there should be a prime presbyter; and that this presbyter shall be called bishop; and that bishop shall moderate for the time the public affairs of the church, but without all innate and fixed superiority, without all (though never so moderate) jurisdiction.

Calvin in this case shall speak for all; who, writing of the state of the clergy in the primitive times, hath thus[8], *Quibus, ergo, docendi munus, &c.:* "Those therefore which had the charge of teaching enjoined unto them they named presbyters. These presbyters out of their number in every city chose one, to whom they especially gave the title of bishop, lest from equality, as it commonly falls out, discords should arise. Neither

[8] Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 4. [§ 2. Genev. 1592. p. 218.]

was the bishop so superior to the rest in honour and dignity as that he had any rule over his colleagues: but the same office and part which the consul had in the senate, to report of business to be done, to ask the votes, advising, admonishing, exhorting, to go before the rest, to rule the whole action by his authority, and to execute that which by the common counsel was decreed; the same office did the bishop sustain in the assembly of the presbyters." Thus he. And to the same purpose Beza in his treatise of the degrees of the ministry; Moulin, Chamier, others.

So as we easily see how our bishop differs from Calvin's, namely, in a settled imparity and a perpetuity of jurisdiction. Give me therefore such a pastor as shall be ordained a perpetual moderator in church affairs in a fixed imparity; exercising spiritual jurisdiction out of his own peculiarly demandated authority: this is the bishop whom we contend for, and whom they oppose.

I do well see therefore how we may make a shorter cut of this controversy than hath formerly been made by others; whose large discourses upon the importune angariation of others have been learnedly spent upon the names and titles of a bishop and presbyter; upon the extent of their first charge, whether parochial or diocesan; and upon the difference and priority of those limitations; since the only thing that displeaseth in episcopacy is their majority above presbyters, which it is pretended should be only a priority of order, not a superiority of degree; and their power of jurisdiction over presbyters. For yield these by a due ordination to a prime pastor for a constant continuance, you make him a bishop: deny these to a bishop, you make him no other than a plain presbyter.

Our only labour therefore must be to make good these two points, and to evince that imparity in the governors of the church and the power of episcopal jurisdiction is not of any less than apostolical and divine institution: to which task we now address ourselves, Σὺν δὲ Θεὸς, &c.

Sect. II.—*Church government begun by our Saviour in a manifest imparity.*

We begin with our undertaken issues; and shall show that this imparity of government and episcopal jurisdiction was founded by Christ, and erected by his apostles both by their practice and recommendation.

Who sees not then a manifest imparity in our Saviour's own choice in the first gathering of his church? wherein his apostles were above his other disciples; the twelve above the seventy: above them in privileges, and especially in the immediateness of their calling; above them in their Master's respects; above them in gifts and in the power of their dispensation; above them in commission; above them in miraculous operations.

Even those seventy were ministers of the gospel; but those twelve were even as it were the patriarchs of the church, noted still by an article of eminence, *οἱ δώδεκα, the twelve.* Others were labourers in the work; these were *master builders*, as St. Paul to his Corinths. Others might heal by their touch; these by their very shadow. Others had the Holy Ghost; these gave it. Philip was an evangelist: he preached, he wrought miracles, he converted and baptized the Samaritans; yet till Peter and John came down and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they received not the Holy Ghost, Acts viii. 14, 15. And how plain is it that such honourable regard was given to the twelve, that when one room fell void by the treason of Judas, it must by the direction of the Spirit of God be made up by an election out of the seventy[h]! Had it not been an higher preferment to have been an apostle, wherefore was that scrutiny and choice?

What do I urge this point? He never read scripture that can doubt of it. Wherefore did the chosen vessel stand so highly upon the challenge of his apostleship, if he had not known it to be a singular honour? And how punctually doth he marshal up, as some divine herald, the due ranks of ecclesiastical offices! *First apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then those that do miracles; after that the gifts of healing, helps in governing, diversity of tongues;* 1 Cor. xii. 28.

But perhaps you will not be so illiberal as to deny the apostles a precedency of honour in the church: how can you, and be a Christian?

But you stick at their jurisdiction. Here was nothing but equality:—

True, an equality among themselves: *Pari consortu præditi, et honoris et potestatis*, as Cyprian truly: but a superiority of power in them all and in each of them over the rest of the members of Christ's church.

Verily I say unto you, saith our Saviour, *ye that have fol-*

[h] Hier. de Script. Eccles.

lowed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel; Matth. xix. 28; ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *in the regeneration*, that is, as Cameron very well interprets it[1], in the renovation of the church: for under the state of the gospel the church was as new born and made anew, according to that of St. Paul, *All things are become new;* alluding to the prophet Isaiah, who to this sense, *Behold*, saith he, *I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind*, Isa. lxv. 17. And Beza himself, though he make a difference in the pointing, and thereby in the construction, yet grants that, according to his second sense, the preaching of the gospel by Christ and his messengers is meant by this regeneration: *Quia tum, veluti de integro, conditus est mundus;* "Because then the world was as it were made anew:" so as then was the time when the Son of man began to be exalted to the throne of his glory, both in earth and in heaven; and then should the twelve, that had forsaken all for him, enjoy all in him: then should they sit on twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

What are the twelve tribes of Israel but the whole church of God? For whereof did the first Christian church consist but of converted Jews? And whither did our Saviour bend all his allusions but to them? They had their twelve *princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of the thousands of Israel;* Num. i. 16. They had their *seventy elders*, to *bear the burden of the people;* Num. xi. 16, 17.

The Son of God affects to imitate his former polity; and therefore chooses his twelve apostles and seventy disciples to gather and sway his evangelical church.

The twelve tribes then are the church; the twelve apostles must be their judges and governors; their sitting shows authority; their sitting on thrones eminence of power; their sitting on twelve thrones equality of their rule; their sitting to judge, power and exercise of jurisdiction; their sitting to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, the universality of their power and jurisdiction. And what judgment could this be but ecclesiastical and spiritual; for civil rule they challenged not? And what thrones but apostolical, and by their derivation episcopal?

Who knows not how ordinary that style is, ἐπισκόπου θρόνος?

[1] Camer. in locum. [Opp. Genev. 1642. p. 10.]

We find it even in Aërius himself[k]. And if the apostle's seat was his throne, and the bishops succeeded the apostles in those seats, who can deny them this power of spiritual judicature and jurisdiction?

To the same purpose is that of St. Augustin; who, upon the words of St. John, *I saw seats, and some sitting on them, and judgment was given*, hath thus[l], *Non hoc putandum de Ultimo Judicio, &c.*; "We may not think this spoken of the last judgment; but the seats of the prelates or presidents by whom the church is governed, and the governors themselves, are to be understood; and the judgment that is given cannot be any better way taken than for that which is said, *Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.*"

SECT. III.—*The execution of this apostolical power after our Saviour's ascent into heaven.*

The power is clear; will you see the execution of it?

Look upon St. Paul, the posthumous and supernumerary, but no less glorious apostle. See with what majesty he becomes his new-erected throne: one while deeply charging and commanding[m], another while controlling and censuring[n]; one while giving laws and ordinances[o], another while urging for their observance[p]; one while ordaining church governors[q], another while adjuring them to do their duties[r]; one while threatening punishment[s], another while inflicting it[t]. And if these be not acts of jurisdiction, what can be such? which since they were done by the apostle from the instinct of God's Spirit wherewith he was inspired, and out of the warrant of his high vocation, most manifest it is that the apostles of Christ had a supereminent power in God's church. And if any person whosoever, though an evangelist or prophet, should have dared to make himself equal to an apostle, he had been hissed out, yea rather thunderstruck by deep censure, for an arrogant and saucy usurper.

Now if our blessed Saviour thought it fit to found his church in an evident imparity, what reason should we have to imagine he did not intend so to continue it? It had been equally easy for

[k] Epiphan. Hæres. 75. [Paris. 1622. t. i. p. 906.]
[l] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 20. [c. 9. ut sup. t. vii. p. 586.]
[m] 2 Thess. iii. 6.
[n] 1 Cor. v. 4–7.
[o] 1 Cor. xi. 2.
[p] 1 Cor. xvi. 1.
[q] 2 Tim. i. 6.
[r] 1 Tim. v. 21; vi. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 1.
[s] 2 Cor. xiii. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 21.
[t] 1 Tim. i. 20.

him, had he so thought meet, to have made all his followers equally great: none better than a disciple; none meaner than an apostle. But now, since it hath pleased him to raise up some to the honour of apostles, no less above the seventy than the seventy were above the multitude; only enjoining them that the highest in place should be the lowest in mind and humility of service; what doth he but herein teach us, that he meant to set this course for the ensuing government of his church?

Neither is it possible for any man to be so absurd as to think that the apostles, who were by their heavenly Master infeoffed in this known preeminence, should, after the ascent of their Saviour, descend from their acknowledged superiority, and make themselves but equal to the presbyters they ordained. No; they still and ever, as knowing they were qualified for that purpose by the more special graces of the Holy Ghost, kept their holy state, and maintained the honour of their places.

What was the fault of Diotrephes, but that being a church governor he proudly stood out against St. John; not acknowledging the transcendent power of his apostolical jurisdiction? whom the provoked apostle threats to correct accordingly: so as those that lay Diotrephes in our dish do little consider that they buffet none but themselves, who symbolize with him in opposing episcopal, that is, as all antiquity was wont to construe it, apostolical government.

But you are ready to say, "This was during their own time: they were persons extraordinary; and their calling and superiority died with them:"—

Thus our Tileno-mastix in terms[u]. The only question is, whether, of the ordinary presbyters which were singly set over several churches, they advanced one in degree above his brethren. We shall err then if we distinguish not.

These great ambassadors of Christ sustained more persons than one. They comprehended in themselves the whole hierarchy: they were Christians, presbyters, bishops, apostles. So it was, they were apostles immediately called, miraculously gifted, infallibly guided, universally charged. Thus they had not, they could not have, any successors.

They were withal church governors, appointed by Christ to order and settle the affairs of his spiritual kingdom: and therein (besides the preaching of the gospel and baptizing, common to

[u] Paracl. l. i. c. 4.

them with other ministers,) to ordain a succession of the meet administrators of his church. Thus they were, would be, must be succeeded: neither could the church otherwise have subsisted. No Christian can deny this, all binding upon a necessity of apostolical succession, though differing in the quality and degree of their successors.

SECT. IV.—*The derivation of this power and majority from the apostles to the succeeding bishops.*

Now therefore that we have seen what ground our Saviour laid for a superiority in them, let us see how they by his divine inspiration erected it in others who should follow them.

That was apostolical: this was episcopal.

It is true, as Calvin saith, that at the first, all to whom the dispensation of the gospel was committed were called presbyters; whether they were apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors and doctors: as before, the apostles were commonly called by the name of disciples in every chapter, yet in degree still above the seventy: and we do still say one while, "bishops and curates," comprehending all presbyters and deacons under that name; another while, "bishops, pastors, and curates," not distinctly observing the difference of names. So they all were called presbyters; yet not so but that there was a manifest and full distinction betwixt the apostles and presbyters, as thrice Acts xv. They therefore, though out of humility they hold the common names with others, yet maintained their places of apostles, and governed the church at first as it were in common. And thus, as St. Jerome truly, "All main matters were done in the beginning by the common counsel and consent of the presbyters:" their consent; but still the power was in the apostles; who in the nearer churches, since they in person ordered ecclesiastical affairs, ordained only presbyters; in the remoter, bishops. This, for the consummation of it, was an act of time. Neither was the same course held at once in every church, while it was in *fieri:* some which were nearer, being supplied by the apostles' presence, needed not so present an episcopacy: others that were small needed not yet their full number of offices: neither were there perhaps fit men for those places of eminence to be found everywhere. Whence it is that we find in some scriptures mention only of bishops and deacons; in others of presbyters, not of bishops.

This then was the apostles' course. For the plantation of the church and the better propagation of the gospel, wherever they came they found it necessary to ordain meet assistants to them: and they promiscuously imparted unto them all their own style but apostolical; naming them bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, according to the familiarity and indifferency of their former usage therein. But when they, having divided themselves into several parts of the world, found that the number of Christians, especially in the greater cities, so multiplied that they must needs be divided into many congregations, and those congregations must necessarily have many presbyters, and those many presbyters in the absence of the apostles began to emulate each other and to make parties for their own advantage; then, as St. Jerome truly notes, began the manifest and constant distinction betwixt the office of bishops and presbyters to be both known and observed. For now the apostles, by the direction of the Spirit of God, found it requisite and necessary, for the avoiding of schism and disorder, that some eminent persons should everywhere be lifted up above the rest, and ordained to succeed them in the overseeing and ordering both the church and their many presbyters under them; who by an eminence were called their bishops, or, as the word signifies, *supervisors* and governors: so as the ministers, σκοποῦντες, Phil. iii. 17; they ἐπισκοποῦντες: for as the offices, so the names, of bishop and deacon were of apostolical foundation. These bishops therefore were the men whom they furnished with their own ordinary power, as church governors for this purpose. Now the offices grew fully distinct even in the apostles' days, and under their own hands; although sometimes the names, after the former use, were confounded.

All the question then shortly is, whether the apostles of Christ ordained episcopacy thus stated, and thus fixedly qualified with imparity and jurisdiction. For, if we take a bishop for a parochial pastor, and a presbyter for a lay-elder, as too many misconstrue the terms, it were no less than madness to doubt of this superiority: but we take episcopacy in the proper and fore-defined sense; and presbytery according to the only true and ancient meaning of the primitive church, viz. for that which we call now priesthood: the other is a merely new and uncouth device; neither came ever within the ken of antiquity.

As for the further subdivision of this quarrel, whether episcopacy must be accounted a distinct order, or but a several degree

in the same order, there is here no need for the present to enter into the discussion of it; especially since I observe that the wiser sort of our opposites are indifferent to both; so that whichsoever you take may be granted them to be but *juris humani*. And I cannot but wonder at the toughness of those other opposites which stand so highly upon this difference, to have it merely but a degree; in the meanwhile never considering that those among the pontifical divines, which in this point are the greatest patrons of this their fancy, go all upon the ground of the mass; according to which they regulate and conform their opinions therein; first making all ecclesiastical power to have reference to the body of Christ; as Bellarmine fully[x]: then every priest being able with them to make his Maker, what possible power can be imagined, say they, to be above that? The presbyter therefore consecrating as well as the bishop, the order in their conceit, upon this ground, can be but one. So then these doughty champions among us do indeed but plead for Baal, while they would be taken for the only pullers of him down. But, for ourselves, taking order in that sense in which our oracle of learning, bishop Andrews, cites it out of the schools[y], *qua potestas est ad actum specialem;* there can be no reason to deny episcopacy to be a distinct order, since the greatest detractors from it have granted the power of ordination of priests and deacons, and of imposition of hands for confirmation, to bishops only. They are Chamier's own words[z]: *Accipere episcopum novam potestatem et jurisdictionem, non iverim inficias:* "I cannot deny that a bishop," as such, "receiveth a new power and jurisdiction." Moreover in the church of England every bishop receives a new ordination, by way of eminence commonly called his consecration, which cannot be a void act, I trow, and must needs give more than a degree. And why should that great and ancient council define it to be no less than sacrilege to put down a bishop into the place of a presbyter, if it were only an abatement of a degree?

But howsoever this be, yet, if it shall appear that there was by apostolical ordination such a fixed imparity and constant jurisdiction amongst those who were entrusted with the teaching and

[x] Bellarm. de Sacram. Ordin. l. i. c. 9. [ut sup. t. ii. p. 1543.]

[y] Winton. Epist. ad Molin. I. [Opusc. Posth. Lond. 1629, p. 168.]

[z] Camer. de Oecumen. Pontif. l. x. c. 5. [Sed non negare tamen primum illum presbyterum cum episcopo succedebat debuisse iterum consecrari et novam potestatem ac jurisdictionem acquirere. Chamier. Panstrat. Francof. 1627, tom. ii. p. 178.]

governing God's people, that is, of bishops above the other clergy, as I have spoken, we have what we contend for; which while I see doubted, I cannot but wonder with what eyes men read St. Paul in his Epistle to Timothy and Titus. Surely, in my understanding, the apostle speaks so home to the point, that if he were now to give direction to an English bishop how to demean himself in his place, he could not speak more fully to the execution of this sacred office: for, I demand, what is it that is stood upon but these two particulars, the especial power of ordination, and power of the ruling and censuring of presbyters? and if these two be not clear in the charge of the apostle to those two bishops, one of Crete, the other of Ephesus, I shall yield the cause, and confess to want my senses.

SECT. V.—*The clear testimonies of Scripture, especially those out of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, urged.*

Now because this is the main point that is stood upon, and some wayward opposites are ready to except at all proofs but scripture, I shall take leave briefly to scan those pregnant testimonies which I find in those two apostolical epistles.

And first, Timothy is charged, to charge the preachers of Ephesus that *they teach no other doctrine* than was prescribed; that *they do not give heed to fables and genealogies*[a]. If Timothy were an equal presbyter with the rest, those teachers were as good as he: what then had he to do to charge teachers? or what would those teachers care for his charge? how equally apt would they be to charge him to keep within his own compass, and to meddle with his own matters! It is only for superiors to charge, and inferiors to obey.

Secondly, this charge St. Paul commits to Timothy, to oversee and control the unmeet and unseasonable doctrines of the Ephesian false teachers, *according to the prophecies which went before of* him; and that, in opposing himself to their erroneous opinions, he *might war a good warfare*[b]. This controlment cannot be incident into an equality. In this charge, therefore, both given and executed, however it pleased our Tileno-mastix in a scurrilous manner to jeer us upon the like occasion with a *profecto erat pessimus dominus episcopus Paulus*, that "St. Paul was an ill lord bishop," I may truly say that both St. Paul, and

[a] 1 Tim. i. 3, 4. [b] 1 Tim. i. 18.

Timothy his disciple, doth as truly lord it here in their episcopal power as those bishops which they have abdicated.

Thirdly, Timothy must prove and examine the deacons, whether they be *blameless* or not; whether they be so qualified as is by him prescribed; and, if they be found such, must allow them *to use the office of a deacon*, and upon the good and holy use of it promote them to an higher degree[c]. How should this be done without a fixed superiority of power? or what other than this doth an English bishop?

Fourthly, Timothy is encharged with these things in the absence of St. Paul, that, if he should *tarry long*, he might *know how to behave* himself *in the house of God, which is the church of the living God*[d]: that is, how to carry himself, not in the pulpit only, but in church government; in admitting the officers of the Ephesian church. This could not be meant of the duties of a mere presbyter; for what hath such an one to do with the charges and offices of his equals? *par in parem &c.* Besides, that house of God which is the church, wherein his behaving is so required, is not some one private congregation; such an one were not fit for that style of *the pillar and ground of truth;* but that famous diocesan church of Ephesus, yea, of Asia rather, wherein there was the use of the variety of all those offices prescribed. Neither may we think that Timothy was before (after so much attendance of the blessed apostle in his journeys) ignorant of what might concern him as an ordinary minister: it was therefore a more public and general charge which was now imposed upon him: he therefore that knew how to behave himself in a particular congregation must now know what carriage is fit for him as a diocesan.

Fifthly, Timothy must *put the brethren*, that is, the presbyters, *in remembrance* of the foretold dangers of the last times; and must oppose the false doctrine there specified, with this charge, *command and teach*[e]. He must teach them himself; he must command others to teach them. Had he been only a simple presbyter, he might command, and go without; now he must command. If our lords bishops do so much, what do they more?

Sixthly, Timothy is encharged with censures, and prescribed how he must manage them towards old and young: *Rebuke not an elder* (roughly) *&c.* He is also to give charge concerning the

[c] 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9, 10, 13. [d] 1 Tim. iii. 15. [e] 1 Tim. iv. 6, 11.

choice, carriage, and maintenance, of those widows which must be provided for by the church: he hath power to admit some and to refuse others, and to take order the church be not charged unduly[f]; which a single presbyter alone is not allowed to do, even where their own presbytery is on foot.

Seventhly, Timothy must care and see that the elders or presbyters, who are painful in their callings, be respectfully used and liberally maintained[g]. What is this to an ordinary presbyter, that hath no power of disposing any maintenance? If every presbyter had, and nobody over them to moderate it, at what a pass would the quiet of the church be! Who would not repute himself to be most painful, if himself might be judge? No, it was the bishop's work that; a thing that the bishops once might well do, when all the presbyters were (and so were all at first) as of the bishop's family; all the tithes and means of the church coming in to him, and he dispensing among the priests and other church officers to every one his portion. Now indeed, as by the distinction of parishes, and since that by other events, things are fallen, it is that which our bishops indeed may endeavour and pray for; but sure I am it is more than they can hope to do, till God himself be pleased to amend it.

Eighthly, Timothy was charged *not to receive an accusation against an elder*, or presbyter, *but before two or three witnesses*[h]. So then Timothy, by his place, might receive accusations against presbyters. How could he do so if he were but their equal? Our northern Paraclesis can tell us[i] *parium neutrum alteri subordinatur*, and *paria non sunt ὑπάλληλα*, that "fellows cannot be subordinate." Witnesses must be called before him in cases of such accusation. How can this be without a jurisdiction? And when he finds a presbyter manifestly faulty, he may, he must, *rebuke* him *before all, that others also may fear*. That of Epiphanius[k] is upon good ground therefore: "The divine speech of the apostle teacheth who is a bishop, and who a presbyter, in saying to Timothy, *Rebuke not an elder, &c.* How could a bishop rebuke a presbyter, if he had no power over a presbyter?" Thus he. The evidence is so clear, that Cameron himself cannot but confess[l], *Nullus est dubitandi locus, &c.*: "There can be no doubt," saith he, "but that Timothy was elected by the college

[f] 1 Tim. v. 1, &c.
[g] 1 Tim. v. 17.
[h] 1 Tim. v. 19.
[i] Scot. δ τυχ. l. i. c. 4.
[k] Epiphan. Hæres. 75. [ut sup. p. 909.]
[l] Camer. in 1 Tim. iv. [Opp. Genev. 1642. p. 151.]

of elders to govern the college of the elders; and that not without some authority, but such as had meet limits." Thus must, thus might Timothy do, even to presbyters: what could a bishop of England do more? And thus Cameron: though I cannot approve of his election by the college: that conceit is his own; but the authority is yielded.

Ninthly, Timothy is charged *before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels,* to *observe* all *these things, without preferring one* presbyter *before another,* and *doing nothing by partiality*[m]. Plainly therefore Timothy was in such place and authority as was capable of giving favour or using rigour to presbyters: what more can be said of ours?

Tenthly, Timothy is charged to *lay hands suddenly on no man*[n]: he had therefore power of the imposition of hands. On whom should he lay his hands for ordination but on presbyters and deacons? therefore he was above presbyters. *The less,* saith the apostle to the Hebrews, *is blessed of the better,* Heb. vii. 7. He laid hands then. "Yes, but not alone," say our opposites. My demand then is, "But why then should this charge be particularly directed to Timothy, and not to more?" The presbytery some construe to have laid hands on the ordained; but the presbytery so constituted as we shall hereafter declare: but a mere presbyter, or many presbyters, as of his or their own power, never. An apostle did so to Timothy himself; and Timothy, as being a bishop, might do it: but who or where ever any less than he? Neither doth the apostle say, "Lend not thy hand to be laid on with others;" but appropriates it as his own act. Whereas then our Antitilenus tells us the question is not whether this charge were given to Timothy, but whether to Timothy alone; methinks he might easily have answered himself. Doth St. Paul in this act join any with him? Were there not elders good store at Ephesus before? Could they have ordained without him, what need was there of this charge to be laid on Timothy? Be there then what elders soever, their hands without a Timothy will not serve; his without theirs might. To his own if at any time he joined theirs, what else do all bishops of England?

This concerning Timothy.

We come next to Titus, and his charge from St. Paul to *set in order the things that were left yet undone* in the large isle of Crete, or, as it is now called, Candia; a populous island, and

[m] 1 Tim. v. 21. [n] 1 Tim. v. 22.

stored with no less than an hundred cities, whence it had the name of ἑκατόμπολις; and to *ordain elders*, or presbyters, *in every of those cities*, as he had been *appointed* by the apostle[o]. Lo, the whole diocese of Crete is committed to his oversight; not some one parish in it. And what must he do? Two things are enjoined him; to ordain ministers, and to correct disorders: ἵνα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, "to correct," as Beza turns it not amiss; or, as Erasmus, *pergas corrigere*, with an intimation of his former service that way. Where, that the extent of the work may be noted, τὰ λείποντα (as also חִסְרוֹן in the Hebrew[p]) comprehends both things amiss and things wanting: so as the business of Titus was, as of a good bishop, both to rectify and reform those things which were offensive, and by new orders made to supply those matters which were yet defective. As for the ordination, it was not of some one presbyter that wanted to make up the number, but it was universal throughout that whole island; κατὰ πόλιν, *per civitates;* or as we, *in every city*, even through the whole hundred, and not one presbyter in each, but, as the occasion might be, many in every one. The diocese was large, the clergy numerous.

Sect. VI.—*Some elusions of these Scriptures met with and answered.*

The elusion of some, not mean opponents, who have devised that these acts were enjoined to Titus, as by way of society and partnership with the presbytery, so as that he should join with them in these duties of correction and ordination, is so palpable and quite against the hair, that I cannot think the authors of it can believe themselves. Had the apostle so meant, he could as easily have expressed it, and have directed his charge to more.

Titus alone is singled out. Now if it were in the power of every presbyter to do those things without him, what needed this weight to have been laid on his shoulders alone? And if the charge were that he must urge and procure it to be done, by what authority? And if he had authority, either without or above them, it is that we strive for. And now, I beseech you, what doth any bishop of England challenge more, as essential to his place, than power of ordination, and power of correction of disorders?

[o] Titus i. 5. [p] Eccl. i. 15.

Secondly, it is also the charge given to Titus, ἐπιστομίζειν, to *stop the mouths* of those false teachers who broach doctrines they ought not for filthy lucre's sake, and to pass sharp censures upon them [q]. What can do this but episcopal authority?

Thirdly, again, it is the charge upon Titus, *A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject,* Titus iii. 10. So then, it is to Titus it belongs to proceed against erroneous teachers, to judge of heresy, to give formal admonitions to the heretic, to cast him out of the church upon his obstinacy. Can any man suppose it to be for a mere presbyter to make such a judicial process against heretics, or to eject them out of the church? Would not they have returned it upon him with scorn and derision? Or what is spiritual jurisdiction, if power to do this be not?

To sum up all therefore, it is no other than our present episcopal power that by the blessed apostle is committed to Timothy and Titus; and that with so clear evidence, that for my part I do not more fully believe there were such men, than they had such power, and these warrants to execute it.

It is a poor shift of some, that Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and therefore persons extraordinary, and not in this behalf capable of succession. For whatever they were in their personal qualifications, yet here they stood for bishops, and received as church governors these charges, which were to be ordinary and perpetual to all that should succeed in ecclesiastical administration.

As for the title, how will it appear they were evangelists? For Titus there is no colour: for Timothy, it is true St. Paul charges him to *do the work of an evangelist:* what of that? That might imply as well that he was not indeed in that particular office, which yet St. Paul would have him supply howsoever [r]: and no doubt he did so: so he did the work of the Lord, as St. Paul did, and yet not an apostle. He that jeers this answer might know that the implication of the word is as large for both. Who knows not the promiscuous use of these terms? As well may they say he was a doctor, because he is bidden to teach; and yet these offices are challenged for distinct: or a deacon, because he is charged with a διακονία. What is it to *do the work of an evangelist,* but to preach the *evangelium pacis,* "the gospel of peace," which he might, he must do as a bishop? and

[q] Tit. i. 11. [r] Scot. ὁ τυχ. l. i. c. 5.

what propriety is there of these enjoined works to an evangelist, as he was an evangelist? What! can they show it was his office to ordain, or to censure? Nay rather, how should those works which are constant and ordinary, and so consequently derivable to all successions to the end of the world, be imposed upon a mere extraordinary agent? Neither is there any opposition at all in these terms: they might be evangelists while they were in their journey, attending on the apostles, and preaching abroad: they might be and were bishops when they were settled upon the charge of some territory or province.

"But," saith our Tileno-mastix, "four years after St. Paul had given this charge of episcopacy to Timothy, there was an equality of presbyters at Ephesus: they were all convented, and no news of Timothy as their bishop[s]:"—Poorly: when the sun shines what use is there of the stars? When St. Paul was present his greater light extinguishes the less: what need any mention of Timothy? Or why may not I take upon me to affirm as more likely, that St. Paul, who had associated Timothy with him in six several epistles, would also call him as his assessor in this his last exhortation to his presbyters? Neither can we be flouted out of that construction of the late learned bishops Barlow and Buckeridge, of, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus constituit episcopos:* that these elders were indeed bishops, such as whereof Timothy was one; such as whereof St. Peter acknowledges himself a compresbyter? for if it be alleged, as it is, that this is against our own principles, who allow but one bishop in one city, and these were many; let me put the objector in mind, that though these bishops were called together by St. Paul from Miletum to Ephesus, yet they were not all said to be elders of Ephesus; but from thence monition went speediliest out to all places to call them. And so we hear St. Paul say, *Ye all, amongst whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God:* which plainly argues they were not confined to the compass of one city or territory, but overseers of several and far-dispersed charges. As St. Paul therefore to his Timothy, so St. Luke here uses the terms promiscuously; one being as yet in common use for both, though the offices were sensibly distinguished.

And now, what shall we say to this? Tell me, ye that look upon these papers with censorious eyes; tell me, is all this, think you, no other than a formal presidence of an assembly, without

[s] Acts xx.

any power or command? Is this to do but as a consul in a senate; to propound cases, to gather votes, to declare the judgment of the presbytery or synod; or, as Zanchy resembles it, *ut rector in academia*, "as a rector in one of their academies;" or rather, as St. Jerome, whom you challenge for your patron in this point, hath it[t], *tanquam imperator in exercitu*, "as a general in an army," who hath power both to marshal all the troops, and to command the captains and colonels, and to execute martial law upon officers? If you have a mind to suffer your eyes to be willingly blinded with such improbable suggestions, falling from those whom you think you have otherwise reason to honour, hug still your own palpable error; not without our pity, though without the power of redress: but if you care for truth, and desire in the presence of God to embrace it for truth's own sake, without respect to persons, ask your own hearts whether these charges and services laid by the elect vessel upon his Timothy and Titus be any other than really episcopal, and such as manifestly carry in them both superiority and jurisdiction.

SECT. VII.—*The testimony of St. John in his Revelation pressed.*

Neither can all the shifts in the world elude that pregnant vision and charge of the blessed apostle St. John, in whose longer-lasting time the government of the church was fully settled in this threefold imparity of the orders and degrees; who, having had the special supervision of the whole Asian church, was by the Spirit of God commanded to direct his seven epistles to the bishops of those seven famous churches by the name of so many angels: *To the angel of the church of Ephesus; to the angel of the church in Smyrna, &c.*

For what can be more plain than that in every of these churches, as for instance that of Ephesus, there were many presbyters, yet but one angel? If that one were not in place above the rest, and higher by the head than they, how comes he to be noted in the throng? Why was not the direction, "To all the angels of the church of Ephesus?" All were angels in respect of their ministry; one was the angel in respect of his fixed superiority[u].

[t] Hieron. Epist. ad Evagrium. [Quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat.—Ep. ad Evangelium. t. iv. pars 2. p. 803.]

[u] Divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ.—Aug. Ep. 162. [ed. Ben. t. ii. ep. 43. p. 98. Quod si de angelo superiorum cœlorum et non de præpositis ecclesiæ vellet intelligi non, &c.]

There were thousands of stars in this firmament of the Asian churches: there were but seven of the first magnitude. Who can endure such an evasion, that one is mentioned, many are meant? as if they had said, "To one, that is, to more:" "To one angel, that is, to more angels than one[x]." To what purpose is it to insist upon any propriety of speech, if we may take such liberty of construction? as if, when the prophet came to Jehu with a message, and expressly said, *To thee, O captain*, he should have turned it off to the rest, and have said, "To me, that is, not to me alone, but to all my fellows with me."

But to put this matter out of doubt, it is particularly known who some of those angels were. Holy Polycarpus was known to be the angel of the church of Smyrna, whom Ignatius the blessed martyr mentions as by his episcopacy greater than his clergy. Timothy had been not long before bishop of Ephesus, yea, of the Asians: now Onesimus was, whose metropolis Ephesus was; wherein Ignatius acknowledges πολυπλήθειαν, "a very great multitude" of Christians; so large, that in the emperor Leo's time it had thirty-six bishoprics under it; and so was Sardis, having under it twenty-four[y]. And shall we think that these great dioceses were as some obscure parishes, wherein were no variety of eminent persons? So as the angel that is noted here must needs be of a large jurisdiction and great authority.

But if any man shall imagine these things spoken to the angel as to him under that title in the name of all the rest, let him know that this cannot be; for that the charges and challenges there made are personal, and such as could not be communicated to all; for who can say that all those of the church of Ephesus were patient and laborious; that none of them fainted; that they all lost their first love; that all hated the work of the Nicolaitans[z]? Who can say that all those of the church of Smyrna were either poor or rich[a]? that none in the church of Pergamos denied the faith[b]?

Besides, here is a manifest distinction betwixt the pastor or bishop, and those of his charge; and they are described by the severalties of their estates: as, when he had acknowledged the graces of Polycarpus, the angel of Smyrna, and encouraged that

[x] Non populum aggreditur —— sed principem cleri, utique episcopum. — Marlorat. [Expos. Eccl. in Apocal. c. ii. v. 1.]

[y] Jura Græc. pp. 88, 90.

[z] Rev. ii. 2, 3, 4, 6.

[a] Rev. ii. 9.

[b] Rev. ii. 13.

blessed martyr, by way of premonition to some of his church, *Behold, some of you the devil shall cast into prison, and ye shall be tried, and endure tribulation ten days:* and then, addressing to him, *Be thou faithful to the death, &c:* Rev. ii. 10. And in his fourth epistle, distinguishing the angel or bishop of Thyatira from the rest of his charge, *But unto you,* saith he, *and the rest of Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and the depth of Satan, as they speak; I will put none other burden upon them. But that which ye have hold fast till I come,* Rev. ii. 24, 25.

So that this conceit is no less wild than that other which follows it of my old acquaintance Brightman; who makes not only these angels the types of those churches, but those churches of Asia the types and histories of all the Christian churches which should be to the end of the world. Thus the bells say what some hearers think.

So clear is this truth, that the opposites have been forced to yield the priority here intimated: but a priority of order only, not of power: a priority of presidency for the time, not personal. Beza yields him, *τὸν προεστῶτα,* as he acknowledges Justin Martyr to call him, "president of the presbytery:" *Imo ne perpetuum. q. istud προεστῶτος, munus esse necessario oportuisse;* but perhaps not perpetual. Wherein I bless myself to see how prejudice can blind the eyes of the wise and learned: for what author in the whole world ever mentioned such a fashion of ambulatory government in the church? And do not our histories testify that Polycarpus, the angel of Smyrna, died bishop there? that Onesimus, by Ignatius's testimony, so continued bishop of Ephesus; James, at Jerusalem? and if those errors taxed by the Holy Ghost were but for the time of a shifting presidency, why should any one of the momentary guides of the churches be charged so home with all the abuses of their jurisdiction? How easy had it been for him to shift the fault as he did the chair! for how could it concern him more than the next men? Surely this conceit is more worthy of pity than confutation. No indifferent reader can look upon that scripture and not confess it a straitened construction.

Here then were certainly both continuance and jurisdiction. Wherein Parker braves our learned doctor Field, as relying merely upon the proofs of human authority; but that worthy divine, had he insisted upon the point (which he but touched in

the way) could easily, out of the very text itself, have evicted the angels' power and jurisdiction: for how plain is it, that the angel of Ephesus had taken the examination of the counterfeit apostles, and found them liars! which if a mere presbyter had undertaken to do, to be sure he had been shaken off with scorn enough. It is imputed to the angel of the church of Pergamos, that however himself in his own person held constant to the faith; yet that there were those under his charge who held the doctrine of Balaam, the beastly errors of the Nicolaitans: they were of his clergy that taught these wicked doctrines; and for this the bishop is taxed and menaced: how should this be if he had not had a coercive power to restrain and punish them? And more plainly, the angel of the church of Thyatira, notwithstanding all his good parts, graces, services, is sharply taxed: what is his fault? that *thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants, &c.:* Rev. ii. 20. Were he but an ordinary presbyter, unarmed with power, how could he help it? or why should he be charged with what he could not redress? Let an ingenuous reader now judge whether these be not more than probabilities of a supereminent and jurisdictive power in these special angels of the Asian churches.

Shortly then, upon these clear passages of St. Paul and St. John meeting with the grounds laid by our blessed Saviour, I am, for my part, so confident of the divine institution of the majority of bishops above presbyters, that I dare boldly say there are weighty points of faith which have not so strong evidence in holy scriptures.

Let me instance in that power, which we that are evangelical ministers have by the virtue of our sacred orders given to us alone, for the consecration and distribution of the holy eucharist; a point not more highly than justly stood upon by all orthodox divines, yea Christians. What warrant can we challenge for this right but our Saviour's practice; and withal, that speech of his to his disciples, *Do this in remembrance of me?* Luke xxii. 19. Now if this *Hoc facite* shall be taken, as it is by some, as not spoken of the consecration or benediction, but of the receipt; what warrant had the apostles and all their holy successors in the church of God ever since to enjoin and appropriate this sacred work to none but those that are presbyters by ordination?

The receiving of infants to holy baptism is a matter of so high consequence, that we justly brand our catabaptists with heresy for denying it: yet let me, with good assurance, say that the

evidences for this truth come far short of that which the scriptures have afforded us for the superiority of some church governors over those, who otherwise indeed, in a sole respect of their ministerial function, are equal.

He therefore that would, upon pretence of want of scriptures, quarrel at the divine institution of bishops, having so evident and unavoidable testimonies, might with much better colour cavil at those blessed ordinances of God which the whole church hath thought herself bound upon sufficient reason to receive and reverence.

SECT. VIII.—*The estate and order of episcopacy deduced from the apostles to the primitive bishops.*

Did not the holy scriptures yield unto us these firm grounds whereon to build our episcopacy, in vain should we plead the tradition and practice of the church ever since: forasmuch as we have to deal with those who are equally disaffected to the name of a bishop and to tradition, and are so forestalled with their own prejudice that they are carried, where scripture is silent, to an unjust jealousy against the universal practice of the whole church of God upon earth. But now, when Christ and his apostles give us the text, well may the apostolical and universal church yield us the commentary. And that, let me boldly say, is so clear for us, that if our opposites dare stand to this trial, the day is ours. Their guiltiness therefore would fain decline this bar.

Parker, taking advantage from a word of Tertullian[c], *Nihil interest quando quid sit, quod ab apostolis non fuit:* "It matters not when anything is, which was not under the apostles; that is adulterine, whatever it be, that is not named by the apostles," infers; "What then? It matters not when the episcopal hierarchy began, whether sooner or later: it is enough that it is adulterine, for that it is not named by the apostles. And contrarily, it matters no whit at what time the reformed discipline was impaired, whether in the very first church or no, or whether in the time immediately succeeding." Thus he[d].

And shall we take him at his word? Where then did the

[c] Tertull. de Præscript. c. 24, 25. [Quos multos testes si nolunt ecclesiam intelligi nihil interest quando nihil tacitum fuerit quod sub multis testibus proferebatur.—See Routh's Script. Eccl. Opusc. Oxon. 1840. vol. i. p. 142.]

[d] Quid igitur? nihil interest, &c. l. ii. c. 8.—[Parker Pol. Eccl. 1624 p. 187.]

apostles name this man's consistory? Where his lay changeable presbytery? Where his discipline? It is therefore adulterine. As also, where name they the people's voice in their minister's election? Where classes or synods? Are all these adulterine? For us, we are not concerned in this censure: our episcopacy is both named and recommended and prescribed by the apostles. As for his discipline, seeing it never came within the mention either of an apostle or of any Christian for above fifteen hundred years since our Saviour left the world, what can that be but grossly adulterine?

But to make up all; Parker should have done well to have taken notice of the following words of Tertullian: *Quod ab apostolis* [*utique*] *non damnatur, immo defenditur, hoc erit judicium* [*indicium*] *proprietatis*[d]: "That which is not condemned by the apostles, yea defended rather, may well be judged for their own:" and then he would have found how strong this plea of Tertullian is against himself: for where ever can he show episcopacy condemned by the apostle? Yea, how clearly do we show it, not allowed only, but enjoined! Finding therefore episcopal imparity so countenanced by the written word, we have good reason to call in all antiquity, and the universal church succeeding the apostles, as the voice of the spouse, to second her glorious husband.

Had there been any sensible gap of time betwixt the days of the apostles and the ordination of bishops in the Christian church, we might have had some reason to suspect this institution to have been merely human: but now, since it shall appear that this work of erecting episcopacy passed both under the eyes and hands of those sacred ambassadors of Christ who lived to see their episcopal successors planted in the several regions of the world, what reason can any man pretend that this institution should be any other than apostolical? Had it been otherwise, they lived to have countermanded it.

How plain is that of St. Ambrose! Paul saw James at Jerusalem, because he was made bishop of that place by the apostles: and to the same effect St. Austin, contra Crescon. 1. 2. St. Jerome, the only author amongst the ancients who is wont with any colour to be alleged against the right of episcopacy; yet himself confesseth that bishops began in Alexandria from Mark the evangelist, who died six years before St. Peter or St. Paul; thirty-five years before St. James the apostle; forty-five years before Simon

[d] [Tertull. de Præscript. See Routh's Script. Eccl. Opusc. vol. i. p. 151.]

Cleophas, who succeeded St. James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, being the kinsman of our Saviour, as Eusebius, brother to Joseph, as Hegesippus[e]. The same author can tell us, that in the very times of the apostles Ignatius was bishop of Antioch, indeed of Syria; Polycarpus of Smyrna[f]; Timothy of Ephesus; Titus of Crete or Candia; that Papias, St. John's auditor, soon after was made bishop of Hierapolis; Quadratus, a disciple of the apostle, bishop of Athens, after Publius his martyred predecessor.

And can we think these men were made bishops without the knowledge and consent of the apostles then living, or with it? Without it we cannot say, except we will disparage both the apostles' care and power; and withal the holiness of these their successors, who were known to be apostolical men, disciples of Christ, companions of the apostles, and lastly blessed martyrs. If with it, we have our desire: what shall I need to instance?

Our learned Bilson hath cleared this point beyond all contradiction. In whom[g] you may please to see, out of Eusebius, Hegesippus, Socrates, Jerome, Epiphanius, others, as exact a pedigree of all the holy bishops of the primitive church, succeeding each other in the four apostolical sees until the time of the Nicene council, as our Godwin or Mason can give us of our bishops of England, or a Speed or Stow of our English kings. There you shall find from James the Lord's brother, who, as Jerome himself expressly, sat as bishop in the church of Jerusalem, to Macarius, who sat in the Nicene council, forty bishops punctually named: from St. Peter, who governed the church of Antioch, and was succeeded by Evodius, and he by Ignatius, twenty-seven: in the see of Rome thirty-seven: in the see of Alexandria, from Mark the evangelist, twenty-three: a catalogue which cannot be questioned without too much injurious incredulity, nor denied without an unreasonable boldness.

The same course was held in all other churches: neither may we think these varied from the rest; but rather, as prime sees, were patterns to the more obscure. "For the other," saith Eusebius[h], "it is not possible by name to rehearse them all that were pastors, employed in the first successions of the church government after the apostles." Neither indeed needeth it; the

[e] Euseb. l. iii. c. 11.

[f] Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum.—Tert. de Præsc. [c. 32. ut sup. Routh's Opusc. vol. i. p. 147.]

[g] Perpet. Govern. of the Church, ch. 13. [Lond. 1610. p. 244. et seq.]

[h] Euseb. l. iii. c. 37.

wariest buyers by one handful judge of the whole sack: and this truth is so clear, that the most judicious late divines have not stuck to acknowledge so much as we have desired.

Sect. IX.—*The testimony and assent of Bucer, and some famous French divines.*

"By the perpetual observation of the church, even from the apostles themselves," saith Bucer, "we see it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, that among the presbyters to whom the charge of the church is specially committed, one should have the singular charge of the churches; and in that charge and care governed others: for which cause the name of bishops was attributed to these chief governors of the church." Thus he, in full accord with us.

And Chamier, when he had first granted[i] that *statim post apostolorum excessum,* "immediately after the decease of the apostles," began the difference between a bishop and presbyter; straight, as correcting himself, adds, *Quid? Res ipsa cœpit tempore apostolorum, vel potius ab ipsis profecta est;* "The thing itself began in the very time of the apostles, yea proceeded from them." Thus he: although withal he affirms this difference not to have been essential but accidental; a distinction in this respect unproperly perhaps applied by him. But otherwise, Spalatensis justly both yields and makes it in a right and sure sense: for certainly in the proper works of their ministerial function, in preaching and administering the word and sacraments, they differ not, or only differ in some accident; but yet, in those points which concern ordination and the administration of government, then the difference is real and palpable; and that, as we shall soon see, not without a fixed jurisdiction[k].

To the same purpose my reverend and ancient friend Moulin, in one of his epistles to the renowned bishop of Winchester; *Statim post, &c.:* "Soon after the apostles' time," saith he[l], or rather in their own time, as the ecclesiastical story witnesseth, it

[i] Cham. de Membris Eccles. Milit. l. iv. c. 1. [§ 14. Panstrat. t. v. p. 154. ed. Alsted. 1629.]

[k] Nulla est [neque est ulla] essentialis distinctio inter episcopos et presbyteros, respectu ministerii;—idem enim utriusque est: apostoli, tamen, erant primarii a Christo ministri instituti; quibus, et non aliis, ecclesiæ suæ fundationem et regimen commisit. Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3. [§ 9. Heidelb. 1618. p. 124. pars 1.]

[l] Molin. Epist. ad Winton. ep. 3. [Opusc. ut sup. p. 179.]

was constituted, that in one city one presbyter should have pre-eminence over his colleagues, who was called a bishop." *Et hanc regiminis formam omnes ubique ecclesiæ receperunt:* "And this form of government all churches everywhere received."

I do willingly take the word of these two famous professors of the French church. The one says *Constitutum est,* "It was constituted in the time of the apostles;" the other that "it proceeded from the apostles themselves." If it were constituted in their time, and proceeded from them, and were in this name received of all churches; then certainly it must be yielded to be of apostolical, that is, divine institution.

More if it needed might be added, and that out of Chamier's own allegation.

Thus much truth is not grudged us by these ingenuous divines. All the question is of the nature and extent of this superiority. This difference there was; but, as that great pancratiast and others with him contend, though many prerogatives were yielded to the bishop in his place, especially in the nobler cities; yet this place was but *primatus ordinis,* "a primacy of order" only: *Nulla erat hic dominatio, aut jurisdictio, sed sancta charitas;* "Here was no rule, no jurisdiction, but all was swayed by a holy charity [m]."

Here's the knot; where's the wedge? Why 'tis here. If charity did it then, it doth it still; for I hope jurisdiction and charity may well stand together: and Chamier had no reason to oppose things which agree so well; and as well in a bishop as in a civil magistrate.

For as for rule, if we affect any but fatherly and moderate, and such as must necessarily be required for the conservation of peace and good order in the church of God, we do not deprecate a censure. We know how to bear humble minds in eminence of places; how to command without imperiousness; and to comply without exposing our places to contempt. So as those are but spiteful frumps and malicious suggestions which are cast upon us, of a tyrannical pride and lordly domineering over our brethren. We are their superiors in place, but we hate to think they should be lowlier in mind.

But hereof we shall have fitter occasion in the sequel.

[m] Cham. ubi supra.

SECT. X.—*The superiority and jurisdiction of Bishops proved by the testimony of the first fathers and apostolical men: and first, of Clemens, the partner of the apostles.*

As for that jurisdiction which we claim, and those reverend and obedient respects which we expect from our clergy; if they be other than those which were both required and given in the very first times of the gospel under the apostles themselves, and of those whom they immediately entrusted with the government of the church, let us be hissed out from among Christians.

For proof of this right then whom should I rather begin with, after the apostles, than an apostolical man, a copartner and a dear familiar of the two prime apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul? I mean Clemens, whom St. Paul mentions honourably in his Epistle to the Philippians, by the title of one of his *fellow-labourers whose names are in the book of life:* Phil. iv. 3: one who laid St. Peter in his grave, as Theodoret tells us, and followed that blessed apostle both in his see and in his martyrdom: yea one whom Clemens Alexandrinus enstyles no less than an apostle of so great reputation in the church, that, as Jerome tells us, he was by some reputed the penman of the holy Epistle to the Hebrews: and that learned father finds the face of his style alike, if not the same.

You look now that I should produce some blown ware out of the pack of his Recognitions or Apostolical Constitutions: but I shall deceive you, and urge a testimony from that worthy and apostolic author which was never yet soiled so much as with any pen, either in citation, or much less in contradiction, of venerable and unquestionable authority. It is of that noble and holy epistle of his which he wrote to the Corinthians upon the occasion of those quarrels, which were it seems on foot in St. Paul's time, and still continued: emulation and side-takings amongst and against their teachers; which belike proceeded so far as to the ejecting of their bishop and presbyters out of their places. He gravely taxes them with this kind of spiritual conspiracy, and advises them to keep their own stations.

For which purpose, having laid before them the history of Aaron's rod budding, and thereby the miraculous confirmation of his election, he adds[n], "And our apostles, knowing by our

[n] Clem. Epist. ad Corinthios. c. 44, 45. Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες, &c. [Jacobson Patr. Apost. Oxon. 1847. t. i. p. 156.]

Lord Jesus Christ the contention that would arise, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name of episcopacy; and they for this very same cause having received perfect knowledge, appointed the foresaid (degrees), and gave thereupon a designed order or list of offices, that when they should sleep (in their graves) others that were well approved men might succeed in their charge or service. Those therefore which were constituted by them, or of other renowned men (after them), with the consent and good liking of the whole church, and have accordingly served unblamably in the sheepfold of Christ, with all meekness, quietly, and without all taint of corruption: and those who of a long time have carried a good testimony from all men; these we hold cannot justly or without much injury be put from their office and service. For it were no small sin in us if we shall refuse and reject them who have holily and without reproof undergone these offices of episcopacy. And withal, blessed are those presbyters who, having dispatched their journey (by death), have obtained a perfect and fruitful dissolution: for now they need not fear lest any man shall out them from the place wherein they now are. For we see that some ye have removed and displaced from their unblamably-managed office. Ye are contentious, my brethren, and are quarrelsome about those things which do not concern salvation. Search diligently the scriptures, &c." Thus Clement.

Did he write this, trow we, to the church of Corinth, or of Scotland? Judge you how well it agrees. But in the meantime you see these distinctions of degrees: you see the quarrels arising about the very title: you see that the bishops ordained by the apostles succeeded in their service: you see they continued or ought to continue in their places during their life: you see it a sin to out them, except there be just cause in their misdemeanor.

The testimony is so clear that I well foresee you will be not a little pinched with it, and desirous to give yourself ease. And which way can you do it?

Perhaps you will be quarreling with the authority and antiquity of the epistle. But this iron is too hot for you to take up. It hath too much warrant in the innate simplicity of it, and too much testimony from the ancient fathers of the church for any adversary to contradict. Though it could come but lately to our hands, yet we know long since that it had the attestation of Justin Martyr; of Irenæus, who calls it ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν, τοῖς

Κορινθίοις; of Clemens Alexandrinus; of Origen; of Cyril of Jerusalem; of Photius, who terms it ἐπιστολὴν ἀξιόλογον, "a very worthy epistle;" of Jerome, who terms it *valde utilem*, "a very profitable epistle," and tells us that it was of old publicly read as authentical in churches, and that in the character of it it much resembles that to the Hebrews. This noble monument, that you may not doubt how it came so late to our hands, was by Cyril, the late worthy patriarch of Constantinople, sent out of his library of Alexandria, whence he removed, to our gracious sovereign of Great Britain, for a precious present; as that which was by the hand of St. Tecla herself transcribed and placed at the end of the Old and New Testament, fairly by her written in the same character, a present worth too much gold. And if any man do yet misdoubt, his eyes may inform him by the view of it in his majesty's library, where it is kept; and, out of a desire of more public good, was lately set forth by the learned searcher of antiquities, Mr. Patrick Young, the worthy keeper of his majesty's library [n].

But if any man shall hope to elude this testimony, by taking advantage of the only mention of presbyters and deacons in the foregoing passages, let him know this was only according to the occasion of the writing of that epistle. And withal let him consider who wrote it, even Clement bishop of Rome: whether the first, as some of the ancient, or the third, as others, after St. Peter; a difference not hard to be reconciled; and therefore how little danger there is of his favouring a parity in that sacred administration.

Sect. XI.—*The pregnant and full testimonies of the holy saint and martyr Ignatius* [o] *urged.*

After him, what better and more convincing authority can we appeal unto than that of holy Ignatius, the famous martyr of

[n] [This MS. was sent in 1628 as a present to king Charles I. from Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch first of Alexandria and afterwards of Constantinople, by the hands of sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador.—Jacobson's Patr. Apost. Index Edd. vol. i. p. lxi.]

[o] Scarcely any other question respecting ecclesiastical antiquity has been so vehemently discussed, as that which concerns the writings of Ignatius. The defenders of episcopacy finding in them the most explicit and unequivocal declarations in their favour, it became the interest of its opposers to prove them spurious.

"Ne de brevioribus quidem Ignatii Epistolis," observes Harles in his new edition of Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca, "tam acriter fuisset disputatum, nisi patronos vindicesque jurium et dignitatis episcoporum in illis epistolis præsidium, idque firmum, ad suam sententiam et episcoporum auctoritatem, quæ vel ad-eo constituta jam ætate apostolorum permagna fuisset, ut jam Ignatii ævo

Christ? whose memory is justly precious to the whole church of God to this very present age; that miracle of martyrs, who

discrimen inter episcopos et presbyteros esset observatum, stabiliendam repetisse sibi persuasissent. Hinc, post editas illas atque vindicatas à Vossio et Usherio, ii præcipuè, qui pro auctoritate episcoporum inter Anglos, Gallos, etiam Germanos, quasi militaverunt, fidem illarum sequis viribus veluti defendere studuerunt: inter quos eminet Pearsonus; cui etiam multi viri docti inter Lutheranos, qui vocantur, accesserunt. Eo majorem diligentiam adhibuerunt, et acriorem vim ingenii atque majorem litterarum adtulerunt copiam ad fidem et breviorum et longiorum minuendam atque infringendam, in Angliâ qui presbyteriani dicuntur: quorum dux quasi et fortissimus fuit et maximè idoneus Dallæus."

There has been long but one opinion respecting the spuriousness of eight epistles which have passed under the name of Ignatius: but for the genuineness of the seven epistles of which our author speaks (viz. those to the Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, Polycarp, the Ephesians, and Romans,) there are irrefragable arguments.

It was however allowed, even by some who received these seven epistles as genuine, that they were greatly interpolated and corrupted. Vedelius, whose edition of them, printed in small folio at Geneva in 1623, is used by our author, marks many passages in the margin as supposititious, and borrowed chiefly from the Apostolical Constitutions. Our author was however of a different opinion: but with how little success he opposes Vedelius, we shall presently see. The incomparable Usher published at Oxford in 1644, three years after this work of bishop Hall, the same Greek text as that in Vedelius's edition, but accompanied by a Latin version discovered by him in this country, which differed most widely from the Greek. In 1646 Isaac Vossius published at Amsterdam the first copy of the genuine Greek text of six of these epistles, obtained from a MS. in the Medicean library at Florence; the epistle to the Romans, which is wanting in that MS., being published in Greek by Ruinart from a Colbert. MS. at Paris. With the Greek text Vossius printed the Latin version of Usher's edition, with which version the genuine Greek was found almost wholly to agree. Usher published in consequence, the next year, his Appendix Ignatiana; wherein he cordially adopted the Medicean text: and this text has been since received as the standard and genuine text by Pearson, Hammond, Cotelerius, Smith, and others. The interpolated edition is sometimes called the larger, and the genuine the smaller edition.

I shall point out the variations between the interpolated text, as quoted by our author, and the genuine. It will be seen that several passages, the genuineness of which he defends against Vedelius, are in reality not genuine; and that others are interpolated, of which Vedelius appears to have had no suspicion. Enough however remains as genuine to prove the main points in question, viz. the distinction of the three orders, and the superiority of the episcopal.

The reader will find the principal authors on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, Bib. Græca, lib. v. cap. 1. in vol. v. of his own edition. pp. 38–47; or vol. vii. of Harles's edition, pp. 32–47, with additional authors by that editor. He may consult Hammond's "Dissertatio de Ignatio," in his works, fol. vol. iv. pp. 744–774; his "Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles, and the Episcopacy in them asserted," particularly chap. iii. sect. 3. pp. 22–25, at the end of the second volume of his works; and Cotelerius's Patres Apostolici, edit. 1724 by Le Clerc, in the second volume of which he will find every thing most interesting on the subject—viz. the seven genuine epistles in the smaller or pure edition; the same epistles in the larger or interpolated; the eight spurious epistles; the different Latin versions; and the prefaces and chief notes of Usher, Vossius, and others; with the Vindiciæ Ignatianæ of

called his fetters Christ's chains of spiritual pearls; who, when he was to be thrown to the wild beasts for the profession of Christ, could boast that he should set to the world as the sun, that he might rise to God; and when he heard the lions roaring, "I am," said he [p], "Christ's wheat: oh, let me be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread for my God: make much of these wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre, that nothing may be left of my body, &c. I had rather die for Christ than reign over the whole world."

This blessed saint in all those confessedly genuine epistles which he wrote, seven in number, still so beats upon this point, as if religion depended upon it, reverence and obedience to their bishops.

This man lived in the days of the apostles, conversed with them, and in likelihood saw Christ in the flesh; being martyred in the eleventh year of Trajan, according to Baronius; and therefore throughly acquainted with the state of God's church in the apostles' time and his own, and should, in this name, be more to us than a thousand witnesses. Every word of his is worthy to carry our hearts along with him.

Hear then what he saith in his Epistle ad Trallianos [q]; "Be subject to your bishop as to the Lord, for he watcheth for your souls." And straight [r], "Necessary it is, that whatsoever ye do, ye should do nothing without your bishop; but be ye subject also to your priests, as to the apostles of Christ." See what a distance here is! Whereas other of the fathers compare the

bishop Pearson. See also the judicious and impartial Lardner (Credib. p. ii. ch. 5. in his works, Lond. 1788. vol. ii. pp. 65-70); who, while he acknowledges the question respecting the authenticity of even the smaller edition of the seven epistles to be very difficult, yet, considering the testimonies to be found to them in Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, and also their internal characters of great simplicity and piety, accounts them in the main the genuine production of Ignatius.—PRATT.

[p] Ἀκούσας τοῦ βρυγμοῦ τῶν λεόντων, ἔφη σῖτος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰμί, &c.—Hier. Catalog. Script. Eccles.

[q] Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀγρυπνεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν· Epist. ad Trall. p. 4. ed. Vedelii.—The genuine text of the Mediccan Codex has the passage thus: τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. —PRATT. [αὐτὸς γὰρ, &c. does not appear. See Jacobson, Patr. Apost. p. 346.]

[r] Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν, ὅσαπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Epist. ad Trall. p. 4. ed. Vedelii.—The genuine Greek has this whole passage; only it substitutes ὅσπερ for ὅσαπερ; which, says Hammond, (Works, vol. ii. Append. p. 23), makes a "more grammatical sense: not 'whatsoever things you do, do nothing, &c.' but 'it is necessary, as already you practise, to do nothing without the bishop,'"—PRATT.

bishops to the apostles, presbyters to the seventy disciples, this man advanceth his pattern higher; requiring obedience to bishops as to Christ; to presbyters as to the apostles. And what proportion is there betwixt the respects we owe to God and to man?

And a while after yet higher. "The bishop," saith he[s], "bears the resemblance of God the Father of all things; the priests are as the bench of his apostles, &c."

And, lest any man should construe these words to sound only of a generality of reverent respects, without yielding of any power of command, soon after he speaks home: "for what other," saith he[t], "is a bishop, than he that is superior to all principality and power; and, as far as a man's power may reach, made an imitator of the Christ of God? And what is the presbytery or priesthood but a holy company, the counsellors and assessors of the bishop? and what the deacons but the imitators of the angelical powers, which give him pure and unblamable attendance?"

What say ye now to this, ye patrons of parity in church government? How do ye think your opinion consorts with this blessed saint's, the holy partner of the apostles? Here ye have the three distinct orders of bishops, priests or presbyters, and deacons. Here you have a clear and constant superiority of bishops above priests, with no less difference than between a prince and his council-board; above deacons no less than between a prince and his attendants: and this delivered according to the received judgment and practice of the primitive church.

The testimony is too pregnant to be eluded. And yet, well fare a friend in a corner! Nic. Vedelius, because he sees the witness so clear that he cannot be shifted off, charges him with corruption and subornation; pretending that sure these words are foisted in, he knows not how, into the text.

We are yet beholding to him for asserting the truth and legitimation of these seven epistles of our martyr, which Coke and Parker and Antitilenus, being nettled with their unavoidable evidences, durst cry down for bastardy; whom I leave to be

[s] Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει· οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ· Epist. ad Trall. p. 5. ed. Vedelii.—ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, (scil. πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν) ὄντα εἰδὸν τοῦ Πατρός. τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. Cod. Med. —PRATT.

[t] Τί γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος; κ. τ. ἀ. Epist. ad Trall. p. 9. ed. Vedelii.—The whole passage is wanting in the Codex Med.—PRATT.

thoroughly schooled by Chamier, Rivetus[u], Vedelius[x]; by whom, out of all antiquity, they are sufficiently vindicated to the shame of the injurious accusers. It is out of my way to follow this chase.

But herein Vedelius plays his part; that those passages which he finds in these confessedly authentic epistles, most convictive for our purpose, he would fain challenge to be corrupted.

And why so? "Surely," saith he, "these words of principality and power ascribed to bishops do not savour of that golden age of the apostles wherein Ignatius lived; when episcopacy was not *imperium et potestas*, "a rule and power," but a service rather."

And why not both? As if excellency of dignity could not consist with humility of officiousness. What else doth our Saviour imply in his charge, *He that is the greatest amongst you, let him be your servant?* Their glory, like as their Saviour's kingdom, was not of this world. Spiritual greatness may well agree with outward lowliness. St. Paul matcheth *ἀσθενείαν* and *δυνάμιν*, *weakness* and *power*[y]; and even while he was tent-making could speak of his *ἐξουσία* and *δυναμίς*[z].

And why should this phrase be here seized upon suspicion, rather than in other passages of holy Ignatius, where it is plainly attributed to bishops? as in that to the men of Smyrna, as we shall see in the sequel.

And why might not he digest this phrase, which he so commonly met with in antiquity? Amongst the rest it is remarkable that the very same sentence which he cites for his defence out of Chrysostom cuts his throat. "Then their præfecture," speaking of the apostle's bishop[a], "was not an honour, but a provident care for those whom they ruled over." Lo, here was a præfecture first; and then here are *αρχόμενοι*, which implies *ἀρχὴν*, "a rule:" not alluding to the abuses of his own time, as Vedelius, poorly; but to the apostles, in whom honour did well agree with care. Was there ever man that denied apostleship to be an honour? much less holy Chrysostom. The father's

[u] Critic. Sacr.
[x] Vedel. Apol. et Exerc.
[y] 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4.
[z] 1 Thess. i. 5.
[a] *Τότε ἡ ἐπιστασια ἦν οὐ τιμὴ, ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων.* Chrysost. in Act. c. 1. [Opp. ed. Ben. t. ix. p. 26.] Citat. in Append. Notarum Criticarum Nic. Vedelii.

meaning plainly is, that the apostles did not stand so much upon their own honour, as the care of their charge: as what good bishop doth otherwise? In the meantime here is an ἀρχή, "a rule," implied in that testimony which is brought to impugn it; for Ignatius's passage is as undoubted as his epistle; and the bishop's power is not κρατεῖν only, which Vedelius could yield, but ἄρχειν.

And what need Vedelius to stand upon this term, when Chamier himself so fully yields it? *Revera episcopatus est* ἀρχή: and, *singuli episcopi in suis ecclesiis sunt principes*[b].

The martyr for a close shuts up with a "Farewell in the Lord Jesus; and be subject to your bishop, &c[c]."

In the second[d] epistle, to the Magnesians, for I love to follow the trace of that blessed saint. "I exhort you," saith he[e], "that your care and study be to do all things in a goodly concord: your bishop being president in the place of God; your priests in the place of the senate of the apostles, &c."

And not long after, "As the Lord," saith he[f], "did nothing without his Father, who said, *I can do nothing of myself;* so neither may any of you do aught without your bishop; whether it be priest, or deacon, or laic. Neither let anything seem meet for you to do without his judgment; for whatsoever is so done is wicked, and an act of mere enmity to God." What

[b] Cham. de Oecumen. Pontif. l. xiii. c. 19. ex Nazianzen. [ut sup. t. ii. p. 286.]

[c] Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· Epist. ad Trall. pp. 16, 17. ed. Vedelii.—Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ. Codex Med.—PRATT.

[d] The bishop numbers the epistles as they stand in Vedelius's edition; but the order varies in different editions.—PRATT.

[e] Παραινῶ, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν· προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 54. ed. Vedelii.—This passage exists entire in the Codex Med. As it is decisive on the main points in question, I have given it more at large than our author has done.—PRATT.

[f] Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ· Οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ φησὶ, ποιεῖν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐδέν· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ διάκονος, μὴ λαϊκός μηδέ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὔλογον, παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, παράνομον καὶ Θεοῦ ἔχθρον· Epist. ad Magnes. p. 55.—This passage, wherein our author triumphs, but the extravagance of which it must be allowed savours strongly of spuriousness, is thus radically altered in the Codex Med. Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένος ὢν, οὔτε δι' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστολων· οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε· μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φαινέσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν. On this passage see Hammond's Works, vol. ii Appendix pp. 22, 23.—PRATT.

will our refractories say to this, who affect to make head against their bishops; yea, not only suffer him to do nothing without them, but suffer him to do nothing at all, yea suffer him not to be? O God, if thy blessed martyr Ignatius now lived, and saw these insolencies, how would he think himself fallen amongst more fierce beasts than those which were prepared for him!

In his third epistle, to the Philadelphians, "So many," saith he[g], "as are Christ's, are for the bishop; and those that decline from him, and take part with the accurst, they shall be cut off together."

And not long after, in the same epistle, "In Christ," saith he[h], "there is neither bond nor free. Let the princes or chief governors obey Cæsar. Let the soldiers obey their chief governors. Let the deacons and the rest of the clergy, with all the people, soldiers, governors, and Cæsar himself, obey their bishop. Let the bishop obey Christ, as Christ obeyed his Father. And thus shall unity be conserved in all things." Thus he.

Now comes in Nic. Vedelius, and, seconding Scultetus, cries out of manifest interpolation. I wish I had leisure in this place to follow him home: he is out of my way; yet I must step aside to him a little.

And what, and where, then is this so open fraud, in foisting in this clause of Ignatius?

"Cæsar was then no Christian. In vain should the true Ignatius have charged Cæsar to obey the bishop:"—Weakly objected: for, as Mæstræus answers him well, "The martyr tells us what should be done, not what was. It is true that the greatest monarchs of the world, even those whose vassals we confess ourselves in temporal respects, yet in spiritual regards ought to submit their souls to our government, or rather to God's in us.

[g] Ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσὶν, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. Codex Med.—PRATT. [See Jacobson's ed. p. 406.]

[h] P. 96. ed. Vedelii. Our author's strenuous defence of this passage will not save it. The genuine text has not a word of it; and Hammond strongly condemns the extravagance of the doctrine. "Here," says he, "I acknowledge, there is a testimony and evidence of the charge of extolling bishops above the greatest potentates; for sure Cæsar was such: and if Ignatius had thought fit to use such language, and done it at a time when Cæsar was heathen, and he by Cæsar's sentence already condemned and within a while to be brought forth to the amphitheatre, I might have justly deserved a severe animadversion for moving tongue or pen in defence of this rebellious, extravagant, senseless doctrine." See his Works, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 24.—PRATT.

"But Ignatius admonisheth Christians, not heathen, of their duty:"—Weak still. His admonition is universal, though directed to Philadelphians; and those men which were now Ethnics might prove Christians. The rules must not vary with the persons.

"But it would have been scandalous, especially in those times, to exhort a heathen emperor to submit himself to a Christian:"—Still alike. What scandal more in this than in the rest of the doctrine of the gospel; which in the mouths of all faithful preachers requires princes to yield their necks to the yoke of Christ? Why more than *Go tell that fox;* and the *Non licet* of the Baptist to Herod? Why more than the bold speeches of the martyred saints to their heathen persecutors? Why more than of that Christian bishop to Julian; of Chrysostomus to Eudoxia? Why more than the high language of Valentinian and Trajan to Valens; and hundreds other of this kind[i]?

But, which is grossest of all, he makes the end of all the conservation of unity in the church. "And what," saith he, "are heathens within the church? Or, is there any union betwixt Christ and infidels?" As if Ignatius had written only for a day! as if these men must needs live and die heathens! The cavils must be more probable that must cast a martyr, or rob us of his holy instruction.

Yet again therefore hear what our St. Ignatius says in the same epistle. "It is hard," saith he[k], "to reject the preaching of the apostles. The priests are good; and so are the deacons" or ministers "of the word: but the chief priest is better, who is trusted with the holy of holies, who only is entrusted with the secrets of God."

Here Vedelius startles; and not he only, but Chamier too, contends the chief priest not to be meant of the bishop, but of Christ.

But the place easily quits itself. Ignatius plainly compares

[i] Socrat. l. vi. c. 16. [18. Hussey's ed.] Theod. l. iv. c. 31 and 33.

[k] Σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ Ἱερεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι· κρείσσων δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Epist. ad. Philadelp. p. 102. ed. Vedelii. —Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἱερεῖς· κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· Codex Med. And as the genuine text immediately adds αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ Πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία· which cannot be said of the bishop, but must be limited to Christ, our author's argument falls to the ground.—PRATT.

these holy offices with themselves, not with Christ. How absurd had it been to make a comparison betwixt the goodness of priests and deacons and the goodness of Christ! as if there had been any possibility of proportion; as if any doubt could have risen this way! This meliority therefore, or betterness above the priests and deacons, is ascribed to the bishop, by the name of the high priest, in allusion to the Jewish privileges of the great pontiff, who only might enter the holy of holies.

Our martyr goes on. In his epistle to those of Smyrna he is, if it be possible, more punctual. "Follow your bishop," saith he[l], "as Christ did his Father; and the college of priests as his apostles. Reverence your deacons, as ministering according to the command of God. Let no man without the bishop do any of those things which appertain to the church. Let that eucharist be held right and unquestionable which is done by the bishop; or by such an one as he shall allow. Where the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude assemble; as where Christ is, there all the heavenly host stands by him, &c. It is not lawful without the bishop to baptise; nor to offer, &c." And soon after[m], "Honour God as the Author and Lord of all things; and your bishop as the chief priest bearing the image of God: of God, I say, as chief; and of Christ as priest, &c. Neither is there anything greater in the church than the bishop, who is consecrated to God for the salvation of the world; neither is there any among the princes like to the king, who procures peace and equity to his subjects, &c." And anon, "Let all your things be done in decent order in Christ. Let your laics be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the priests or presbyters, the presbyters to the bishop, the bishop to Christ as he is to his Father." Could he speak plainer?

[l] Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, &c. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 168. ed. Vedelii. The former part of this passage, a few trivial differences excepted, is in the genuine text. It varies however towards the end. Instead of ὅπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς, πᾶσα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν, ὡς ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου, καὶ διανομεῖ πάσης νοητῆς φύσεως. οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· the Codex Med. has ὅσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. And Ignatius adds this important declaration, with even more emphasis in the genuine than in the spurious text, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος (meaning the bishop) δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον· ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσεται.—Pratt.

[m] Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν, &c. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 169. ed. Vedelii. This passage, and that which is next quoted, Πάντα οὖν &c. p. 170, are not in the Codex Med.—Pratt. [But see marg. note in ed. Vedel.]

Lo, saith Vedelius, and our Scotus ὁ τυχών, "This savours not of the age of Ignatius, in whose time no such distinction as of the clergy and laity was on foot:" weakly suggested.—had they but read our Clement, in his fore-recited epistle to the Corinthians[n], they had soon eaten this word. Τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, saith he, "To the priests, their proper place is assigned." The laics have their services: ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται; "A layman is bound to lay ordinances."

But I may not so far hinder my way as to make excursions to meet with cavils. If any man be disposed to accept, I am ready to give him full satisfaction in a meet season.

In his epistle to Polycarpus, he requires that no man should so much as marry without the bishop's consent; and soon after, "Let all things," saith he, "be done to the honour of God. Give regard to your bishop, as God to you. My soul for theirs who obey their bishop, presbyters, and deacons[o]."

In his epistle to the Ephesians, magnifying their bishop Onesimus, he charges them to give all respects to him; and adds[p], "Ye ought to look upon your bishop as upon God himself, since he waits upon the Lord and serves him." And towards the end[q], "Following the Holy Ghost for your guide, obeying your bishop and the company of presbyters with an entire heart, &c."

What shall we think of all this? Was not Ignatius feed to speak on the bishop's side? Or how would these words have sounded in the late assemblies of Glasgow and Edinburgh? Are we more holy than he? Is the truth the same it was, or is the alteration on our part?

All these have been large and full testimonies of the acknowledged superiority of bishops, and of the high respects that are and were ever due to these prime governors of the church.

But if any man think these came not yet home to the point, let

[n] Clem. ad Corinth. c. 40. [Jacobson, Patres Apost. ut sup. p. 144.]

[o] Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν· Πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ, διακόνοις· Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 208. ed. Vedelii.—The Codex Med. has this passage, with a few slight variations. Its expressions are certainly strong and decisive. See it defended and illustrated by Hammond: Works, vol. ii. Appendix p. 24.—PRATT.

[p] Epist. ad Ephes. p. 219. ed. Vedelii. The Codex Med. omits the clause, "since he waits upon the Lord and serves him."—PRATT.

[q] Epist. ad Ephes. p. 233. ed. Vedelii. The Codex Med. omits the clause, "Following the Holy Ghost for your guide."—PRATT.

him cast his eye back upon the first epistle *ad Trallianos;* and mark well what he saith: where, having reckoned up the three so oft-mentioned orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, he adds[r], "Without these there is no elect church; without these no holy congregation, no assembly of saints:" and I persuade myself that you also are of the same mind.

Lo here words which no Vedelius can carp at as interpolated; imposing such a necessity of the being of these three several orders in God's church, that it cannot be right without them. I see and pity his shuffling[s], but would be glad to see a satisfactory answer from any hands. In the meantime I wish, with learned bishop Andrews[t], those churches where they are missing, that happiness which now, to our grief and I hope theirs, they are forced to want.

I have dwelt long with blessed Ignatius: where could I be better? That one author is instead of many. Why should I not boldly say, if, besides the divine scriptures, there were no other testimony but this one saint's, it were abundantly enough to carry this cause; and I must wonder at any man, who confessing Ignatius to have been so holy a bishop, so faithful a martyr, so true a saint, can stick at a truth, so often, so confidently, so zealously recommended by him to the world. For me, let my soul go with his: let his faith be mine: and let me rather trust one Ignatius than ten thousand Cartwrights, Parkers, Ameses, or any other their ignorant and malcontented followers.

Tell me now, my dear brethren, tell me in good earnest, do you not think this Ignatius a likely man to build up the kingdom of antichrist? Were not these shoulders fit for the supportation of that *Man of Sin?* Away with these absurd and wicked fancies! and, if this charge of his were holy and apostolical, wherein he requires us to honour our bishops as the Lord himself whom they serve and represent, what doom do you suppose would he have passed upon those, who as such abhor them, and eject them as devils? I cannot without horror think of either the act or the issue.

[r] Epist. ad Trallian. p. 5. ed. Vedelii. *χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἁγίων, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσιῶν*.—The Codex Med. has *χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται*.—PRATT. [and nothing more.]

[s] Append. Notarum Criticarum.

[t] Epist. ad P. Molin. [Resp. ad Ep. 1. ut sup. p. 172.]

SECT. XII.—*The testimony of the ancient canons, called the apostles'.*

Yet perhaps if Ignatius went alone, he might herein incur some suspicion: now, all antiquity is with him: never any ancient author said otherwise.

We will begin with those canons which are enstyled *τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανσέπτων Ἀποστόλων*, "of the holy and most venerable apostles;" surely if not theirs, yet of some apostolical men near to their times; worthy, even for their age and authority, to be reverenced of all Christians, as the most credible witnesses of the state of those primitive times.

In them, besides the note of professed distance betwixt the bishops and presbyters proclaimed in every chapter, there are those which do imply a power and jurisdiction.

As Can. xv: "If any presbyter or deacon[u], or any of the number of clerks, leaving his division" or parish, "shall go to another, and without the leave or allowance[x] of his own bishop abide in another parish" or charge, "we forbid him further to minister: especially if, when his own bishop calls him back, he refuses to return, continuing still perverse." And again in the next[y], "If any bishop, with whom such a clerk shall stay, shall there keep him against this decreed cessation, [*ἀργίαν*] let him, as a master of disorder, be barred from communion."

And Can. xxxii: "If any presbyter, contemning his own bishop, shall hold conventicles apart, and shall erect another altar, when he hath no just exception against his bishop in matter of religion or justice, let him be deposed *ὡς φίλαρχος*, "as a man that affects to rule," for he is a tyrant."

And Can. xxxiii: "If any presbyter or deacon shall, by his own bishop, be put from his place, it is not lawful that he be received by any other, but only of him that formerly discharged him: except perhaps the bishop that put him out be deceased."

And because it was so early perceived, that even amongst the bishops themselves an equality might breed confusion, it is enacted

[u] Can. xv. *Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος*, &c. [Bin. ut sup. t. i. p. 6. Can. 14.]

[x] *Παρὰ γνώμην.* [ibid.]

[y] Our author numbers these canons according to the version of Dionysius Exiguus. In the Greek these two canons form but one, that is, the xiith.—PRATT.—[Can. 15. in the Greek according to Binius.]

in the xxxvth canon, that the bishops of all nations should know him that was ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτος, "the prime amongst them," and esteem him as their head, and do nothing without him.

Shortly, Can. xxxix: it is ordained that the bishop should take the charge and care of all the affairs belonging to the church, and dispense them as in the presence and view of God Almighty.

And in the xlth canon, "Let the presbyters and deacons do nothing besides the liking and allowance of their bishop: for the people of God are committed to him, and an account must be required of him for their souls."

Hear this now, ye that pretend there is so much difference betwixt the state of our bishops and the primitive. What do we challenge more than the apostolic canons enjoin? what do they prescribe less than we challenge? There is a power over the clergy: a power of disposing them to general stations; a power of deposing or sequestering them upon just demerits from those charges; a power not to oversee only, but to regulate their clergy; a power to manage all ecclesiastical affairs: and if this be no rule, no jurisdiction, we claim none.

Certainly no wit of man can devise any evasion here, but by exception at the credit of the evidence. Loud clamours are raised of their counterfeisance. Rather than fail, pope Gelasius himself is brought in to disprove these canons as apocryphal: and they that do most eagerly cry the pope down for the antichrist, are readiest to plead his authority against their brethren; not considering the pope herein (*vafer, afer,* as Fregeville justly calls him,) drave his own plough; for nothing could more cut him in the affectation of his supremacy than those canons, which therefore it is no marvel if he disparage.

The truth is, whereas there are eighty-five of those canons, in more than one edition fifty of them are most ancient and legitimate, the other thirty-five later and spurious. With this distinction Binius answers the censure of his pope. "The first fifty," saith he, "are received as authentical by the ancient popes, councils, fathers, as containing orthodox doctrine; the other later are condemned by Gelasius." Indeed, such age and worth plead for the first rank, that, as Isidorus truly[y], "The holy fathers confirmed their acts by synodal authority, and placed them amongst canonical constitutions."

[y] Isidor. Præfat. ad Collect. Canonn. [ibid. p. 3.]

If any man desire full information concerning the antiquity and authentickness of these canons, I remit him to Fregevillæus[z]; where he shall find how many of these canons were transferred into and approved and cited by the councils of Nice, Gangra, and Antioch, not without the very appellation of apostolical: the like afterwards done by the councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Orleans, Cabilon. There he shall find them cited for such, with approbation of Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen. There he shall find that Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, made use of these canons as the test whereby to examine the Roman pope's decrees: that by these the African fathers repelled the pope's tyrannical usurpation.

But what shall I need to urge these attestations, when Calvin[a] himself, and Chamier, and every ingenuous writer, confess them to be of very great, and therefore very reverend, antiquity[b].

SECT. XIII.—*The State and History of the next age.*

As touching the state of this truth in the age next succeeding, how easy were it to accumulate histories to make it good!

As that of Methodius, in Marianus Scotus[c], who tells us that the apostle Peter directed Eucharius, one of the seventy, with Valerius and Maternus, to preach the gospel in Germany and France: and that Eucharius, planting a church in Trevers[d], held the bishopric of that city twenty-three years, and then left the episcopacy of that church to Valerius, who after fifteen years' sitting there left it to Maternus, he to Auspicius, &c.

And that of Hegesippus, in Eusebius[e]; who, travelling to Rome under Anicetus, conferred with Primus bishop of Corinth and divers other bishops as he went, and found them, in every succession and in every city, constantly observing the truth, &c. And the church of Corinth held on in the right way unto the time of Primus, bishop there.

With these whom can I more fitly match than holy Irenæus, the famous bishop of Lyons, near bordering upon this age? whose

[z] Fregevil. Palma Christiana.

[a] Calvin. Valde antiqui testes moris ecclesiæ.—Instit. l. iv. c. 4.

[b] The reader may see these canons at large, with the judgments of Cotelerius and Beveridge respecting them, and Beveridge's notes, in the first volume of Cotelerius's *Patres Apostolici*: pp. 429 482 of Le Clerc's edition, 1724: and Beveridge's Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Illustratus, with Thomæ Brunonis Judicium de Auctore Canonum, &c. pp. 1–198, of the 2d part of vol. ii.—PRATT.

[c] Citat. a D. Bilson. Perpet. Regim. Eccl. cap. 13. [Lond. 1610. p. 268.]

[d] Trevericæ Eccles. Culmen, &c.

[e] Hegesip. apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 22.

testimony may be a clear commentary upon the former passages: *Habemus enumerare eos, qui ab apostolis, &c.:* "We can," saith he[f], "reckon up those who by the apostles were made bishops in the churches, and their successors, even unto our times, &c. The blessed apostles," viz. Peter and Paul, "founding and furnishing the church" of Rome, "delivered the episcopacy of the government of that church to Linus. Of this Linus Paul makes mention in those epistles he wrote to Timothy. Anacletus succeeded him. In the third place Clemens, after him, took that bishopric; who both saw the apostles themselves, and had conference with them, &c. After this Clement, succeeded Evaristus; after Evaristus, Alexander; and after him Sixtus was made the sixth bishop from the apostles; and after him Telesphorus, who most gloriously suffered martyrdom; after him Hyginus; then Pius; and after him Anicetus; and after that Soter had succeeded Anicetus, now in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherius possesseth the bishopric." And soon after he addeth (a passage which I cannot pretermit), "And Polycarpus," saith he, "was not only taught by the apostles, and conversed with many of them who saw our Lord Christ, but also was by the apostles made bishop in Asia, in that church which is at Smyrna: whom we ourselves saw in our younger age; for he lasted long, and being very old, he most nobly and gloriously suffering martyrdom passed out of this life." Lo, here was but one age's difference. Polycarpus saw and conversed with the apostles: Irenæus saw Polycarpus: by their hands was he ordained bishop; constantly lived and died a martyr in that holy function.

Tertullian was not much below Irenæus in age: not at all below him in the clearness of his suffrage: *Edant origines, &c.:* "Let them," saith he[g], "set forth the originals of their churches: let them reckon upon the order of their bishops; so running down by their successions from the beginning, as that their first bishop had one of the apostles or apostolical men for his author and predecessor. Thus do the apostolical churches bring in their accounts; as the church of Smyrna, having Polycarpus placed there by St. John: the church of Rome showeth Clement, or-

[f] Iren. l. iii. advers. Hæres. c. 3. [Basil. 1526, p. 141.]

[g] Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum; ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis aut apostolicis viris—habuerit authorem et antecessorem, &c.—Tertull. de Præscription. advers. Hær. [c. 32. ut supra Routh's Opusc. p. 147.]

dained by St. Peter: and so the rest of the churches show what sprouts they have of the apostolic seed; even those which were first placed in their episcopacy by the apostles."

What can be spoken more fully for the apostolic institution of episcopacy? This is more than enough to show the state of the first ages of the church under and after the apostles; and therein the superiority and jurisdiction of bishops, received from their sacred hands.

Now if we think good to descend with the times, which way soever we shall cast our eyes, upon ecclesiastical history, upon fathers, upon councils, I speak it knowingly, we shall meet with no other relation. Should I undertake to gather in some proofs which are everywhere scattered in their undeniable records, one tome would not be enough; and you might well ask the meaning of such waste. I shall content myself to glean out some few ears out of a large and plentiful field.

SECT. XIV.—*The confessed superiority of Bishops, from several arguments out of antiquity.*

And here, in the first place, it is well worthy to weigh much with us, that all antiquity makes bishops the successors of the apostles. The testimonies[h] of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Theodoret, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustin, Sidonius, and others, are so familiarly quoted by all writers, that I shall not need to urge them.

In the next, those titles of superiority and jurisdiction which are given by all antiquity to bishops above presbyters, may well settle our assurance in it. They are ἄρχοντες "rulers," in Ignatius; *principes sacerdotum* in Ambrose[i]; the same with ἱεράρχοι, in Dionysius[k]; "an order generative of other fathers," as Epiphanius[l]. They have an ἀνθεντίαν given them by the council of Carthage[m]. *Excelsiorem gradum* by Jerome[n]; πρεσβεία τιμῆς by the council of Constantinople; "eminence of oversight" by the council of Sardica[o]; "incomparably eminent apostleship" by Sidonius Apollinaris[p]; "excellent dignity and authority" by

[h] Vide Bils. loco citato.

[i] Ambros. in Ephes. iv. [Paris, 1586, p. 617.] Idea. Optatus l. i. contra Parmen. [ut sup. Paris 1631, p. 39.]

[k] Hierarch. Eccles. c. 5. [Dion. Areop. Paris 1615, p. 119 et seq.]

[l] Πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις.—Epiphan. in Hæres. 75. [Paris 1622, p. 908.]

[m] Conc. Carthag.

[n] Hieron. in Es. lx. 17.

[o] Conc. Sardic. c. 10.

[p] Sidon. Apoll. l. vi. Ep. 4.

the council of Constantinople in Trullo; *τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν*, Concil. Antioch. c. 25. It were easy to be tedious in this kind. If now the bishops of this island challenge no more than is given to those church governors of the primitive times, certainly either they must be condemned or not justified[q].

In the third place, it will easily be made to appear, that in all the passages of fathers and councils the presbyters are called "the bishop's presbyters." Indeed, how should it be otherwise? For, as our learned bishop of Winchester[r] of old, "The presbyters were as it were of the family of the bishop; and lived upon those distributions which were laid down, as at the feet of the apostles first, so now at theirs; until the division of several parishes enfeoffed them in a settled maintenance from their peculiar charges." Thus, as doctor Downame instances, Arius is said to have been Alexander's presbyter; Petrus and Irenæus, Timotheus and Macarius, to have been Athanasius's presbyters; by the same token that Timotheus, a grave and reverend personage as the history reports, wittily and justly took off a foul aspersion from his innocent and honoured Dioclesian: the deputies of Silvester, in the council of Nice, were his presbyters: thus Crispio is named Epiphanius's archdeacon; Heraclides to have been Chrysostom's deacon. It were easy to fill up pages, out of Eusebius alone, with such instances.

Sect. XV.—*Power of Ordination only in Bishops.*

But, in the fourth place, the several acts that were appropriated to the bishops alone, by the universal consent of all times, do more than sufficiently evince their acknowledged superiority.

Wherein even those testimonies which are wont to be alleged against us do directly plead for us. Jerome himself can say, *Excepta ordinatione;* and Chrysostom, who is cited for *οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον*, can yet add *τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην*, "only in laying on of hands bishops go beyond them[s]."

Neither is this any slight difference or despicable privilege, but such as implies a manifest superiority, as Ambrose justly inferreth, and a clear distinction of order.

Hands were imposed in the church of old for more than one

[q] There is an obscurity in this sentence, which none of the former editions remove.—Pratt. [There is no obscurity if we read, "either they must be justified, or not condemned."]

[r] Winton. Epist. ad Molin. [ut sup. Opusc. Lanc. Ep. Winton. p. 172.]

[s] Homil. 11. in 1 Tim. iii.

purpose. In absolution, for the penitent's reconciliation to God and the church: in confirmation, for the increase of grace upon the baptized: in ordination, for the blessing and hallowing of the ordained[t].

The first of these, as incident and annexed to the holy order of priesthood, may be common to a presbyter within his own compass; but the other two have been ever held so intrinsical to episcopacy, that I would fain see where it can be showed that any extremity of necessity was by the catholic church of Christ ever yet acknowledged for a warrant sufficient to diffuse them into other hands. It was to Timothy and Titus, by the consent of all antiquity bishops of their several dioceses, and not to any ordinary presbyter, that St. Paul gives that charge of imposition of hands. That presbyter had been a monster among Christians that would have dared to usurp it: and the church of those first ages observed it so curiously, that besides those strict laws which they made for the prevention of any such insolence, restraining even one kind of *chorepiscopi*, "rural bishops," from this power (for there was another sort, which were in the nature and quality of suffragans furnished with episcopal right), they have left unto us memorable records of their severe proceedings against such presumptions.

I may not forget two or three remarkable histories to this purpose.

Colluthus[u], a presbyter of Alexandria, took upon him to ordain presbyters. For this he was convented in the general council before Hosius and other bishops; and with deserved checks remanded to keep within his own tether, and a nullity pronounced of those his misordained.

Ischyras[v], who pretended to be one of those his mismade presbyters, was, in his administration of the blessed sacrament, while he had the holy cup in his hand, violently opposed, and that upon the instigation of Athanasius, by Macarius. He complains there of a sacrilegious assault: about an hundred bishops are assembled in Egypt: Ischyras himself is convented, his ordination examined, and he found to be no presbyter, because only ordained by a presbyter. He is sent away without remedy, with a divesti-

[t] Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 3. Benedicente eum episcopo, et manum super caput ejus imponente. [Bin. ut supra, t. i. p. 553.]

[u] [Athanas. Opp. ed. Ben. t. i. p. 134.] φαντάσθεις τὴν ἐπισκοπήν.

[v] [Ibid.]

ture from his pretended orders, and together with all his fellows turned down to the laic form. The equity of the fact is so clear, saith this apologist for Athanasius [w], that no man ever thought it could be doubted of: an history, as our learned bishop well observes [x], so much the more considerable, for that it carries in it the universal consent of the whole primitive church, whose abridgment that holy council was; which was after repeated and seconded by the synod of Alexandria.

Much of the same kind is that commonly noted story of the council of Seville [y]. A bishop who had sore eyes, being to ordain priests and deacons, laid his hands on them, but caused his chaplain, a presbyter that stood by, to supply his eyes by reading the words of their ordination and benediction. The council questioned the fact, censured it of bold presumption and usurpation, and would have censured the man if his death had not prevented them; and concluded, *Tales merito, &c.:* "Those men are worthy to be discarded, because they were wrongfully made."

What need I press the history of Musæus and Eutychianus, whose ordinations were also in this manner rescinded and nullified by the council of Sardica? or that of the great council of Constantinople concerning Maximus? or, out of Sozomen, the proceedings against Elpidius, Eustathius, Basilius, Eleusius, for their misordination of presbyters?

This peculiar act was a thing so universally both granted to and practised by bishops, that in vain shall we search through all antiquity for an instance of any regular performance to the contrary.

Neither can the opposites hope to find shelter under that noted text of St. Paul to Timothy: *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, &c. by the imposition of hands of the presbytery*, 1 Tim. iv. 14: when Calvin himself interprets the place not of the men, but of the office [z]; following herein Jerome and Anselm, Haimo, Lyra, and others; referring it to the gift, not to the hands. Whose reason also is more strong than his authority: for, if Timothy were ordained by a presbytery, then by more than one: but St. Paul in another place saith that his hands (and no other) were imposed on Timothy; and, if more hands were required to

[w] Quo pacto igitur presbyter Ischyras, aut quo tandem authore constitutus? Athanas. Apolog. ii. [Opp. 1600. t. i. p. 570; etiam ut sup. ed. Ben. p. 134.]

[x] Perpet. Governm. c. 13. [ut sup. p. 254.]

[y] Concil. Hispalen. ii. c. 5. [Bin. t. ii. p. 982.]

[z] Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 3. [ut sup. p. 218.]

this service, it had been as easy for the apostles to have encharged it upon the presbytery as upon Timothy. Little did Calvin think of the double presbytery of Tileno-mastix [a], when he gave this interpretation of St. Paul's χειροτονία. But if either of the apostles then, or the bishops since, have had other hands laid upon the ordained together with theirs, as the rule and practice of the church of England is, yet fain would I see where ever it can be read that presbyters without a bishop, in a regular course, imposed hands for ordination.

SECT. XVI.—*Power of Jurisdiction appropriated to the Bishops from the first.*

Thus for ordination the case is plain. I speak it confidently, it is more plain, if more may be, for power of jurisdiction.

It is for a Timothy or Titus (bishops) to receive accusations against presbyters, or to reject them; not for one presbyter against another.

It is the charge laid upon presbyters, by more than one ancient council or single father, to do nothing at all without the consent, ἄνευ γνώμης ἐπισκόπου [b], of the bishop. We have heard it from holy Ignatius, and from the Apostolic Canons: we may hear it when we please from the holy martyr St. Cyprian, from the second council of Carthage [c], from the council of Gangra [d], from the council of Antioch [e].

Yea, let me say, those ancient restrictions were such as, if they should be now urged upon our inferior clergy, they would be cried down for intolerably tyrannical. It was in the bishop's power to raise the clergy from one degree to another: neither might they refuse his designations. They might not remove from one diocese to another without his consent; which is still laudably continued, in that the testimony of the ordinary still is required: or, if they did, the bishop had power to recall them. They might not so much as travel from one diocese to another without his *reverendæ:* much less might they fix there; or if they did, the act was reversible by the diocesan. For the particulars whereof I refer my reader to our learned doctor Downame [f], who is very large in this subject.

As for matter of censure, wherein the proof of jurisdiction

[a] Paracl. c. 5. [b] [Canon. Apost. 40.] [c] Concil. Carthag. [c. 32.] [d] Concil. Gangr. [can. 7.] [e] Concil. Antioch. [can. 5.] [f] Defence, part ii. ch. 5. [b. iii. c. 5. Lond. 1611. 3. p. 138.]

mainly consisteth, how particularly was this ever managed by episcopal power! and that not only in case of excommunication of laics (which hath wont of old to be therefore called *mucro episcopi*[g]; for as for that giddy conceit, of the whole church's interposition and act in these sentences, which our Tileno-mastix stands upon, it is long since cried down; not by Calvin only, but even by our late separatists, amongst whom this case hath been thoroughly sifted), but even of correction, excommunication, deposition of clerks, deacons, and presbyters. Correction; so the council of Agatha[h]: excommunication; so the council of Sardica[i], the council of Ephesus[j], the council of Chalcedon[k]: deposition; so the council of Antioch[l]; so Arius was deposed by bishop Alexander, Eutyches by his diocesan: so the holy martyr Cyprian, in that famous epistle to Rogatianus, tells him[m] that he, being a bishop, and abused by his deacon, might, by the vigour of episcopacy and authority of his chair, proceed in censure of such contumacy; and advises, if the offender hold on, to exercise upon him *potestatem honoris*, "the power of his honour," and either to depose or excommunicate him: and yet, who dares say that our blessed martyr was proudly tyrannical, and not holily zealous in observation of lawful discipline? And lastly, for it were easy to be tedious in particularities, the ancient canon of the apostles (32) to this purpose is recited and ratified by two councils, the one of Antioch[n], the other of Chalcedon; and there applauded by the acclamation of a just rule, and the rule of the fathers.

And now say, reader, what is superiority and jurisdiction over all subordinates, if this be not? If any bishop of this island have challenged and usurped more than the written word of God, seconded by the ancient canons of the primitive church and holy fathers thereof do allow, let him bear his own burden: but certainly, if the holy synod of England should at any time be required to publish any canon for the determining the latitude of episcopal power and the due exercise thereof, they could hardly

[g] Vivald. Candelabr.

[h] Concil. Agath. c. 2. de Contumac. Clericis. Concil. Agath. c. 3. de Episcopis, qui, pro minimis causis, excommunicant. [Bin. t. ii. p. 304.]

[i] Concil. Sardic. c. 16. de Clericorum Excommunicatione. [Bin. t. i. p. 438.]

[j] Concil. Ephes. [t. iii.] c. 5. [ut sup. p. 776.]

[k] Concil. Chalced. c. 23. [20. Bin. t. ii. p. 132.]

[l] Concil. Antioch. c. 4. [p. 422.]

[m] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. [ut sup. ed. Fell. Ep. 3.]

[n] Concil. Antioch. I. c. 5. [ut sup. Bin. t. i. p. 422.]

devise to express it in more full terms than the ancient council of Antioch hath done. "Let every bishop," saith it[o], "have authority of his own see; both to govern it according to the fear of God which is before his eyes, and to have a provident care of the whole country which is under his city; as also to ordain presbyters and deacons, and to govern all things with judgment.

Upon all this which hath been said, I wonder how the opposers of episcopacy can read these so plain proofs of the judgment and practice of the ancient church of God, and not be ashamed of their palpable innovation.

Hitherto we have clearly deduced the superiority of bishops above the other clergy, and the power of their jurisdiction, from Christ and his apostles, and conveyed it through the constant practice of the primitive church, since which time no adversary doubteth of it.

SECT. XVII.—*Exceptions against our Episcopacy answered: and particularly of the dissimilitude of our Bishops from the primitive, especially in their pomp and perpetuity.*

But two main exceptions are taken at our episcopacy; wherein it is pretended there is an utter dissimilitude betwixt the anciently acknowledged superiority and ours.

The one is perpetuity, the other lordliness. In both which regards Parker, according to his loud language, says there is as much likeness betwixt the English episcopacy and the ancient as betwixt light and darkness.

For both these briefly.

That there is and must needs be a superiority of some pastors above others Beza himself cannot deny, who makes the seven angels προεστῶτας[p]: neither indeed can there be any government without it. "But this presidence," saith he[q], "is not perpetual, but only for the time, and vicissitudinary. There can be no church without a ministry: those ministers are divided into presbyteries: those presbyters must have an head: that head is to overrule the body for his turn." "And this," saith he[r], "is that regency which was in the primitive times, and is now renewed in

[o] Concil. Antioch. sub Julio, c. 9. Unusquisque episcopus habeat suæ parœciæ potestatem, &c. [ibid.]

[p] Beza in Apoc. ii. 1. [see Tract. Theol. Genev. 1582. vol. iii. Epist. 83. p. 307.]

[q] Vide Bez. et Saraviam in Resp. ad Triplicem Episcopatum [Div. Tract. Theol. à Saravia. 1610. p. 17.]; et de Gradibus Minist. c. 23. [§ 7.]

[r] Refut. of Mr. Downame.

some churches; wherein the president takes his chair, moderates the assembly, hath majority of rule during his presidency, and is for the present the governor of his brethren; the action ended and his course finished, returns to his old form, with a *sumus ergo pares.*" And was this the inequality of the church governors in the primitive times? Was this the form of the regiment and presidency of the primitive bishops? Blessed God! Where was this monster of opinion formed? Who ever read or heard of such a course of administration, from the beginning of God's church upon earth until this present age? And yet these men, the better to gild their upstart fancies to the eyes of the vulgar, dare thus confidently obtrude it upon the primitive times? Did not James, Ignatius, Polycarpus, and all those noted successors in their several charges live and die bishops there? Do not all the subscriptions of councils, all histories that ever were in the church, testify so much? Was there ever any writer, but any one, that hath given intimation, but bare intimation, of any such shifting of church governors? for that mistaken allegation of St. Ambrose is justly hissed out of all countenance. Did ever the man fall into any kind of mention that once practised it? And shall grave divines give themselves liberty to dream of such strange, chimerical devices; and then, merely to get glory to themselves and strength to their own fancies, so boldly obtrude them upon God's church for good law, and as highly tending to God's glory? If we do not find amongst the ancient so direct contradictions to this conceit, we must impute it to this, that they did not suppose so impossible a fancy could have fallen into any wise heads. Yet that of blessed Cyprian is clear enough[s]: "Where a bishop is once lawfully ordained, whosoever would now moreover be made a bishop (in that see), it is necessary that he should be forthwith put out of the church; and that he have not the church's ordination who doth not hold the unity of the church, &c." And soon after[t], "Forasmuch as after the first bishop (viz.) during his life, there cannot be a second; whosoever after that one, who ought to be alone, is made, he is not a second, but none at all." Thus he. But what need I urge this, when the very word of ordination strikes it dead? For what ordination to that their in-and-out office have these succeeding and momentary presidents? And what bishop was ever in the church without ordination? So as I

[s] Cypr. l. iv. Epist. 2. [ed. Fell. Ep. 55. p. 104.]

[t] [Ibid.] Vid. supra Epist. Clementis ad Corinthios.

must have leave to wonder at this uncouth novelty; and to say that I cannot tell how to resemble it better than to that old abusive sport which was cried down in the council of Salisbury, called *Ep^tus Puor.*[u], practised also in the popish times here in England upon St. Clement's night and on St. Nicholas'; wherein boys and youths, dressed up after the manner of episcopal habits, took upon them to act the bishop's sacred actions; and after the pastime ended disrobed themselves, and returned to their wonted trade. Both these, I confidently say, are the mere mockeries of episcopacy: and if that other sport pleased but children and fools, it is a wonder how this could please wise men.

As for the state and lordliness which is usually objected to our episcopacy, it is indeed a common eye-sore to our envious detractors. This is it that fills the world with clamour, and pamphlets with spiteful invectives. *Quis furor, O cives!*

As for the title, first, alas, how poor a quarrel it is! Certainly, if there were that true piety and those gracious dispositions in the hearts of men professing the gospel towards God's ambassadors and agents which there ought to be, they could not, they would not grudge them any styles of eminence: their very feet would be beautiful; their hands sacred; their heads glorious. Now, everything is too much. But, not to scan the original of κύριος and *dominus,* which every man knows how common it was of old to fathers, masters, husbands, governors, prophets; that no man may wonder Sarah called Abraham lord, Rebekah calls Abraham's servant so; *Drink, my lord;* Gen. xxiv. 18. Nay, what if it be made to appear that even those titles which are now stumbled at were the usual style of the ancient bishops? So Eusebius to the bishop of Trevers: "To my lord Paulinus[x];" and Paulinus, in his epistle to him, "To my lord Eusebius." So the bishops of Egypt to bishops assembled in the council of Tyre: "To our most honourable lords[y]." The synod held at Jerusalem to the people of Egypt, Libya, &c. calls Athanasius their "pastor and lord[z]:" and Julius bishop of Rome, the great abettor of Athanasius, is by the holy bishops styled κύριος μακαριώτατος, "most blessed lord:" and Nazianzen, "My lords the bishops:" and George, the bishop of Laodicea, writing to certain bishops, calls them most honourable lords; and in the same epistle, putting

[u] Binius, Anno 1274. *Episcopatus Puerorum.* [Bin. t. iii. pars 2. p. 1409. see margin.]

[x] Τῷ δεσπότῃ μοῦ Παυλίνῳ. [see Downame's Defence.]

[y] Κυριοῖς τιμιωτάτοις. [ibid. ut sup. -&c. iii. p. 148.]

[z] Ποιμένα ὑμῶν καὶ κύριον. [ibid.]

both together, "most reverend and most honourable brethren[a]:" and bishop Downame, to whom I refer my reader for this point[b], hath instanced abundantly. Yet I may not omit those more aged titles which he hath omitted; even of blessed Ignatius himself, who calls the bishop of the Magnesians ἀξιοπρεπέστατον[c], and Polycarpus, the bishop of Smyrna, ἀξιόθεον[d], "Godworthy bishops;" which I suppose comprehends the highest degree of grace: much like to those which the late worthy patriarch of Constantinople gave in his epistle to our late archbishop of Canterbury[e]. And how much more is this than we find in their own letters: "To our most reverend brother, Mr. Cartwright[f]?" and how much below that other, *Non minus Farello, quam Paulo*[g], meaning the blessed apostle of the Gentiles? And again, that in the "Practice of Prelates[h]," "Calvin, Beza, Viretus, Knox, Cartwright, are the only worthies of the world that have maintained discipline?" For us: if then it hath pleased gracious princes, for expression of the honour which they gave to God in the honour given by them to our holy function, to grace us with eminent titles and rights, can any Christian man be so foolishly spiteful as to think, because we are lords bishops, that we challenge to be lords of our clergy? as he said well, "Because they themselves are usually styled masters, are they therefore the masters of their church?" I would these maligners should know that with high titles we can bear as humble minds, to say no more, as those that pick that quarrel; and are so little transported with these puffs of style that we account it, according to our Saviour's prescription, our greatest glory to be servants to the souls of the meanest drudges in the family of our God.

But if the name offend, the thing offends much more. We have the lands, rents, royalty, possessions, of lordships, rights of barony. What! Have we not yet been prey enough to this malignant and sacrilegious envy? Are we not yet despoiled to purpose? Is that little pittance which hungry sacrilege and cruel rapine have left behind them still a beam in these evil eyes? We are barons by our places; but, as one said truly, bare-ones indeed for the most

[a] Αἰδεσιμωτάτους καὶ τιμιωτάτους ἀδελφούς. [ibid. p. 149.]

[b] Vide B. Downame's Defence, b. iii. c. 6. [ut sup.]

[c] Ignat. Epist. ad Magnesianos. [Opp. Genev. 1622. p. 62.]

[d] Epist. ad Smyrnensis. [ibid. p. 172.]

[e] Vid. Epist. in fine Histor. Turcicæ: Append. &c.

[f] Chap. to Mr. Cartwright.

[g] Calvin Epist. Farello de Basileensi quodam.

[h] Practice of Prelates, D. 2. Cited in the Survey of Discipline, p. 372.

part; and if these men may have their wish, shall be, as a lawyer was long since pleased to term us[i], *barones eleemosynarii.* Cast your eyes, you greedy church-robbers, upon what we had; and then tell me if you can grudge us a feather of that fowl which you have stolen and devoured. To speak of one which I have reason to know: there is a bishopric in the world which had twenty-seven rich manors within the diocese, besides other foreign; and fourteen fair houses, and parks about them; which hath now but seven of the meanest manors left in full lease, and one only house, without so much as a stick of wood for the hearth, or an handful of hay for the stable; and yet none of the ancient burdens subtracted. What think you of this abatement? There are others, I suppose, proportionably in the same predicament. If it be not yet low enough, ye that have our cloak take our coat too. We were not worthy to be St. Paul's disciples, if we had not *learned to want and to abound.*

Little do these men think what charges do necessarily attend our places; what hospitality is expected from us; what competency of means is requisite to bear us up from that contempt which unavoidably accompanies a base condition. But if this satisfies them not, *ringantur.* In the meantime, what a difference is there between times! Our poor, well-meaning, ignorant forefathers thought their clergy could never have enough: statutes of mortmain needed to hold their hands. Their knowing, rich, zealous offspring think their better-deserving clergy can have never too little. We see and heartily pity the incompetent provision of our foreign brethren, whose parts are as eminent as their maintenance poor. And this is that pass of perfection which these miszealots would bring our clergy unto; and are angry because we are not enough beggars. They would have their pastors true ministers, that is, their servants; and even in that state not too full fed. I remember what learned Saravia overheard some of his Antwerpian masters say, when speech was concerning the augmentation of his stipend[k]: *He that delicately bringeth up his servant shall have him become his son at the last;* Prov. xxix. 21. Blessed be God that we are not under such mercy! though it is the regret of some that we are not. That *double honour,* which St. Paul thinks some good elders worthy of, is held too good for our best: and that *moyen* is too

[i] Ex jurisconsulto quodam D. Henric. Spelman Collect. Synod in Anno 794. [Concil. Lond. 1629. t. i. p. 312.]

[k] Sarav. de Gradib. Minist.

vast for a bishop, which some lay presbyter may put over without envy; yea, some noble elder, for such the time now yields, shall be cried up for spending upon one supper a bishop's yearly revenue. As it is, we bless God and our good kings for what we have left; but I wis it is not so much as that any man should at the sight of it need to feed upon his own heart instead of our trencher. But if any of our profession, being blessed with plenty of means, shall run forth into lavish excess, pampering his appetite with Apician delicates, or ruffling in proud and costly attires and furnitures, beyond the bounds of gravity and holy moderation, as I verily suppose our island yieldeth none such, let his person suffer; let his calling be innocent and honourable. It is not wealth or power that is justly taxable in a bishop, but the abuse of both; and that man is weakly grounded which would be other than faithful to his God, whether in an higher or meaner condition.

Forasmuch therefore as these imaginary dissimilitudes betwixt the primitive episcopacy and ours are vanished, and ours for substance is proved to be the same with the first that ever were ordained, and those first were ordained by apostolic hands by direction and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we may confidently and irrefragably conclude our episcopacy to be of no less than divine institution.

Sect. XVIII.—*The practice of the whole Christian church in all times and places is for this government of Bishops.*

However it pleaseth our anti-præsulists to slight the practice and judgment of all churches save the primitive church, which they also, without all ground and against all reason shut up within the strait bounds of two hundred and fifty years, out of a just guiltiness of their known opposition; yet it shall be no small confirmation to us, nor no less conviction to them, that the voice as of the primitive, so of the whole subsequent church of God upon earth to this very age is with us and for us.

Quod semper et ubique, "always and everywhere," was the old and sure rule of Vincentius Lirinensis; and who thinks this can fail him is well worthy to err.

It were a long task to instance in all times, and to particularise in all churches. Let this be the trial: turn over all histories; search the records of all times and places; if ever it can be shown that any orthodox church in the whole Christian world

since the times of Christ and his apostles was governed otherwise than by a bishop superior to his clergy, unless perhaps during the time of some persecution or short interregnum, let me forfeit my part of the cause. Our opposites dare not stand upon this issue; and therefore, when we press and follow them up on this point, they run back fifteen hundred years, and shelter themselves under the primitive times, which are most remote. And why will they be thus cowardly? They know all the rest are with us, and against them; yea they yield it, and yet would fain think themselves never the worse. Antichrist, antichrist hath seized upon all the following times, and corrupted their government. What a mere gullery is this! Do not they themselves confine antichrist to Rome? And hath not bishop Downame diligently noted his προακμὴ in Boniface, his ἀκμὴ in Hildebrand, his παρακμὴ in the later times? Surely had these men bestowed that time in perusing bishop Downame's discourse concerning antichrist[l] which they have spent in confuting his worthy sermon, they had needed no other either reformation or disproof. For, can any indifferent man be so extremely mad as to think all the Christian world, these men only by good luck excepted, is or ever was turned antichrist? or that that antichrist hath set his foot everywhere in all assemblies of Christians? and that he still keeps his footing in all God's church upon earth? To say nothing else concerning the notorious falsity hereof, what a derogation were this to the infinite wisdom, providence, and goodness of the Almighty; that he should so slacken his care of his church, as that he should from the very beginning give it up, wholly up, to the managing of antichrist for the space of more than fifteen hundred years, without any check or contradiction to his government, no not within the first century! Yea, but his mystery began to work betime:—true; but that was the *mystery of iniquity*, not the mystery of good order and holy government; and if the latter times should be thus depraved, yet can any man be so absurd as to think that those holy bishops of the primitive times, which were all made of meekness and humility and patience, being ever persecuted and cheerfully pouring out their blood for Christ, would in their very offices bolster up the pride of antichrist[m]? Or if they would, yet can we think that the apostles themselves, who saw and erected this superiority, as Chamier himself confesseth, would be accessary to this advance-

[l] Diatrib. de Antichrist. contr. Leon. Lessium.

[m] Loco supra citato.

ment of antichrist? Certainly he had need of a strong and as wicked a credulity, of a weak and as wild a wit, that can believe all this. So the *semper* is plainly ours.

And so is the *ubique* too. All times are not more for us than all places. Take a view of the whole Christian world.

The state of Europe is so well known that it needs no report.

Look abroad; ye shall find[n], that for the Greek church the patriarchate of Constantinople, which in the emperor Leo's time had eighty-one metropolitans and about thirty-eight archbishoprics under his jurisdiction, hath under him still seventy-four metropolitans, who have divers bishops under them; as Thessalonica ten bishops under him, Corinth four, Athens six, &c.

For the Russian church, which since the Mahometan tyranny hath subjected itself to a patriarch of their own near home; of Moscow, he hath under him two metropolitans, four archbishops, six bishops.

For the patriarchate of Jerusalem, to which have belonged the three Palestines and two other provinces, Tyrius reckons also five metropolitans and ten bishops.

For the patriarchate of Antioch, which hath been accounted one of the most numerous for Christians, it had, as the same author reckons, fifteen provinces allotted to it; and in them metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, no fewer than one hundred and forty-two.

For the Armenian Christians, they acknowledge obedience to the government of two patriarchs of their own; the one of Armenia the Greater, who kept his residence of old at Sebastia; the other of Armenia the Less, whose residence was formerly at Mytilene, the mother city of that province, now near Tarsus in Cilicia. Mr. Sandys reports their bishops to be three hundred, but Baronius one thousand.

For the Jacobite Christians, they have a patriarch of their own, whose patriarchal church is near to the city of Merdin in Mesopotamia; and he hath under his government many churches dispersed in the cities of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Syria.

For the Maronites, whose main habitation is in Mount Libanus, containing in circuit seven hundred miles, they have a patriarch of their own, who hath eight or nine bishops under his jurisdiction.

For the misnamed Nestorian Christians, they are subject to

[n] Christianography of the Greek church. [By Ephraim Pagitt, London, 1640.]

their patriarch of Musal or Seleucia, besides others which they have had; under one whereof is said to have been twenty-two bishoprics, and more than six hundred territories.

For the Indian Christians, named from St. Thomas, they have their archbishop lately subjected to the patriarch of Musal.

For the African Christians, we find that in one province alone, under one metropolitan, they have had one hundred and sixty-four bishops. They are under the government of the patriarch of Alexandria; to whose jurisdiction belong both the Christians of Egypt and those about the bay of Arabia. Upon whose late solemn consecration how many bishops attended, and what solemnity were used, were too long to rehearse.

For the Abassine Christians, they are subject to their Abuna, a patriarch of their own. Some report of an hundred and twenty-seven archbishops: and Alvares, that in one church of the Holy Trinity, upon a solemn occasion, he saw two hundred of their mitred clergy together.

Thus have I for the reader's satisfaction contracted into a short view some passages of the laborious "Christianography" of Mr. Pagitt, gathered by him out of many authors; whereby it will appear how the Christian church is governed abroad; and, which is very remarkable, well near all of these in a manner utterly divided from the correspondence with Rome, and professedly opposite to most of her errors, and chiefly to her ambitious and tyrannous usurpation, but all gladly ever submitting themselves to that episcopal government, which some few very ill-advised but very well self-conceited new comers here in a corner of our Europe have for their own ends presumed to contradict.

Sect. XIX.—*Of the suppression of contrary records, and the sole opposition of the heretic Aërius.*

Clearly then, all times, all places, all histories, are for us: not one that ever mentioned the discipline and government pretended.

It is a very poor and beggarly evasion of Parker and Anti-Tilenus, that perhaps there were some, but they were suppressed. Suppressed! now, gramercy for that. By whom? I hope by the hierarchy. What! when there was no opposition? no colour of offence? Suppressed! what, not only their edition in this age of presses, but their very mention? Can they persuade themselves? (others sure they cannot:) or if they can, I would fain see them, that among so many holy fathers and faithful recorders of all

occurrences that befell the church, whose worthy monuments are in our hands, there should not be the least touch either of their dislike of episcopacy, if there had been any, or of their allowance of the discipline called for; not so much as the least intimation of any city or region that was or wished to be otherwise governed than by a diocesan bishop? As well may they tell us there are people at this day on and beyond the mountains of the moon, who do still and ever have governed themselves by their platform; though who and what they are could not, cannot possibly, be discovered.

Onwards then. It can be no great comfort or credit to the disparagers of episcopacy, that the only founder and abettor of their opinion which we meet with in all the world of history and record is a branded heretic, Aërius; branded even for this very point which they now maintain. And how could this be if the conceit had been formerly current? Or why he singled from the rest, if there had been others known to have been of the same mind? No man ever wrote of heretics who did not name him for one; Epiphanius, Austin, Philaster.

And who can choose but blush to hear those who would go for orthodox Christians, now at the latter end of the day, after so many ages of exsibilation, to take upon them the defence of a noted heretic against all the holy fathers of the church; yea, against the whole church of God, whose judgment those fathers expressly declared?

Hear then of your patriarch, all ye opposers of episcopacy, and then judge how you like him. All agree in the story: Epiphanius is the fullest. "Aërius," saith he[o], "was a man frantic headed, proud minded; an Arian altogether." He would fain have been a bishop; and when his schoolfellow Eustathius came to that honour, which he eagerly desired and missed of, he was so much the more nettled with emulation. Eustathius humoured him by all means: he was still the more peevish: at last he brake forth into opposition, "and," saith that father, "his speech savoured rather of madness than of sober humanity. For he said, What is a bishop better than a presbyter? The one differs not at all from the other. There is but one order, one honour, one dignity of both. Doth the bishop impose hands? so doth the presbyter.

[o] Ἐμβροντήθεις τὴν διάνοιαν. Epiph. Hæres. 75. [The passage is, τὴν ἔννοιαν. ——ἐμβροντηθέντα.]

Doth the bishop administer baptism? so doth the presbyter. The bishop dispenseth the service of God; so doth the presbyter. The bishop sits in his chair or throne; so doth the presbyter[p]."

These are the opinions, among others, for which Aërius was hooted, not out of the church only, but out of the cities, towns, and villages: which I grieve to see taken up, in this doting and last age of the world, by those who should be both godly and wise.

He whom Epiphanius, in the voice of God's church, styles *magnum mundo malum*, "a great mischief to the world," is now applauded by those who pretend to holiness, for a great patron of truth.

SECT. XX.—*The Vindication of those Fathers, which are pretended to second Aërius's opinion.*

But what noise is this I hear from our antepiscopists, of many fathers who favoured and cried up this opinion of Aërius? Surely if there had been any such, the world would have rung of it ere now. The then present church would sooner have noted it, than those that lag after them so many hundred paces of years.

But, to make this good, more than once is laid in our dish by Parker[q], and the Censure of Tilenus, the quotation of Medina, which our reverend and learned bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, in his apology, cites[r], *Non dubito, &c.* "I doubt not," saith Medina, "to affirm, that St. Jerome, Sedulius, Primasius, Theodoret, held with the Aërian heretics, that the order of bishops and presbyters is, *jure divino*, the very same." It is well that he omitted St. Augustin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Œcumenius.

Well, what of this? The learned bishop cites Medina; but doth he approve him? He scorns the motion. Medina cites those fathers as for this opinion: the more shameless he! Is it ever the truer, because a sworn champion of the tyranny of Rome and a professed enemy to the reformed religion impudently avers it? It is enough for me to leave him to the castigation of Bellarmine: and, though I might spend paper in vindicating these sacred names from the aspersion of the favour of Aërianism, yet, for that it is but incidentally in our way, I shall rather remit my reader to the learned and satisfactory discourse of the archbishop of Spalatro, who hath prevented that labour[s].

All the rest are easily freed.

[p] Epiph. loco citato. [Hæres. 75.]

[q] Paracles. l. i. c. 7. [Scoti τοῦ τύχοντος, 1622. p. 47.]

[r] Apol. p. 2. c. 12.

[s] Intolerabilis est Medinæ impudentia. Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. l. iii. c. 3. [§ 49.]

St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, in the opinion of some, seem to take in water.

For the former, as he was naturally a waspish and hot good man, so now, being vexed with some cross proceedings, as he thought, of John bishop of Jerusalem, he flew out into some expressions indeed, but yet such as in other places he doth either salve or contradict. The passages are scanned thoroughly by many authors. It is true then that he saith, bishops are greater than presbyters rather *consuetudine ecclesiæ,* than *dominicæ dispositionis veritate*[t]: but even in that, withal, he grants episcopacy to be an apostolical institution[u], for he interprets himself, that this custom was derived and continued from the apostles, and that the *dominica dispositio* of which he spake was to be taken of a personal appointment from Christ our Saviour[x]. Wherefore, what can be more plain than that his *toto orbe decretum* relates to apostolic constitution? The very pedigree of it is by himself fetched from the time of the quarrels which St. Paul mentions in his epistle to the Corinths: *One says, I am of Paul; another, I am of Apollos; I am of Cephas;* which was in the heart of the apostolic times. And, relating those words of the bishop of Jerusalem's letters, "There is no difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter," he passeth a *satis imperite* upon it; professing to his Marcella against the novelty of Montanus; "With us, our bishops hold the place of the apostles, and that the depression of their bishops below their place was utterly perfidious:" and, commenting upon that passage of the Psalm, *Instead of fathers thou shalt have children;* "The apostles," saith he, "O church, were thy fathers, &c. Thou hast instead of them children, which are the bishops created by thyself." And, which is for all, where he is most vehement for the dignity of a presbyter, yet he adds, *Quid facit episcopus excepta ordinatione, quod presbyter non facit?* "What doth a bishop besides ordination, which a presbyter doth not?" That very exception exempts him from Aërianism; and those other clear testimonies, besides more which might be cited, show him, though but a presbyter, no friend to the equality of our presbyterians.

As for St. Ambrose, they could not have pitched upon a better man: a renowned archbishop and metropolitan, and of so holily-high a grain, as that he would not abate one inch of archiepiscopal

[t] Hier. ad Evagr. [Epist. ad Evang. seu Evagr. Opp. ed. Ben. t. iv. pars 2. p. 803.]

[u] Eadem Epist. ad Evag.

[x] Hier. in i. ad Titum. [ed. Ben. t. iv. pars i. p. 414.]

[y] Hier. in Ps. xliv. [ut sup. t. ii. p. 693.]

port and power; no, not to an emperor. Yet this is the man that shall plead against the superiority of bishops. And what will he say? "Of a bishop and a presbyter," saith he, "there is one order or ordination: for either of them is a priest; but the bishop is the first: so that every bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop: for among the presbyters the bishop is the first." But first of all, by Parker's own confession, it is not St. Ambrose that saith so, but a changeling in his clothes: so, not only Whitakers, Spalatro, Cocus, Rivetus, and others, but even some of the great pontifician authors, as we shall see upon another occasion more fully. Secondly, Ambrose himself tells another tale in his genuine writings: "There is one thing," saith he[z], "that God requires of a bishop; another of a presbyter; another of a deacon." And again, "As bishops do ordain presbyters, and consecrate deacons, so the archbishop ordaineth the bishop." Do you not think this man likely to speak for the new government? Thirdly, if he had said as they make him, they must give him leave to interpret himself. The bishop is *primus sacerdos*, that is, saith he, *princeps sacerdotum*.

SECT. XXI.—*The practice of the Waldenses and Albigenses in allowance of Episcopal Government.*

Shortly then, all times, all histories, all authors, all places, are for us.

Yea, which is most remarkable, even those factions which divided themselves from the church, as the Arians, Novatians, Donatists, yet still held themselves to the government of their bishops. It was their question whether this or that man should be their bishop: it was never questioned whether they should have any bishops at all.

Yea, in these latter times, the very Waldenses and Albigenses, when in some things they justly flew off from the Romish superstition, yet still would have a bishop of their own. It was one of the articles that was objected against them[a]: the supremacy of the pope usurping above all churches is by them denied: neither that any degree is to be received in the church, but only priests, deacons, and bishops. And Æneas Sylvius, in his Bohemian History,

[z] Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerd. c. 3, 5. [Paris 1586. t. iv. p. 652.]

[a] Artic. Wald. anno 1170, and 1216. [Fox, Acts and Mon. Lond. 1570. vol. i. p. 295.]

reporting the tenets of the Waldenses, hath thus[b], *Romanum pontificem, &c.:* that "the bishop of Rome is but equal to other bishops;" that "among priests there is no difference;" that "not dignity, but merit of life, makes one presbyter better than another."

Those of Merindol and Cabrieres (a people which about two hundred years ago came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in the waste parts of Provence), being there planted, and hearing of the gospel preached in Germany and Switzerland, sent in the year 1530 George Maurellus and Petrus Latomus to confer with the learned men of those parts. They met with Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito. Maurellus escaping home alone, told his compatriots how much they had erred; and how their old ministers, whom they called their barbes, that is, their uncles, had misled them.

But before this their complices, the good Christians who were termed Albigenses, did set up to themselves a bishop of their own, one Bartolomæus, remaining about the coast of Croatia and Dalmatia; of whom the cardinal Portinensis the pope's legate writes thus[c] to the archbishop of Rouen about the year 1146: *Etenim de Carcasona oriundus, &c.:* "For one Bartolomæus, the bishop of the heretics, born in Carcasona, taking upon him the deputation of that antipope, yielded unto him a wicked and abominable reverence, and gave him a place of residence in the town of Porlos, and removed himself to the parts of Toulouse. This Bartolomæus, in the tenor of his letters, which run everywhere in the first style of his salutation, entitles himself on this manner, 'Bartolomæus, the servant of the servants of God, to N. the salutations of the holy faith.' This man, amongst all his other enormities, makes bishops; and takes upon him perfidiously to govern and order the churches." Thus that cardinal.

And those Angragnians, who are commonly said for some hundred of years to have cast off all relation to the church of Rome, yet, in their confession of faith and answers exhibited to the president appointed commissioner for their examination, confessed and acknowledged, upon mention made of ancient councils, that the councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church, concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as the people. These

[b] Fox, de Dogmat. Waldens. [ibid.]

[c] Epist. Legati Papæ Card. Portinens. vide Fox, Acts, &c.

Christians were far from that peevish humour wherewith divers miszealots are now-a-days transported. What speak I of these? The very late Christians, who within the ken of memory came into this kingdom for protection, had the noble Johannes à Lasco for their bishop [d].

Thus it was with all Christian men and assemblies all the world over; till, within the age of some who might be yet living, the waters of the Cantons and the lake of Lemanus began to be troubled.

And now, when the gross errors of doctrine came to be both discovered by one side and impetuously defended by the other, and the impugners cruelly persecuted to bonds and death, those who could not enjoy the freedom of the true religion under their popish bishops, thought themselves driven to set up church governors and pastors of their own; and these, once established, now must belike be defended. They might not be under those they had; they could not have those they should; they rested under those they could get. And hence is all this distraction.

SECT. XXII.—*The Government by Bishops both universal and unalterable.*

We have seen the grounds of church government laid by our Saviour himself in imparity. We have seen it so built up by apostolic hands. We have seen the practice of the ancient and subsequent church laying on the roof to make a perfect fabric.

Yet what is all this, if the charge be not universal and perpetual? Yield it to be so ancient as the apostles themselves; yet, if it be arbitrary, whether for time or place, what have we gained?

Surely, as God is but one and ever himself, so would he have his church. There may be threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number; but his dove, his undefiled, is but one: and though she may go in several dresses and trimmings, yet still and ever the stuff is the same. Plainly, though there may be varieties of circumstantial fashions in particular churches, yet the substance of the government is and must be ever the same.

That ordinary power which the apostles had, they traduced to

[d] Hadrian Sarav. Præfat. ad Tractat. de Gradibus Minister. [Notum est primas peregrinorum ecclesias quæ Edv. rege hic congregatæ fuerunt habuisse episcopum Dom. Alasco.]

their successors, as bequeathed by our Saviour in his last farewell to them unto the end of the world. For we may not think, as one said well, that the apostles carried their commission with them up to heaven, They knew it was given them for a perpetuity of succession. He that said, *Go, teach all nations and baptize,* added, *Behold, I am with you to the end of the world.* He could not mean it of their persons, which stayed not long upon earth after him: he meant it of their evangelical successors.

So was he with them, as he was with his domestics their predecessors; not in the immediateness and extraordinary way of calling; not in the admirable measure and kinds of their χαρίσματα or gifts; not in the infallibleness of their judgment, nor in the universality of their charge; but in the effectual execution of those offices which should be perpetuated to his church for the salvation of mankind. Such were, the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments, the ordaining church officers, the ordering of church affairs, the infliction of censures, and in short the power of the keys, which we justly say were not tied to St. Peter's girdle, but were communicated to all his fellows, and to all his and their successors for ever; by virtue whereof all true pastors can open and shut heaven gates above, much more the church doors here upon earth.

And all these acts are of such necessity, that without them the church could not at all subsist, at least not long, and in any tolerable condition. The power of these acts, as it was by our Saviour's commission originally in the apostles, being by them conveyed to the church, and not by the church conveyed to them; so it succeeded accordingly in and to their successors, and was incorporated into their office. "We that are priests receive the keys in Peter," saith St. Ambrose. *Veniat ad antistites,* saith St. Augustin; "Let them come to the bishops, by whom the keys are ministered in the church." As Beza said truly of the promise of the Holy Ghost[e], that it was given for the good of the whole church; yet not unto the whole church, but peculiarly unto the apostles, to give to others at least; so must it be said of this power. And so indeed, by Calvin's own determination[f], none but pastors might lay hands on the ordained, and none but they were capable to wield the great censures of the church.

[e] Beza de Grad. Minist. c. 5.

[f] Calv. Instit. l. iv. 3.—Hoc postremo habendum est, non universam multitudinem manus imposuisse suis ministris, sed solos pastores. [Genev. 1592. p. 218.]

Shortly then, was this power left by the apostles, or was it not left?

If it were left, (as we could else have no church,) was it left with all, or with some? With all it cannot; the multitude cannot be thought fit for these affairs. If with some, then whether with one in a city or territory, or with more. If with more, why is the charge then imposed upon one? one Timothy in Ephesus, one Titus in Crete; one angel in Thyatira, one other in Philadelphia, Laodicea, and the rest; and why are those single persons challengeable for the neglect? And if this power and this charge were by the very hands of the apostles entailed upon these eminent persons, which should by due ordination therein succeed them, and from them lineally descend upon us, I wonder what human power dare presume to cut it off. Neither do I less marvel at the opinions of those divines, which, holding episcopacy thus to stand *jure apostolico* in the first institution, yet hold it may be changed in the sequel. For me, I have learned to yield this honour to these inspired men, that I dare not but think these their ordinances, which they intended to succession, immutable.

Some kinds of ceremonious prescriptions fell from them which were meant to be only local and temporary. Those we have no reason to think ourselves obliged to; but those which they left for the administration of God's church it shall be high presumption in any to alter. Because the apostles did but meet together divers times on the first day of the week, and St. Paul ordered that day for the laying aside their collections, and that is only called the Lord's day by the apostle; how strongly are the vehement opposites of episcopacy wont to maintain that day in succession to the Jewish sabbath, and that in all points unalterable by any human authority! Surely had they but the tenth part of that plea from the apostles for this their Judaical-evangelical sabbath which we have for our episcopacy, they would make us feel the dint of this argument, and would in the rigorous observation of it outdo the Jews.

But you are now ready to choke me with some apostolical ordinances which were even of themselves reversed:—be it so. Then you tell me of the first-form of their government of the church, which, say you, was by an equality; from which, if, as we plead, they afterwards ascended to this imparity which we now contend for, why is it not as safe, say you, for us to take up that their first form as this latter?

Admitting all this, our answer is the readier. We like well to make those holy men of God our choosers. They thought fit to alter to this, and therefore we think fit to hold to it. They tried both, and left this to be continued.

The truth is, the church of God at the very first was only in framing, and not all of a sudden framed. In framing thereof, as the equality among themselves, by the fulness of grace which they all had, conduced to that work; so all that while, for the better promoting of the same work, they themselves maintained their own superiority and power over other presbyters.

So then the change being made by the apostles themselves, and not by other, they being infallibly guided by the Spirit of God, though they changed we may not.

Nay, because they changed we may not. The Holy Ghost led them unto it; and therefore we, unless we will oppose the ordinance of the Holy Ghost, must not detrect to continue it.

Otherwise, why may I not urge the same argument in the instanced sabbath? The apostles had duly kept the seventh day according to the law; they after fell to the observation of the first day. What, shall any man now infer, why not the Jewish seventh, which was first kept, rather than the evangelical first, which was last taken up?

However then, as it is usually upbraided to us out of our reverend Whitgift, there may be some appendances and formalities of government, alterable by the wisdom and discretion of the church; yet for the main substance it is now utterly indispensable, and must so continue to the world's end. Indispensable by any voluntary act; what inevitable necessity may do in such a case we now dispute not[g]: necessity hath dispensed with some immediately divine laws. Where then that may be justly pleaded, we shall not be wanting both in our pity and in our prayers.

[g] Nisi coegerit dura necessitas, cui nulla lex est posita.—Hadr. Sarav. Resp. ad Bez. de Gradib. &c.

THE THIRD PART.

SECT. I.—*The appellation of lay elders, and the state of the question concerning them.*

THE question concerning the lay presbyter is not easily stated. The thing itself is so new that we are not yet agreed of the name.

Presbyter, we know in the Greek, as also *Zachen* in the Hebrew (whence the use of it is borrowed), is a word importing age, and signifies a man elder in years: now, for that years should and do commonly bring knowledge and experience, and carry gravity and authority, therefore it is traduced from that natural sense, and used to signify a man of some eminence in place and government.

So we have in the Old Testament, *elders of the house*, Gen. l. 7; *elders of the congregation*, Lev. iv. 15; *elders of the city*, Deut. xix. 12; *elders of the land*, Gen. l. 7; *elders of the people*, Matt. xxi. 23. And these sometimes matched with the highest offices: so we have *elders and judges*, Deut. xxi. 2; *princes and elders*, Ezra x. 8; *priests and elders*, Lam. i. 19. And all these were titles of civil authority.

But when we come to the days of the gospel under the New Testament, now we find the *elders of the church*; Acts xx. 17, Acts xi. 30, and xiv. 23; a name which comprehended all those sacred persons who were employed in the promulgation of the gospel, as Calvin well observes, whether apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors; and indeed none but them: and in vain shall we seek for any other presbyters or elders in the Acts or Epistles of the blessed apostles, or in all following antiquity.

What to make therefore of those elders or presbyters which are now in question, which, saith Travers, if you will speak properly, are only them that rule, he were wise that could tell. Merely civil they would not be, for they take upon them ecclesiastical charges: merely sacred and spiritual they are not, for they are neither bishops, priests, nor deacons: merely laic they

would not be[a]: clergymen they deny to be. Those of old that served at the altar were wont to be described by their linen vestures; other men by woollen: these are neither of both, but a mixture of both, a linsey-woolsey contexture; a composition which, as God (in type of what I now say not) forbade under the law, so he never had use of it, never acknowledged it, under the gospel. How therefore in this fag-end of the world they should come to have any new being in the church, it is enough for me to wonder. If they affect to be *seniores populi*, we would not grudge them this title; but if *seniores* or *presbyteri ecclesiæ*, they have no more right to that than the bishops have to crowns and sceptres.

Lest any doubt should seem ungrounded, Beza, who will not yield these elders laics, to grace them the more, ascribes[b] to them some kind of spiritual cure: they feed the flock by governing; they are διδάκτικοι, and preach after a sort in the reproof of sin in their consistory; and yet he is fain to contradistinguish them from teaching elders, and their style forsooth is κυβερνήσεις, "governments[c]."

But tell me, I beseech you, dear brethren, you that are so apt to affect and receive a foreign discipline; tell me in good earnest, can you think this to be the feeding of the flock of Christ which St. Paul requires of the elders at Ephesus? Acts xx. 28. Can you think these men to be such as the apostle there speaks of: *In quo Dominus vos constituit episcopos?* encharging them with the flock over which Christ hath made them bishops? Was ever any lay elder styled by that name? Doth not Calvin himself confess that the presbyters, both there mentioned and Titus i. 5, are no other than doctors and teachers, because in both places they are styled bishops? And was there ever heard of a lay bishop in the world; those sacrilegious excepted, in some parts of Germany, who retain nothing of that divine order but lands and name?

Yea, my brethren, why are ye willing to be deceived? who ever spake or heard of a lay presbyter in all the church of God till this age? Take the term as it is. We are forced upon this epithet for distinction's sake, not out of any scornful intent of discouraging God's people. We know that in a general acception

[a] Bez. Resp. ad Sarav. negat esse Laicos.

[b] Ubi supra.

[c] Abrah. Henric. Thes. Genev. The administration of the word is given to the elders, but to another end, &c. Ut, judiciis ecclesiasticis præeuntibus pastoribus præsint.

they are all the Lord's inheritance; but because there is a necessary difference to be put, betwixt them whom God hath separated to his own immediate service in the ministry, and those Christians which are under them in their ministerial charge, we make use of these terms, wherewith the greatest antiquity hath furnished us.

The old canons named apostolical make frequent mention of it. The blessed martyr, old Ignatius, as in other places, so especially in his epistle to them of Smyrna, which we have already cited, is clear, οἱ λαϊκοὶ, &c.: "Let the laics be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the presbyters, &c.[d]" And before him the holy martyr Clement bishop of Rome, as we have formerly alleged: "A layman is bound to laic precepts." And yet before him also, I for my part am confident that St. Peter, whom this man succeeded both in his chair and martyrdom, meant no other when he charged his fellow bishops that they should feed their flock, μὴ κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων, not domineering over their clergy, 1 Pet. v. 3; for the word is plural; not as if it were *clero*, but *clericis*. And in the verse before, it is ἐπισκοποῦντες, the very act of episcopacy: those that would have it taken otherwise are fain to add a word of their own to the text, reading it "God's heritage," whereas the original is merely κλήρων, perfectly to this sense. Neither is there any ataxy to be feared in bringing to this distinction betwixt pastors and flock: it is an eutaxy rather, and such as without which nothing could ensue but confusion.

If these men then be spiritual and sacred persons, why do they not challenge it? If laic, why are they ashamed of it? If betwixt both, let them give themselves that title which Bernard gives himself upon the occasion of his forced forbearance of his canonical devotions: *Ego tanquam chimæra quædam mei seculi.*

Here then, ye seduced brethren, that go all upon trust for the strong belief of a lay presbytery; your credulity hath palpably abused you. It is true this advantage you have, that the first authors of this late device were men of great note in their times, but men still. And herein they showed it too well; that for their own ends they not only invented such a government as was never heard of in any Christian church throughout the whole world before them, but also found out some pretence of scrip-

[d] [Ed. Vedel. p. 170. see note in the margin—"Supposititia ex Constit. Clem. 1. 2. c. 26, et alibi."]

tures never before so understood, whereupon to father their so new and (now) plausible erection.

SECT. II.—*No lay elder ever mentioned or heard of in the world till this present age. The texts of scripture particularized to the contrary.*

And that you may not think this to be some bold unwarranted suggestion from an unadvised adversary, let me tender this fair offer to you. It is an hard and long task for a man to prove negatives. Let any of your most learned and confident teachers produce but the name of any one lay presbyter that ever was in the church, from the times of Christ and his apostles until this present age, I shall yield the cause, and live and die theirs.

We find in common experience that we apprehend things according to our own prepossession. Jaundiced eyes seem to see all objects yellow; blood-shotten, red. It is no marvel if those who have mancipated their minds to the judgments of some whom they over admire, and have lent their eyes out of their own heads wheresoever they find mention of an elder in the New Testament, think presently of a lay presbytery: like that man in Erasmus, who persuaded himself he saw a strange dragon in the air, because his friend confidently pointed to it, and seemed to wonder at his not seeing it. But those who with unpartial and unprejudiced hearts shall address themselves to the book of God, and with a careful sincerity compare the scriptures, shall find that wheresoever the word elder or presbyter is in an evangelical sense used in the holy Epistles or the history of the Acts, except it be in some few places where eldership of age may be meant, it is only and altogether taken for the ministers of the gospel.

There are, if I reckon right, some two and twenty places where the word is mentioned. Were it not too long to take them into particular examination, I should gladly scan them all: some we will.

Let us begin with the last. *The elder unto the well-beloved Gaius,* 3 John 1. And *the elder to the elect lady,* 2 John 1. What elder is this? Is it not the holy and dear apostle St. John?

The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, &c. Feed the flock of God which is among you, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. Lo, such an elder as St. Peter, such were they whom he exhorts! Their title is one: their work is one. I suppose no lay elder will take upon him this charge of feeding the flock of Christ with St. Peter: and if Beza would fain, out of

favour to their new erection, strain the word so far as to feeding by government: yet it is so quite against the hair, that Calvin himself, and Chamier, and Moulin, (and who not?) do everywhere contradistinguish their pastors to their ruling elders. And for the place in hand Calvin is clear ours: "The flock of Christ," saith he, "cannot be fed but with pure doctrine, *quæ sola spirituale est pabulum.*"

Is any man sick among you? saith St. James; *let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick*, James v. 14. Are these lay elders, think we, whom the apostle requires to be called for: who must comfort the sick; cure him by their prayers; anoint him with their miraculous oil for recovery? Let me ask then, were there no spiritual pastors, no ministers among them? And if there were such, was it likely or fit they should stand by, while laymen did their spiritual services? Besides, were they lay-hands to which this power of miraculous cure by anointing the sick was then committed? Surely, if we consult with St. Mark, we shall find them sacred persons: such lips and such hands must cure the sick.

So then, the elders of St. John, St. Peter, St. James, are certainly pastors and ministers.

And what other are St. Paul's? *For this cause*, saith he to Titus, *I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city.* What elders are those? The next words shall tell you: *If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, &c. For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.* Lo, St. Paul's elder here is no other than a bishop! Even then, as the fathers observe, every bishop was a presbyter: and though not every presbyter a bishop, yet every presbyter a sacred and spiritual person; such a one as is capable of holy ordination.

Thus might we easily pass through all these texts, wherein there is any mention of presbyters.

One only place there is that might to a fore-inclined mind seem to give some colour (and God knows, but a colour,) of a lay presbytery: *Let the elders that rule well*, saith St. Paul to Timothy, *be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in the word and doctrine*, 1 Tim. v. 17. A place which hath been so thoroughly sifted by all who have meddled

with this ill-raised controversy, as that no human wit can devise to add one scruple of a notion towards a further discussion of it. I dare confidently say, there is scarce any one sentence of scripture which hath undergone a more busy and curious agitation. The issue is this: that never any expositor, for the space of fifteen hundred years after Christ, took these presbyters for any other than priests or ministers: of eleven or twelve several expositions of the words, each one is more fair and probable than this, which is newly devised and obtruded upon the church:— that the text is so far from favouring these lay presbyters, that we need no other argument against them: for, where was it ever heard of, or how can it be, that mere laics should be προεστῶτες? Bishops and pastors have had that style, as in scripture, so in following antiquity, that passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, cited by Eusebius concerning St. John, that he at Ephesus committed the charge of his young man to an old bishop, whom he calls τὸν προεστῶτα; besides that of Justin Martyr already cited, and others, show it plainly. And if, as some, our appellation of priest come from προεστώς, as it well may, how can a layman be so? Or if from prebstre, as the more think, let us have lay priests, if lay presbyters. And what better commentary can we have of St. Paul's καλῶς προίσταθαι than himself gives of himself in his exhortation to the elders or pastors at Ephesus? who interprets it by *carefully attending* to themselves and their flocks, which even their own authors are wont to appropriate to pastors. And what can that double honour be which the apostle claims for these elders or presbyters, but respect and due maintenance? To whom is this due, but to those that serve at the altar? As for lay presbyters, was it ever required that they should be maintained by the church? And what can those κοπιῶντες be, but those priests which diligently and painfully toil in God's harvest, *in the word and doctrine?* All the elders therefore there intended are exercised *in the word and doctrine:* but there are some that do κοπιᾶν, labour more abundantly than the rest: these must be respected and encouraged accordingly. Neither is there any reason in the world to induce an indifferent man to think that this μάλιστα κοπιῶντες should imply a several and distinct office, but rather a more intense and serious labour in the same office; as might be shown in a thousand instances.

Whereas therefore this is the only scripture that in some foreprized ears seems to sound towards a lay presbytery, I must needs

profess, for my part, if there were no other text in all the book of God more pregnant for their disproof, I should think this alone a very sufficient warrant for their disclamation. And I do verily persuade myself that those men who, upon such weak, yea, such no-grounds, have taken upon them, being mere laics, to manage these holy affairs of God, have an hard answer to make one day before the tribunal of Almighty God for this their presumptuous usurpation.

Now then, since this one litigious and unproving text is the only place in the whole New Testament that can bear any pretence for the lay presbytery (for as for their *dic ecclesiæ*, and their κυβερνήσεις, they are so improbable, and have been so oft and throughly charmed, that they are not worth either urging or answer); and on the contrary so many manifest and pregnant testimonies of scriptures have been and may be produced, wherein the presbyters or elders of the church are by the Spirit of God only meant for the spiritual guides of his people; I hope every ingenuous Christian will easily resolve how much safer it is for him to follow the clear light of many evident scriptures than the doubtful glimmering of one mistaken text.

SECT. III.—*Lay eldership a mere stranger to all antiquity; which acknowledgeth no presbyters but divines.*

And as the scriptures of God never meant to give countenance to a lay presbytery, so neither did subsequent antiquity.

I speak it upon good assurance; there was never any clause in any father, council, history, that did so much as intimate any such office in the church of God, or the man that wielded it. The fautors of it would gladly snatch at every sentence in old records where they meet with the name of a presbyter; as if there the bells chimed to their thought: but certainly for fifteen hundred years no man ever dreamed of such a device. If he did, let us know the man.

I am sure our apostolical Clemens makes a contradistinction of laics and presbyters[e].

And Ignatius the holy martyr yet more punctually goes in these degrees[f]; Οὐδὲν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ διάκονος, μηδὲ λαϊκός: "Do nothing without your bishop, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor laic." This difference is so

[e] Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. supra. [c. xl.]

[f] Ignat. Epist. ad Magn. [Οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ, &c. ed. Vedel. p. 55.]

familiar with that saint, as that we scarce miss it in any of his epistles; insomuch as Vedelius himself, finding in the epistle of this martyr to the Ephesians[g], τὸ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, translates it, *memorabile sacerdotum vestrorum collegium*, "a college of presbyters:" such the bishops of those first times had, as we have still the dean and chapter, to consult withal upon any occasion: but those presbyters were no other than professed divines; neither were ever otherwise construed.

If we look a little lower, who can but turn over any two leaves of the first tome of the councils, and not fall upon some passage that may settle his assurance this way?

Those ancient canons which carry the name of the apostles are exceedingly frequent in the distinction. They speak of the bishop's or presbyter's offering on the altar of God[h], which no layman might do. They make an act against a bishop's or presbyter's rejection of his wife under pretence of religion[i], which in a layman was never questioned. They forbid a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, to meddle with any secular cares or employments[k]: a laic person had no reason to be so restrained. Shortly, for we might here easily weary our reader, the ninth of their canons is punctual, which plainly reckons up the bishop, presbyter, deacon, as ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ Ἱερατικοῦ, "of the priestly list;" and in the fourteenth, "If any presbyter or deacon, ἤ ὅλως ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν, or whosoever else of the clergy."

Dionysius, the misnamed Areopagite, hath ἱεράρχοις and ἱερέας for bishops and presbyters; and the holy martyr Cyprian, *Cum episcopo presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti;* "the presbyters joined with the bishop in priestly honour[l]."

What shall I need to urge how often in the ancient councils they are styled by the name of ἱερεῖς, "priests?" and how by those venerable synods they have the offices and employments of only priests and clergymen put upon them? Our two learned bishops, Dr. Bilson and Dr. Downame, have so cleared this point, that my labour herein would be but superfluous. I refer my reader to their unquestionable instances.

One thing let me add, not unworthy of observation. I shall desire no other author to confute this opinion of the lay pres-

[g] Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. [ed. Vedel. p. 217.]

[h] Can. Apost. Can. 3, 4, 5. [Bin. t. i. p. 5.]

[i] Can. vi. [ibid.]

[k] Can. vii. [ibid.]

[l] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 1. [ed. Fell. Ep. 61. p. 145.]

bytery, than Aërius himself, the only ancient enemy of episcopacy. "What is a bishop," saith he, "other than a presbyter? &c. There is but one order, one honour of both. Doth the bishop impose hands? so doth the presbyter. Doth the bishop administer baptism? so doth the presbyter. The bishop dispenseth God's service: so doth the presbyter, &c." Thus he. Lo, there is but one professed enemy to bishops in all the history of the church; and he, in the very act of his opposition to episcopacy, mars the fashion of a lay presbytery! He could not *in terminis* directly oppose it indeed: how should he oppose that which never was? But he attributes such acts and offices to a presbyter as never any laic durst usurp; such as never were, never could be, ascribed to any that was not consecrated to God by an holy ordination. Had this man then but dreamed of a lay presbytery, either to supply or affront episcopacy, it might have been some countenance at least to the age of this invention: but now, the device hath not so much patrocination (pardon an harsh word) as of an old stigmatic: yea, it is quashed by the sole and only mar-prelate of the ancient church.

SECT. IV.—*Ambrose's testimony, urged commonly for lay elders, fully answered.*

Yet let me eat my word betimes, while it is hot.

There is an holy and ancient bishop, they say, that pleads for a lay presbytery. And who should that be but the godly and renowned archbishop and metropolitan of Milan, St. Ambrose? a man noted, as for singular sanctimony, so for the height of his spirit and zeal of maintaining the right of his function.

And what will he say? *Unde et synagoga, et postea etiam ecclesia, seniores habuit*, &c.[m]: "Whereupon," saith he, "both the synagogue, and afterwards the church also, had certain elders or ancient men, without whose counsel nothing was done in the church: which by what negligence it is now out of use I know not, except perhaps it were by the sloth of the teachers, or rather by their pride, for that they would seem to be of some reckoning alone." Here is all.

And now let me beseech my reader to rouse up himself a little, and with some more than ordinary attention to listen to this evidence, on which alone for any likely pretence of antiquity so great a cause wholly dependeth.

[m] Amb. in 1 Tim. v. 1. [Paris 1506, t. iii. p. 709.]

And first, let him hear that this is no Ambrose, but a counterfeit; even by the confession of the greatest favourers of the lay presbytery[n]; who, that they would thus easily turn off the chief if not the only countenance of their cause, it is to me a wonder: but they well saw, if they had not done it, it would have been done for them. Possevine thinks he finds Pelagianism in this commentary upon the Epistles. Both Whitakers and Bellarmine[o] disclaim it for Ambrose's: the latter pitches it upon an heretic; even the same which was the author of the book of the Questions of the Old and New Testament, Hilary the deacon: and the former doth little other; while he cites and seems to allow the censors of Louvain to this purpose. Maldonate casts it upon Remigius Lugdunensis[p], who lived anno 870, far from any authentic antiquity; and confidently says, no man that ever read Ambrose's writings can think these to be his.

It is then, first, no great matter what this witness saith: but yet, let us hear him.

Unde synagoga, saith he: "Whereupon the synagogue, and after the church also, had elders." And whereupon was this spoken I beseech you? Let my reader but take the foregoing words with him, and see if he can forbear to smile at the conceit. The words run thus; upon occasion of St. Paul's charge, *Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, &c. Propter honorificentiam ætatis, majorem natu cum mansuetudine ad bonum opus provocandum, &c.:* "For the honour of age, the elder in years is by meekness to be provoked to a good work, &c." *Nam apud omnes ubique gentes, honorabilis est senectus:* "For," saith he, "amongst all nations everywhere old age is honourable:" and so infers, "Whereupon both the synagogue, and afterwards the church, had certain elder or ancient men, without whose counsel nothing was done in the church." Plainly the words are spoken of an elder in age, not any elder in office. And so St. Paul's words import too; for it follows, *the elder women as mothers;* and I suppose no man will think St. Paul meant to ordain elderesses in the church. Thus in the supposed Ambrose all runs upon this strain: for there is *honorificentia ætatis*, "the honorificence of age;" *majores natu; honorabilis senectus:* no intimation of any office in the church.

[n] Park. Polit. Eccl.

[o] Bellar. tom. iv. de Amiss. Grat. c. 5. [Disp. tom. iii. p. 276.] and l. iv. de Justif. c. 8. [Ambrosius vel quicunque est auctor, t. iii. p. 1201.]

[p] Maldon. in Mat. xix. [Comment. in Evang. Lugd. 1598. p. 403.]

But, you will say, here is mention of the elders that the synagogue had. True; but not as judges; but only as aged persons, whose experience might get them skill, and gravity procure them reverence. And such the church had too; and made use of their counsel: and therefore it follows, *quorum sine consilio*, "without whose counsel," nothing was done in the church: he saith not, without whose authority. These then, for aught this place implieth, were not incorporated in any consistory; but for their prudence advised with upon occasion: and what is this to a fixed bench of lay presbyters?

Or, if there were such a settled college of presbyters in ancient use, as Ignatius implies, yet where are the lay? They were certain ancient, experienced divines, who upon all difficult occasions were ready to give their advice and aid to their bishop.

How little the true Ambrose dreamed of any other, let him be consulted in his noble, humble, and yet stout epistle to the emperor Valentinian[q]; where that worthy pattern of prelates well shows how ill it could be brooked that persons merely laic or secular should have any hand in judging and ordering of matters spiritual.

Yea, for this very pretended Ambrose, how far he was from thinking of a lay presbytery let himself speak, who in the very same chapter, upon those words, *Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour*, construes those elders for *boni dispensatores, ac fideles*. And because you may think this may well enough fit laic presbyters, he adds, *evangelizantes regnum Dei*, "those that preach the kingdom of God." And again, *Adversus presbyterum, &c.: against a presbyter receive not an accusation, &c.:* "Because," saith he, *ordinis hujus sublimis est honor*, "the honour of this order is high; for they are the vicars of Christ; and therefore an accusation of this person is not easily to be admitted: for it ought to seem incredible to us that this man, who is God's priest, should live criminously." Thus he. So as this Ambrose's presbyters are no other in his sense than God's priests and Christ's vicars. If our lay presbyters then have a mind to be or to be called priests and vicars, their Ambrose is for them: else, he is not worthy of his fee for what he hath said.

If all antiquity have yielded any other witness worth the producing, how gladly should we hear him out, and return him a

[q] Amb. l. ii. Epist. 13. [Opp. Paris 1586. t. iv. lib. v. Ep. 32. p. 1018.]

satisfactory answer: but the truth is, never any man thought of such a project; and therefore, if any author have let fall some favourable word that might seem to bolster it, it must be against his will. Neither did any living man, before some burgesses of Geneva in our age took it upon them, ever claim or manage such an office since Christ was upon the earth.

SECT. V.—*The utter disagreement and irresolution of the pretenders to the new discipline, concerning the particular state of their desired government.*

All this considered, I cannot but wonder and grieve to hear a man of such worth as Beza was so transported as to say that this presbytery of their device is the tribunal of Christ: a tribunal erected above fifteen hundred years after his departure from us: an invisible tribunal to all the rest of God's church besides: a tribunal not known nor resolved of by those that call it so.

Surely our blessed Saviour was never ashamed to own his ordinance: neither was he ever so reserved as not to show his own crown and sceptre to all his good subjects. He never cared for an outward glorious magnificence; but that spiritual port which he would have kept in his government he was far from concealing and smothering in a suspicious secrecy.

If this then be or were Christ's tribunal, where, when, how, in whom, wherefore, was it set up? Who sees not that the wood whereof it is framed is so green that it warps every way? Plainly the sworn men to this exotical government are not agreed of their verdict. An exquisite form they would fain have; but what it was, or what it should be, they accord not.

Even amongst our own, in the admonition to the parliament, anno 1572, a perfect platform is tendered: not so perfect yet but two years after it is altered: nine years after that, anno 1583, a new draught fit for the English meridian is published; yet that not so exact but that Travers must have a new essay to it, 29 Eliz. And after all this a world of doubts yet arise, which were in 1588 debated at Coventry, Cambridge, elsewhere. And yet still, when all is done, the fraternity is as far to seek in very many points for resolution as at the first day.

Yea, at this very hour fain would I know whether they can ring this peal without jars. It is not long ago, I am sure, that they found every parcel of their government litigious. Cartwright is for a presbytery in every parish wheresoever a pastor is; and his

late clients make every village a church, absolute and independent. The Genevan fashion is otherwise: neither doth Danæus think it to be Christ's institution to have every parish thus furnished and governed. Our late humourists give power of excommunication and other censures to every parish presbytery: the Belgic churches allow it not to every particular congregation, without the counsel and assent of the general consistory. There are that hold the elders should be perpetual: there are others for a triennial; others for a biennial eldership: others hold them fit to be changed, so oft as their liveries, once a year. "The elders," says T. C. "are jointly to execute with their pastor the election and abdication of all their ecclesiastical officers:" Not so, saith J. C. *soli pastores*, "only the pastors must do it[r]. And good reason! what a monster of opinions it is, that laymen should lay on hands to the ordination of ministers! I wonder these men fear not Uzzah's death, or Uzziah's leprosy.

There are that doubt whether there should be doctors in every church: and I am deceived if in Scotland you do not hold your consistories perfect without them. There are that hold them so necessary a member of this body of Christ's ordinance, that it is utterly maimed and unperfect without them. And indeed, what to make of their doctors, neither themselves know, nor any for them. To make them a distinct office from pastors, as it is an uncouth conceit, and quite besides the text, which tells of *some evangelists, some prophets, some pastors and doctors;* and not some pastors and some doctors: so it is guilty of much error and wildness of consequence. For how is it possible that spiritual food and teaching should be severed? Who can feed the soul and not instruct it? Or who can teach wholesome doctrine and not feed the soul? This is as if every child should have two nurses, one to give it the bib, another the breast; one to hold the dish, and the other to put in the spoon. Now if doctors must be, whether in every parish one; whether admitted to sit and vote in the presbytery, and to have their hand in censures or not; or whether they be laymen or of the clergy; whether as academical readers or as rural catechists; are things so utterly undetermined, that they are indeed altogether undecidable.

As for deacons, there is, if it may be, yet more uncertainty amongst them, whether they be necessary in the constitution of

r Jo. Calv. l. iv. Inst. c. 3. [non universam multitudinem—sed solos pastores, ut sup. p. 218.]

the church, or whether members of the consistory or not; whether they should be only employed in matter of the purse, or in the matters of God: or if so, how far interested; whether fixed or moveable; and if so, in what circle.

And, lest there should be any passage of this admired government free from doubt, even the very widows have their brawls. These to some are as essential as the best; to others like to some ceremonies; of which Junius's judgment was, *Si adsint, non recuso; si absint, non desidero:* "not to be refused where they are, and not to be missed where they are not." However I see not why the good women should not put in for a share, and chide with the elders to be shut out.

These, which I have abstracted from our judicious surveyor, and an hundred other doubts concerning the extent and managing of the new consistory, are enough to let an ingenuous reader see on what shelves of sand this late allobrogical device is erected.

Shortly then, let the abettors of the discipline pretended lay their heads together, and agree what it is that we may trust to for Christ's ordinance; and that once done, let them expect our condescent. Till then, and we shall desire no longer, let them forbear to gild their own fancies with the glorious name of Christ's kingdom.

SECT. VI.—*The imperfections and defects which must needs be yielded to follow upon the discipline pretended: and the necessary inconveniences that must attend it in a kingdom otherwise settled.*

This uncertainty of opinion cannot choose but produce an answerable imperfection in the practice; while some churches, which hold themselves in a parochial absoluteness, necessarily furnished with all the equipage of discipline, must needs find those defective which want it: so as the Genevan and French churches, and those of their correspondence, which go all by divisions of presbyteries, must needs by our late reformers be found to come short of that perfection of Christ's kingdom which themselves have attained. Those churches which have no doctors, those which have no deacons, those which have no widows, what case are they in? And how few have all these!

Neither is the imperfection more palpable and fatal where these ordinances are missing, than is the absurdity and inconvenience of entertaining them where they are wished to be: for howsoever,

where some new state is to be erected, especially in a popular form, or a new city to be contrived, with power of making their own laws, there might perhaps be some possibility of complying in way of policy with some of the rules of this pretended church government: yet certainly, in a monarchical state fully settled, and a kingdom divided into several townships and villages, some whereof are small and far distant from the rest, no human wit can comprehend how it were possible, without an utter subversion, to reduce it to these terms.

I shall take leave to instance in some particulars, the strong inexpediences and difficulties whereof will arise to little less than either gross absurdity or utter impossibility.

Can it therefore be possible, in such a kingdom as our happy England is, where there are thousands of small village parishes (I speak according to the plots of our own latest reformers), for every parish to furnish an ecclesiastical consistory, consisting of one or more pastors, a doctor, elders, deacons? Perhaps there are not so many houses as offices are required. And whom shall they then be judges of? And some of these so far remote from neighbours, that they cannot participate of their either teaching or censure: and if this were feasible, what stuff would there be! Perhaps a young indiscreet giddy pastor: and for a doctor, who, and where, and what? John a Nokes and John a Stiles the elders! Smug the smith a deacon! and whom or what should these rule, but themselves and their ploughshares? And what censures, trow we, would this grave consistory inflict? What decisions would they make of the doubts and controversies of their parish? What orders of government? For even this parochial church hath the sovereignty of ecclesiastical jurisdiction! If any of the fautors of the desired discipline dares deny this, let him look to argue the case with his best friends, who all are for this or nothing; else, what means Cartwright to say that in such cases God pours out his gifts upon men called to these functions, and makes them all new men? Here are no miracles to be expected, no enthusiams: an honest thatcher will know how to hand his straw no whit better after his election than he did before, and was as deeply politic before as now, and equally wise and devout, though perhaps he may take upon him some more state and gravity than he formerly did. And what a mad world would it be, that the ecclesiastical laws of such a company should be, like those of the Medes and Persians, irrevocable! that there should

be no appeal from them! for as for classes and synods, they may advise in cases of doubt, but overrule they may not. And if a king should, by occasion of his court fixed in some such obscure parish, fall into the censure even of such a consistory or presbytery, where is he? Excommunicable he is with them: and what then may follow let a Buchanan speak.

Now were it possible that an Hockley in the Hole, or, as Cartwright pleases to instance, an Hitchin or Newington, could yield us choice of such a worthy senate; yet whence shall the maintenance arise? Surely, as the host said upon occasion of a guest with too many titles, we have not meat for so many: it is well if a poor and painful incumbent can but live. But *whence*, as the disciples said, *should we have bread for all these?*

And what do you think of this lawless Polycoyrany; that every parish minister and his eldership should be a bishop and his consistory; yea, a pope and his conclave of cardinals within his own parish, not subject to controlment, not liable to a superior censure? What do you think of the power of laymen to bind and loose? what of the equal power of votes in spiritual causes with their grave and learned pastor? What that those which are no ministers should meddle with the sacraments, or should meddle with the word and not with sacraments? to see a velvet cloak, a gilt rapier, and gingling spurs, attending God's table? to see a ruling elder a better man than his pastor? Who knows not that it is the project of Beza[s], and the present practice of Scotland, that noblemen or great senators should be elders; and perhaps at Geneva deacons too? and then how well will it become the house, that great lords should yield their chaplains to be the better men! For, as honest Danæus[t], who knew the fashion well, *Longe est dissimile et inferius, &c.*: "The place of the elders is utterly unlike and below the order of pastors:" neither methinks should it work any contenting peace to their great spirits, to hear that upon their consistorial bench their peasantly tenant is as good as the best of them[u]; and that if they look awry to be so matched (which T. C. suggests), they disdain not men, but Christ.

These are but a handful of those strange incongruities which will necessarily attend this misaffected discipline, which certainly, if they were not countervailed with other (no less unjust) contentments, could never find entertainment in any corner of the

[s] Epist. before Helvet. Confes.
[t] Danæus de Eccles. Disc. c. 10.
[u] Artic. Genev. 7.

world; but each man would rule: and to be a king, though of a mole-hill, is happiness enough. Had men learned to inure their hearts to a peaceable and godly humility, these quarrels had never been.

SECT. VII.—*The known newness of this invention, and the quality of the late authors of it.*

But that which is above all other exceptions most undeniable and not least convictive, and which I beseech the reader in the bowels of Christ to lay most seriously to heart, is the most manifestly spick-and-span newness of this devised discipline: for all wise and staid Christians have learned to suspect if not to hate novelty in those things which are pretended to be the matters of God.

In matter of evidence they are old records that will carry it. As the Ancient of Days is immutable and eternal, so his truths are like him; not changeable by time, not decayable by age.

Who was the father of this child I profess I know not, otherwise than I have specified in my premonition to the reader.

I am sure Calvin disclaims it, who in his epistle to cardinal Sadolet[x] hath thus: "I for my part profess to be one of them whom you do so hostilely inveigh against: for, although I was called thither," i. e. to Geneva, "after the religion was settled and the form of the church corrected, yet because those things which were done by Farell and Viret I did not only by my suffrage allow, but what in me lay laboured to conserve and ratify, I cannot hold my cause any whit different from theirs." Thus he. So as he professeth only to be the nurse-father of that issue, which was begot by a meaner parent.

It is true those other were men of note too; but, for aught I know, as much for their exuberance of zeal as for any extraordinary worth of parts.

Farell indeed was called *flagellum sacrificulorum*, "the scourge of mass-priests;" and what he did for the reformation of religion I am as apt to acknowledge and applaud as the forwardest: but

[x] Calvin. Epist. ad Sadoletum Cardin. Ego, autem, Sadolete, &c. Tametsi, enim, constituta jam religione, ac correcta ecclesiæ forma, illuc vocatus fui: quia, tamen, quæ a Farello ac Vireto gesta erant, non modo suffragio meo comprobavi, sed etiam, quantum in me fuit, conservare studui ac confirmare, separatam ab illis causam habere nequeo, &c. [Tract. Theol. Genev. 1597, p. 140.]

that he preached somewhere in the very streets, and even *quamvis renitente magistratu*[y] in St. Peter's church, was not to be bragged of by himself or his friends. And in his violent carriage in the animating of the people to the outing of their bishop, Pet. Palma [Balma][z], though perhaps faulty enough, and the introducing of this new form of government, I wish he had lived and died in his Vapincum[a].

His coadjutor in this work was, I perceive, one Antho. Frumentius, a vehement young man, who was set up by the people to preach upon a fish-stall, and no doubt equally heartened his auditors to this tumultuous way of proceeding.

But then, when Viret came once into the file, here was at the least fervour enough. The spirit of that man is well seen in his "Dialogue of White Devils."

These were the founders of that discipline; men of eminence, we must believe, but far inferior to Calvin, who came into Geneva first as a lecturer or preacher, and then became their pastor; insomuch as Zanchy reports[b], when Calvin preached at St. Peter's, and Viret at St. Gervase's, concurrent sermons, a Frenchman, asked why he did not come sometimes and hear Viret, answered, *Si veniret Sanctus Paulus, qui eadem hora concionaretur qua et Calvinus, ego, relicto Paulo, audirem Calvinum:* "If St. Paul should come and preach in the same hour with Calvin, I would leave Paul and hear Calvin:" which was spoken like a good blasphemous zealot: but it is not to be wondered at in men of such spirits. I told you before what Calvin himself writes to Farell[c]. There was one at Basil who professed to attribute *non minus Farello quam Paulo,* "not less to Farell than to St. Paul." O God! whither doth mad zeal hurry men?

It appears then that Farell and Viret rough-hewed this statue, which Calvin after polished. We now know, *Consulem ac diem;* and I doubt not but some do yet live who might know the man.

For me, although I have not age enough to have known the father of this discipline, yet one of the godfathers of it I did know; who, after his peregrination in Germany at Geneva, undertook for this newborn infant at our English font; under

[y] Spanhem. Geneva Restituta. [Opp. Lug. Bat. 1703. t. ii. p. 1541.]

[z] Fremente, interim, ac muginante plebe. Ibid. [p. 1535.]

[a] Natus Vapinci, noto Delphinatus oppido. Idem [p. 1528.]

[b] Zanch. Epist. ad Misc. Citat. in Surv. Disc. [Epist. Nuncup. ad Miscell.]

[c] Calvin. Farello.

whose ministry my younger years were spent: the author of that bitter dialogue betwixt Miles Monopodius and Bernard Blinkard, one of the hottest and busiest sticklers in these quarrels at Frankfort[d]. So young is this form of government, being until that day unheard of in the Christian world! In which name Peter Ramus, though a man censured for affecting innovations in logic and philosophy, is, if we may credit his old friend Carpentarius, said to dislike it, and to frump it by the name of *Talmud Subaudicum*.

I cannot be ignorant of the common plea of the pretenders, that so far is this form from novelty as that it was the most ancient and first model of church government under the apostles. Thus they say, and they alone say it. All they have to say more in colour of reason for it is, that the twelve apostles themselves were all equal. What then? If their pretended form were bred from thence, where hath it lien hid all this while till now? That they can tell you too: under the tyranny and usurpation of antichrist.

Dear Christians, I hope you now believe it, that the very apostles themselves, who lived to see and act the establishment of episcopacy, would betray the church at their parting to that *man of sin!* that all the holy fathers and martyrs of the primitive church were, either through ignorance or will, guilty of this sacrilegious treachery! that all the eyes of the whole world were blind till this city, which was once indeed dedicated to the sun, and bears it still for her emblem, enlightened them! and if ye can believe these strange suggesters, wonder ye at them, while I do no less wonder at you.

But withal give me leave to put you in mind that this is a stale plea for more unholy opinions than one. The anabaptists, when they are urged with the church's ancient practice of baptising of infants, straight pretend that this ill guise was brought in by popery, and is a parcel of the *mystery of iniquity*[e]. The new Arians of our times, hellish heretics, when they are pressed with the distinction of three persons in the Deity, and one infinite Essence, straight cry out of antichrist, and clamour that this doctrine was hatched under that secret *mystery of iniquity*[f]. The father of the Familists, H. N., a worse devil if possible than they, in his *Evangelium Regni*, sings the very same note for his

[d] Troubles of the English Church at Frankfort. in marg. The zeal of A. G. [Antony Gilby] 1675. p. 37.

[e] Prolæus. Fasciculo, &c. [Controv. Gen. post. Special. V.]

[f] Ibid.

damnable plot of doctrine and government; sadly complaining of antichrist, and that the light of life hath lien hid under the mask of popery until this day of love: and now he comes to erect his *seniores sanctæ intelligentiæ*, "elders of the holy understanding," and his other rabble.

Beware therefore, I advise you, how you take up this challenge but upon better grounds. Disgrace not God's truth with the odious name of antichristianism. Honour not antichrist with the claim and title of an holy truth. Confess the device new, and make your best of it.

But if any man will pretend this government hath been in the world before, though no footsteps remain of it in any history or record, he may as well tell me there hath been of old a passage from the Teneriff to the moon, though never any but a Gonzaga discovered it.

SECT. VIII.—*A recapitulation of the several heads, and a vehement exhortation to all readers; and first to our northern brethren.*

Now then, I beseech and adjure you, my dear brethren, by that love you profess to bear to the truth of God, by that tender respect you bear to the peace of his Sion, by your zeal to the gospel of Christ, by your main care of your happy account one day before the tribunal of the most righteous Judge of the quick and dead, lay every of these things seriously together, and lay all to heart.

And if you find that the government of episcopacy established in the church is the very same which, upon the foundation of Christ's institution, was erected by his inspired apostles, and ever since continued unto this day without interruption, without alteration; if you find that not in this part of the western church alone, into which the church of Rome had diffused her errors, but in all the Christian world far and wide, in churches of as large extent as the Roman ever was, and never in any submission to her, no other form of government was ever dreamed of from the beginning; if you find that all the saints of God ever since the holy martyrs and confessors, the fathers and doctors both of the primitive and ensuing church, have not only admitted, but honoured and magnified this only government as apostolical; if all synods and councils that have been in the church of God since the apostles' time have received and acknowledged none but

this alone; if you find that no one man from the days of the apostles till this age ever opened his mouth against it, save only one, who was for this cause amongst others branded and discarded for an heretic; if you find that the ancient episcopacy, even from Mark bishop of Alexandria, Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, were altogether in substance the same with ours, in the same altitude of fixed superiority, in the same latitude of spiritual jurisdiction; if you find the laic presbytery an utter stranger to the scriptures of God, a thing altogether unheard of in the ancient times, yea, in all the following ages of the church; if you find that invention full of indeterminable uncertainties; if you find the practice of it necessarily obnoxious to unavoidable imperfections, and to gross absurdities and impossibilities; lastly, if you find the device so new that the first authors and abettors of it are easily traced to their very form as those that lived in the days of thousands yet living; if you find all these, as you cannot choose but find them, and many weighty considerations more, being so clearly laid before you; I beseech you suffer not yourselves to be led by the nose with an unjust prejudice, or an overweening opinion of some persons whom you think you have cause to honour; but without all respects to flesh and blood, weigh the cause itself impartially in the balance of God's sanctuary, and judge of it accordingly.

Upon my soul, except the holy scripture, apostolical acts, the practice of the ancient church of God, the judgment of all sacred synods, of all the holy fathers and doctors of the church, all grounds of faith, reason, policy, may fail us, we are safe, and our cause victorious.

Why then, O why, will you suffer yourselves to be thus impetuously carried away with the false suggestions of some miszealous teachers, who have, as I charitably judge of some of them, whatsoever grounds the rest might have, overrun the truth in a detestation of error, and have utterly lost peace in an inconsiderate chace of a feigned perfection.

For you, my northern brethren (for such you shall be when you have done your worst), if there were any foul personal faults found in any of our church governors, as there never wanted aspersions where an extermination is intended, alas! why should not your wisdom and charity have taught you to distinguish betwixt the calling and the crime? Were the person vicious, yet the function is holy. Why should God and his cause be

stricken because man hath offended, and yet to this day no offence proved?

Your church hath been anciently famous for an holy and memorable prelacy; and though it did more lately fall upon the division of dioceses, so as every bishop did in every place, as opportunity offered, execute episcopal offices (which kind of administration continued in your church till the times of Malcolm the Third), yet this government over the whole clergy was no less acknowledged than their sanctimony[a].

After the settling of those your episcopal sees, it is worth your note and our wonder, which your Hector Boethius writes, *Sacer pontificatus sancti Andreæ tanta reverentia, &c.*, "The bishopric of St. Andrews was, with so great reverence and innocence of life, from the first institution of it in a long line of episcopal succession, continued to the very time wherein we wrote this, that six and thirty and more of the bishops of that see were accounted for saints." Good Lord! How are either the times altered or we! There may be differences of carriage; and those that are orthodox in judgment may be faulty in demeanour; but, I grieve and fear to speak it, there is now so little danger of a calendar, that no holiness of life could excuse the best bishop from being ejected, like an evil spirit, out of the bosom of that church. *Deus omen, &c.*

In the name of God what is it, what can it be, that is thus stood upon? Is it the very name of episcopacy, which like that of Tarquin in Rome is condemned to a perpetual disuse? What hath the innocent word offended? Your own church, after the Reformation, could well be contented to admit of superintendents; and what difference is here, as Zanchius well, but that good Greek is turned into ill Latin[b]? Their power, by your own allowance and enacting, is the same with your bishops'; their dioceses accordingly divided; their residence fixed, viz. the superintendent of Orkney, his diocese shall be the isles of Orkney, Caithness, and Strathnever; his residence in the town of Kirkwall. The superintendent of Ross; his diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray, and the North Isles, called the Sky and Lewis, with their adjacents; his residence shall be the canonry of Ross. The superintendent of Argyle; his diocese shall be Argyle, Cantire, Lorne, the South Isles, Arran and

[a] D. Henr. Spelman ex Hectore Boethio. anno 840. [ann. 847. ed. Lond. 1639. t. i. p. 342.]

[b] Ἐπίσκοπος. 'Superintendens.'

Bute, with their adjacents; his residence is at Argyle. The like of the superintendent of Aberdeen, the superintendent of Brechin, the superintendent of Fife, the superintendent of Edinburgh, the superintendent of Jedburgh, the superintendent of Glasgow, the superintendent of Dumfries; all of them bounded with their several jurisdictions, which who desires to know particularly may have recourse to the learned discourse of Dr. Lindsey, then bishop of Brechin, concerning the proceedings of the synod of Perth; where he shall also find the particularities of the function and power of these superintendents: amongst the rest these, that they have power to plant and erect churches, to set, order, and appoint, ministers in their countries; that after they have remained in their chief towns three or four months they shall enter into their visitation, in which they shall not only preach, but examine the life, diligence, and behaviour, of the ministers: as also they shall try the estate of their churches and manners of the people; they must consider how the poor are provided and the youth instructed; they must admonish where admonitions need, and redress such things as they are able to appease; they must note such crimes as are heinous, that by the censures of the church the same may be corrected.

And now, what main difference, I beseech you, can you find betwixt the office of these superintendents and the present bishops?

How comes it then about that the wind is thus changed? that those church governors which your own reformers with full consent allowed, and set down an order for their election in your constitutions before the book of Psalms in metre, should now be cashiered? There and then Mr. Knox himself, whose name you profess to honour, by the public authority of the church conceives public prayer for Mr. John Spotteswood, then admitted superintendent of Lothian, in these words: "O Lord, send upon this our brother, unto whom we do in thy name commit the chief charge of the churches of the division of Lothian, such a portion of thy Holy Spirit, as that, &c." And in the name of the church blesseth his new superintendent thus: "God, that hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply the gifts of his grace in thee, &c." Now I beseech you how is this superintendency lost? That which was then both lawful and useful, and confessed for no other than a calling from God, is it now become sinful and odious? Are we become so much wiser

and more zealous than our first reformers as there is distance betwixt a superintendent and no bishop?

But what! is it the stroke the bishops have in government and their seat in parliament which is so great an eyesore? Let me put you in mind that your greatest patrons of your desired discipline have strongly motioned an ecclesiastical commission for the overlooking and overruling your consistories; and even when they would have bishops excluded, both out of those comitial sessions and out of the church, yet have moved (such was Beza's device long since for Scotland[c]), that in the place of bishops there might be present in the parliament-house some wise and grave ministers of special gifts and learning, sorted out of all the land, to yield their counsel according to God's heavenly law, even as the civil judges are ready to give their advice according to the temporal law, and for matters of greater difficulty. What a world is this! Grave and wise ministers, and yet no bishops! Doth our episcopacy either abolish our ministry or detract aught from wisdom and gravity? Away with this absurd partiality. But these must be to advise, not to vote; in any case beware of that: —Where then is the third estate? Beza's counsel we see is yet alive, but it comes not home to the purpose. Well fare that bold supplicator to queen Elizabeth, which moved that four and twenty doctors of divinity, to be called by such names as it should please her highness, might be admitted into the parliament-house, and have their voices there instead of the bishops!

O impotent envy of poor humourists! Doctors, but no bishops; any men, any names, but theirs. The old word is, "Love creeps where it cannot go." How much are we beholden to these kind friends, who are so desirous to ease us of these unproper secularities! Even ours at home can nibble at these, as they think, ill-placed honours and services; yours go, alas! too roundly to work; striking at the root of their episcopacy; not pruning off some superfluous twigs of privilege; and rather than not strike home, not caring whom they hit in the way; would God I might not say even the Lord's anointed, whom they verbally profess to honour; at whose sacred crown and sceptre if any of the sons of Belial amongst you do secretly aim, while they stalk under the pretence of opposition to episcopacy, the God of heaven find them out, and pour upon them deserved confusion!

But for you, alas! brethren, what hopes can I conceive that

[c] Moved also to the lords of the council in Q. Eliz. time by the humble Mot.

these prejudged papers can have any access to your eyes, much less to your hearts? My very title is bar too much. But if any of you will have so much patience as to admit these lines to your perusal, I shall beseech him, for God's sake and for his own, to be so far indifferent also as not upon groundless suggestion to abandon God's truth and ordinance; and out of mere opinion of the worth of some late author, to adore an idol made of the ear-rings of the people, and fashioned out with the graving-tool of a supposed skilful Aaron.

Shortly after these poor, well-meant (howsoever, I doubt, ineffectual) endeavours, my prayers shall not be wanting for your comfortable peace, loyal obedience, perfect happiness. O that the God of heaven would open your eyes, that you may see the truth, and compare what you have done with what you should do! How soon would you find cause to retract your own decrees, and to re-establish that true ordinance of the living God which you have been misinduced to abandon!

SECT. IX.—*An exhortatory conclusion to our brethren at home.*

And for you, my dearly beloved brethren at home, for Christ's sake, for the church's sake, for your souls' sake, be exhorted to hold fast to this holy institution of your blessed Saviour and his unerring apostles, and bless God for episcopacy.

Do but cast your eyes a little back, and see what noble instruments of God's glory he hath been pleased to raise up in this very church of ours, out of this sacred vocation; what famous servants of God; what strong champions of truth, and renowned antagonists of Rome and her superstitions; what admirable preachers; what incomparable writers; yea, what constant and undaunted martyrs and confessors: men that gave their blood for the gospel, and embraced their fagots flaming, which many gregary professors held enough to carry cold and painless; to the wonder and gratulation of all foreign churches, and to the unparallelable glory of this church and nation. I could fill this page with such a catalogue of them, who are now in their heaven, that come for the present to my thoughts (besides those worthies yet living, both here and in Ireland, who would be unwilling from my pen to blush at their own just praises), as might justly shame and silence any gainsayer.

After that a malicious libeller hath spit out all his poison against episcopacy, and raked together out of all histories all the

insolencies and ill offices which have in former ages been done by professedly popish prelates (which do almost as much concern us as all the treasons and murders of formerly malcontented persons can concern him), fain would I have him show me what Christian church under heaven hath in so short a time yielded so many glorious lights of the gospel, so many able and prevalent adversaries of schism and antichristianism, so many eminent authors of learned works which shall outbid time itself. Let envy grind her teeth and eat her heart; the memory of these worthy prelates shall be ever sweet and blessed.

Neither doubt I but that it will please God out of the same rod of Aaron still to raise such blossoms and fruit as shall win him glory to all eternity. Go you on to honour these your reverend pastors, to hate all factious withdrawings from that government which comes the nearest of any church upon earth to the apostolical.

And that I may draw to conclusion for the further confirmation of your good opinion of the bishops of your Great Britain, hear what Jacobus Lectius, the learned civilian of Geneva, in his "Theological Prescriptions," dedicated to the consuls and senate of Geneva, saith of them: *De episcoporum autem vestrorum vocatione, &c.*, "As for the calling of your bishops," saith he[d], speaking to his popish adversaries, "others have accurately written thereof; and we shortly say that they have a show of an ordinary ministry, but not the thing itself; and that those only are to be held for true and legitimate which Paul describes to us in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus: *Cujusmodi olim in magno illo Britanniarum regno extitisse, atque etiamnum superesse, subindeque eligi episcopos non diffitemur;* such kind of bishops as we do not deny, but yield to have been of old, and to be still at this day successively elected in the great kingdom of Britain." Thus he. When Geneva itself pleads for us, why should we be our own adversaries?

Let me therefore confidently shut up all with that resolute word of that blessed martyr and saint, Ignatius[e]: Πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ διακό-

[d] Jacob. Lectius. Præscriptionum Theologicarum, l. ii. nota 2. Adversus codicem Fabrianum.

[e] [πρεσβυτέροις for πρεσβυτερίῳ, σχεῖν for ἔχειν.—Patr. Apost. Jacobson. Oxon. 1847. t. ii. p. 478.]

νοις. μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἔχειν παρὰ Θεῷ: "Let all things be done to the honour of God. Give respect to your bishop, as you would God should respect you. My soul for theirs which obey their bishop, presbyters, deacons. God grant that my portion may be the same with theirs." And let my soul have the same share with that blessed martyr that said so!

AMEN.

AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE

TO THE

HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT:

BY

A DUTIFUL SON OF THE CHURCH.

[1640—1.]

MOST HONOURABLE LORDS; AND YE, THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

Lest the world should think the press had of late forgot to speak any language other than libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng, and prostrates itself before you. How meanly soever and unattended it presents itself to your view, yet it comes to you on a great errand, as the faithful messenger of all the peaceable and right-affected sons of the church of England, and in their names humbly craves a gracious admittance. Had it regarded the pomp and ostentation of names, it might have gloried in a train past number. It is but a poor stock that may be counted. Millions of hands, if that tumultuary and underhand way of procured subscriptions could have reason to hope for favour in your eyes, shall at your least command give attestation to that which this scroll doth in their names humbly tender unto you.

Ye are now happily, through God's blessing, met in a much longed-for parliament. It were but a narrow word, to say that the eyes of all us, the good subjects of the whole realm, are fixed upon your success. Certainly there are not more eyes in these three interested kingdoms than are now bent upon you: yea, all the neighbour churches and kingdoms, if I may not say the whole Christian world, and no small part beyond it, look wishly upon your faces, and with stretched out necks gaze at

the issue of your great meeting. Neither doubt we, but since sovereign authority hath for this purpose both summoned and actuated you, you will not fail to produce something worthy of so high an expectation.

Ye are the sanctuary whereto now every man flees, whether really or pretendedly distressed. Even a Joab or Adonijah will be also taking hold of the horns of the altar. Your noble wisdoms know how to distinguish of men and actions; and your inviolable justice knows to award each his own.

Many things there are doubtless which you find worthy of a seasonable reformation, both in church and state. Neither can it be otherwise, but that in a pampered full body diseases will grow through rest. Ponds that are seldom scoured will easily gather mud; metals rust: and those patients that have inured themselves to a set course of medicinal evacuations, if they intermit their springs and falls, fall into feverous distempers.

Not that supreme and immediately subordinate authority hath in the meantime been wanting to its charge. Surely, unless we would suppose princes to be gods, we cannot think they can know all things. Of necessity they must look with others' eyes, and hear with others' ears, and be informed by others' tongues, and act by others' hands; and when all is done, even the most regular and carefully inquisitive state is not like the sun, from whose light and heat nothing is hid.

It cannot be expected that those constellations which attend the southern pole should take view of our hemisphere, or intermix their influences with those above our heads. Every agent is required and allowed to work within the compass of its own activity. Ye therefore who, by the benefit of your dispersed habitations, enjoy the advantage of having the whole kingdom and all the corners of it within your eyes, may both clearly see all those enormities wherewith any part is infested, unknown to remoter intelligence, and can best judge to apply meet remedies thereunto. Neither can it be but that those eyes of yours, which have been privately vigilant within the places of your several abodes, must needs, not without much regret, in this your public meeting, take notice of the miserable disorders of so many vicious and misaffected persons as have thrust themselves upon your cognizance.

While the orthodox part in this whole realm hath, to the praise of their patience, been quietly silent, as securely conscious

of their own right and innocence, how many furious and malignant spirits everywhere have burst forth into slanderous libels, bitter pasquins, railing pamphlets! under which more presses than one have groaned; wherein they have endeavoured, through the sides of some misliked persons, to wound that sacred government which by the joint confession of all reformed divines derives itself from the times of the blessed apostles, without any interruption, without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian world, unto this present age.

Wherein, as no doubt their lewd boldness hath been extremely offensive to your wisdoms and piety: so may it please you to check this daring and misgrounded insolence of these libellers; and by some speedy declaration to let the world know how much you detest this their malicious or ignorant presumption; and by some needful act to put a present restraint upon the wild and lawless courses of all their factious combinations abroad, and enterprises of this kind.

And if you find it pass for one of the main accusations against some great persons now questioned before you, that they endeavoured to alter the form of the established government of the commonwealth, how can these pamphleteers seem worthy of but an easy censure, which combine their counsels and practices for the changing of the settled form of the government of the church? Since, if antiquity may be the rule, the civil polity hath sometimes varied; the sacred never. And if original authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers; this from men inspired; and from them in an unquestionable clearness derived to us. And if those be branded for incendiaries which are taxed of attempting to introduce new forms of administration and rules of divine worship into our neighbour church, how shall those *boutefeux* of ours escape, that offer to do these offices to our own? The several and daily variable projects whereof are not worthy of your knowledge or our confutation.

Let me have leave to instance in two, the prime subjects of their quarrel and contradiction: liturgy and episcopacy.

The liturgy of the church of England hath been hitherto esteemed sacred, reverently used by holy martyrs, daily frequented by devout protestants, as that which more than once hath been allowed and confirmed by the edicts of religious princes, and by your own parliamentary acts, and but lately being translated into other languages, hath been entertained

abroad with the great applause of foreign divines and churches; yet now begins to complain of scorn at home.

The matter is quarrelled by some; the form by others; the use of it by both.

That which was never before heard of in the church of God, whether Jewish or Christian, the very prescription of the most holy devotion offendeth. Surely our blessed Saviour and his gracious forerunner were so far from this new divinity, as that they plainly taught that which these men gainsay, a direct form of prayer; and such, as that part of the frame prescribed by our Saviour was composed of those forms of devotion then formerly usual. And God's people, ever since Moses's days, constantly practised it, and put it over unto the times of the gospel: under which, while it is said that Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, we know the prayer wherewith they joined was not of an extemporary and sudden conception, but of a regular prescription; the forms whereof are yet extant, and ready to be produced. And the evangelical church ever since thought it could never better improve her peace and happiness, than in composing those religious models of invocation and thanksgiving which they have traduced unto us.

And can ye then with patience think that any ingenuous Christian should be so far mistransported as to condemn a good prayer because, as it is in his heart, so it is in his book too?

Far be it from me to dishearten any good Christian from the use of conceived prayer in his private devotions, and upon occasion also in the public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the Spirit, to which I shall gladly add oil rather. No, let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts into the bosom of the Almighty. Let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions mount up from the altar of a zealous heart unto the throne of grace; and if there be some stops or solecisms in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God unto whom our prayers come. Let them be broken off with sobs and sighs and incongruities of our delivery, our good God is no otherwise affected to this imperfect elocution than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any other's smooth oratory. This is not

to be opposed in another, by any man that hath found the true operation of this grace in himself.

But in the meantime let the public forms of the sacred church liturgy have its due honour. Let this by the power of your authority be reinforced; as that which, being selected out of ancient models (not Roman, but Christian), and contrived by the holy martyrs and confessors of the blessed Reformation of religion, hath received abundant supply of strength, both from the zealous recommendation of four most religious princes, and your own most firm and peremptory establishment.

Amongst which powerful inducements, that is worthy of no slight consideration which I humbly tender unto you from the judgment of the learnedest king that ever sat upon this throne; or, as I verily think, since Solomon's time, upon any other: king James of blessed memory; who, however misalleged by some as letting fall disgraceful speeches concerning this subject, after a solemn hearing of those exceptions which were taken by some against this open form of common prayer (as it is called in queen Elizabeth's act for uniformity), shuts up in his proclamation, given at Westminster the fifth of March, in the first year of his reign, with these words: "And last of all, we admonish all men, that hereafter they shall not expect or attempt any further alteration in the common and public form of God's service, from this which is now established: for that neither will we give way to any to presume that our own judgment, having determined in a matter of this weight, shall be swayed to alteration by the frivolous suggestion of any light spirit: neither are we ignorant of the inconveniences that do arise in government by admitting innovation in things once settled by mature deliberation: and how necessary it is to use constancy in the upholding of the public determinations of states; for that such is the unquietness and unsteadfastness of some dispositions, affecting every year new forms of things, as, if they should be followed in their inconstancy, would make all actions of state ridiculous and contemptible; whereas the steadfast maintaining of things by good advice established is the weal of all commonwealths."

Thus that great oracle of wisdom and learning, whom, I beseech you, suppose that you still hear directing this prudent and religious advice to your present ears; and consider how requisite it is for you, out of the reason both of state and piety, to rest in that his sound and exquisite judgment.

As for those particularities of exceptions which have been taken by some at certain passages of that book, they have more than once received full satisfaction by other pens. Let me only say thus much, that were the readers but as charitable as the contrivers were religiously devout, those quarrels had either never been raised, or had soon died alone.

O suffer not then, I beseech you, this holy form of God's service to be exposed to the proud contempt of ignorant and ill-affected persons. Maintain and bear up the pious acts of your godly predecessors; yea, make good your own. And if our holy martyrs heretofore went to heaven with a litany in their mouth, let not an ill-advised new-fangledness be suffered to put scorn upon that wherein they thought themselves happy.

As for that form of episcopal government which hath hitherto obtained in the church of God, I confess I am confounded in myself to hear with what unjust clamours it is cried down abroad by either weak or factious persons; of either or both which I may well take up that word of our Saviour, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Surely could those look with my eyes, they would see cause to be thoroughly ashamed of this their injurious misconceit; and should be forced to confess that never any good cause had more reason to complain of a wrongful prosecution.

Were this ordinance merely human and ecclesiastical; if there could no more be said for it, but that it is exceeding ancient, of more than fifteen hundred years standing; and that it hath continued in this island, since the first plantation of the gospel to this present day, without contradiction; a man would think this were enough plea to challenge a reverent respect, and an immunity from all thoughts of alteration: for even nature itself teaches us to rise up before the hoar head, and hath wrought in us a secret honour even to the very outward gravity of age: and just policy teaches us not easily to give way to the change of those things which long use and many laws have firmly established as necessary or beneficial.

Yea, the wisdom of the ancient Grecians went so far as to forbid the removal of a well-settled evil. But if religion teach us better things, and tell us that nothing morally evil can be settled well; and being however settled, had the more need to be after too long delay removed; yet right reason and sound experience inform us, that things indifferent or good, having been by con-

tinuance and general approbation well rooted in church or state, may not upon light grounds be pulled up.

But this holy calling fetches its pedigree higher, even from no less than apostolical (and therefore in that right divine) institution. For, although those things which the founders and prime governors of the evangelical church did as men went no farther than their own persons, yet what they did as apostles is of an higher and more sacred consideration: and if, as apostolic men; they did upon occasion enact some temporary things which were to die with or before them, yet those things which they ordained for the succeeding administration of the church which they should leave behind them, in all essential matters, can be no otherwise construed than as exemplary and perpetual.

Now if to this text we shall add the undoubted commentary of the apostles' own practices, and to this commentary we shall superadd the unquestionable gloss of the clear practice of their immediate successors in this administration continued in Christ's church to this very day, what scruple can remain in any ingenuous heart?

But if any one resolve to continue unsatisfied in spite of reason and all evidence of history, and will wilfully shut his eyes with a purpose not to see the light, that man is past my cure, and almost my pity. The good God of heaven be merciful to such a mis-zealous obstinacy!

Certainly, except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this truth. Out of them we can and do show on whom the apostles of Christ laid their hands, with an acknowledgment and conveyance of imparity and jurisdiction: we show what bishops so ordained lived in the times of the apostles, and succeeded each other in their several charges under the eyes and hands of the then living apostles: we show who immediately succeeded those immediate successors in their several sees throughout all the regions of the Christian church, and deduce their uninterrupted line through all the following ages to this present day. And if there can be better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact, (and in this cause matter of fact so derived evinceth matter of right,) let episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of God's church. But if these be, as they are, certain and irrefragable, alas! what strange fury possesseth the minds of ignorant, unstable men, that they should thus headily desire and sue to shake off so sacred and well-grounded an institution!

But I hear what they say. It is not the office of episcopacy that displeases, but the quality. The apostles' bishops and ours were two. Theirs was no other than a parochial pastor, a preaching presbyter, without inequality, without any rule over his brethren: ours claims an eminent superiority, whether in a distinct order or degree, and a power of ordination, jurisdiction, unknown to the primitive times:—

Alas, alas! how good people may be abused by misinformation! Hear, I beseech you, the words of truth and confidence. If our bishops challenge any other spiritual power than was by apostolic authority delegated unto and required of Timothy and Titus, and the angels of the seven Asian churches, (some whereof are known to us by name), let them be disclaimed as usurpers: and if we do not show out of the genuine and undeniable writings of those holy men, which lived both in the times of the apostles and some years after them, and conversed with them as their blessed fellow-labourers, a clear and received distinction both of the names and offices of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as three distinct subordinate callings in God's church, with an evident specification of the duty and charge belonging to each of them, let this claimed hierarchy be for ever hooted out of the church. And if the bounty of religious princes have thought meet to grace this sacred function with some accession of titles and maintenance, far be it from us to think that the substance and essential parts of that calling is aught impaired or altered by such gracious munificence. And although, as the world goes, these honours cannot balance the contempt of those eminent places; and that portion which is now made hereditary to the church cannot in the most of these dignities, after all deductions, boast of any superfluity; yet such as they are, if any man hath so little grace and power of self-government as to be puffed up with pride, or transported to an immoderation in the use of these adventitious favours, the sin is personal, the calling free; which may be and is managed by others with all humble sociableness, hospital frugality, conscionable improvement of all means and opportunities to the good of God's church.

I may not yet dissemble, that while we plead the divine right of episcopacy, a double scandal is taken by men otherwise not injudicious, and cast upon us, from the usual suggestions of some late pamphleteers.

The one, that we have deserted our former tenet, not without the great prejudice of sovereignty; for whereas we were wont to

acknowledge the deriving of our tenure as in fee from the beneficent hand of kings and princes; now, as either proudly or ungratefully casting off that just dependence and beholdingness, we stand upon the claim of our episcopacy from a divine original. The other, that while we labour to defend the divine right of our episcopacy, we seem to cast a dangerous imputation upon those reformed churches which want that government. Both which must be shortly cleared.

The former had never been found worth objecting if men had wisely learned to consider how little incompatibleness there is in this case of God's act and the king's. Both of them have their proper object and extent. The office is from God; the place and station and power wherein that office is exercised is from the king. It is the king that gives the bishopric; it is God that makes the bishop. Where was it ever heard of that a sovereign prince claimed the power of ordaining a pastor in the church? This is derived from none but spiritual hands. On the other side, who but princes can take upon them to have power to erect and dispose of episcopal sees within their own dominions? It is with a king and a bishop as with the patron and the incumbent: the patron gives the benefice to his clerk, but pretends not to give him orders: that this man is a minister he hath from his diocesan; that he is beneficed he hath from his patron: while he acknowledgeth his orders from the reverend hands of his bishop, doth he derogate aught from the bounty of a patron's free presentation? No otherwise is it with episcopacy, which thankfully professes to hold at once from God and the king: its calling of God; its place and exercise of jurisdiction of the king. And if it be objected that both some former and the modern divines both abroad and at home, borrowing St. Jerome's phrase, have held the superiority of bishops over presbyters to be grounded rather upon the custom of the church than any appointment of Christ; I must answer, first, that we cannot prescribe to other men's thoughts: when all is said, men will take liberty (and who can hinder it?) to abound in their own sense; but, secondly, if they shall grant, as they shall be forced, that this custom was of the church apostolical, and had its rise with the knowledge, approbation, practice, of those inspired legates of Christ; and was from their very hands recommended to the then present and subsequent church for continuance, there is no such great dissonance in the opinions as may be worthy of a quarrel.

The second is intended to raise envy against us, as the uncharitable censurers and condemners of those reformed churches abroad which differ from our government. Wherein we do justly complain of a slanderous aspersion cast upon us. We love and honour those sister churches as the dear spouse of Christ. We bless God for them; and we do heartily wish unto them that happiness in the partnership of our administration which I doubt not but they do no less heartily wish unto themselves.

Good words! you will perhaps say; but what is all this fair compliment, if our act condemn them, if our very tenet exclude them? For if episcopacy stand by divine right, what becomes of those churches that want it?—

Malice and ignorance are met together in this unjust aggravation.

First, our position is only affirmative, implying the justifiableness and holiness of an episcopal calling, without any further implication.

Next, when we speak of divine right, we mean not an express law of God, requiring it upon the absolute necessity of the being of a church, what hindrances soever may interpose, but a divine institution, warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had.

Every church therefore which is capable of this form of government both may and ought to affect it, as that which is with so much authority derived from the apostles to the whole body of the church upon earth; but those particular churches to whom this power and faculty is denied lose nothing of the true essence of a church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection, whereof they are barred by the necessity of their condition; neither are liable to any more imputation in their credit and esteem than an honest, frugal, officious tenant, who, notwithstanding the proffer of all obsequious services, is tied to the limitations and terms of an hard landlord.

But so much we have reason to know of the judgment of the neighbour churches and their famous divines, that if they might hope to live so long as to see a full freedom of option tendered unto them by sovereign authority, with all suitable conditions, they would most gladly embrace this our form of government, which differs little from their own, save in the perpetuity of their προστασία or moderatorship, and the exclusion of that lay pres-

bytery which never till this age had footing in the Christian church.

Neither would we desire to choose any other judges of our calling and the glorious eminence of our church so governed, than the famous professors of Geneva itself: learned Lectius for a civilian [a], and for a divine Fredericus Spanhemius, the now renowned pastor and reader of divinity in Geneva; who in his dedicatory epistle before the third part of his *Dubia Evangelica* to the incomparable lord primate of Ireland, doth zealously applaud and congratulate unto us the happy, and as he conceiveth flourishing, estate of our church under this government; magnifying the graces of God in the bishops thereof; and shuts up with fervent prayers to God for the continuance of the authority of the prelates of these churches [b]. O then, while Geneva itself praiseth our government, and God for it, and prays for the happy perpetuation of it, let it not be suffered that any ignorant or spiteful sectaries should openly in their libels curse it, and maliciously brand it with the terms of unlawful and antichristian.

Your wisdoms cannot but have found abundant reason to hate and scorn this base and unreasonable suggestion, which would necessarily infer that not Christ but antichrist hath had the full sway of all God's church upon earth for these whole sixteen hundred years: a blasphemy which any Christian heart must needs abhor.

And who that hath ever looked into either books or men knows not that the religious bishops of all times are and have been they which have strongly held up the kingdom of Christ, and the sincere truth of the gospel, against all the wicked machinations of Satan and his antichrist? And even amongst our own, how many of the reverend and learned fathers of the church now living have spent their spirits and worn out their lives in the powerful opposition of that *man of sin!* Consider

[a] Jacobus Lectius. Presc. Theol. l. ii. Vide "Episc. by Divine Right." fol. ult. [p. 280.]

[b] Obversatur mihi crebro grata ista ecclesiarum vestrarum facies, ista in publicis pietatis exercitiis reverentia, &c.—Et, quamvis omnia illa regna —— abundent præsulibus eruditissimis, et theologis summis, &c. — Sive prolixi nostri erga ecclesias omnes Britannicas affectus, quarum præsules amplissimos, pastores fidos, greges florentes in Domino suspicimus et amplexamur, &c.—Quo Deo sua semper apud vos constet gloria, serenissimo regi vestro suum jus, præsulibus sua authoritas, pastoribus suus honor, ecclesiis vestris [vestratibus] omnibus sua sanctitas, sua tranquillitas, &c.—Epist. Dedic. 3. partis Dub. Evang. anno 1638. [Genev. 1639.]

then, I beseech you, what a shameful injustice it is in these bold slanderers to cast upon these zealously religious prelates, famous for their works (against Rome) in foreign parts, the guilt of that which they have so meritoriously and convincingly opposed. If this most just defence may satisfy them, I shall for their sakes rejoice; but if they shall either with the wilfully deaf adder stop their ears, or against the light of their own consciences, out of private respects, bear up a known error of uncharitableness, this very paper shall one day be an evidence against them before the dreadful tribunal of the Almighty.

What should I urge in some others the careful, peaceable, painful, conscionable managing of their charges, to the great glory of God and comfort of his faithful people? And if, while these challenge a due respect from all well-minded Christians, some others hear ill (how deservedly God knows, and will in due time manifest), yet why should an holy calling suffer? why should the faults, if such be, of some diffuse their blame to all? Far, far we know is this from the approved integrity of your noble justice; while in the meantime, unless your just check do seasonably remedy it, the impetuous and undistinguishing vulgar are ready so to involve all as to make innocence itself a sin; and which, I am amazed to think of, dare say and write, "The better man the worse bishop."

And now, since I am fallen upon this sad subject, give me leave, I beseech you, to profess with how bleeding an heart I hear of the manifold scandals of some of the inferior clergy presented to your view from all parts. It is the misery and shame of this church if they be so foul as they are suggested; but if I durst presume so far, I should in the bowels of Christ beseech you upon the finding of so hateful enormities, to give me leave to put you in mind of the charitable example of our religious Constantine in the like case. You cannot dislike so gracious a pattern. I plead not for their impunity: let them within the sphere of their offence bear their own sin. But O forbid to have it told in Gath, or published in the streets of Askelon. Your wisdoms well see under what malignant eyes we are of opposite spectators. What a death it is to think of the sport and advantage these watchful enemies will be sure to make of our sins and shame[c]! What exprobrations, what triumphs of theirs will

[c] Et nostris pinguescunt monstra ruinis.—Jos. Isc[anus.]

hence ensue! These and all other our cares are now securely cast upon your exquisite prudence and goodness. The very mention of our fears, while ye sit, had need to crave pardon of presumption. But withal to take down the insolence of those envious insulters, it may please you to give me leave to tell them that however in so numerous a multitude there be found some foully vicious, as there is no pomegranate wherein some grains are not rotten; and even in twelve there is one Judas; yet upon a just survey it will be found that no one clergy in the whole Christian world yields so many eminent scholars, learned preachers, grave, holy, and accomplished divines as this church of England doth at this day. And long and ever may it thus flourish! as it surely shall, through God's blessing, while the bountiful encouragements of learning and ingenuous education are happily continued to it. And the more when those luxuriant boughs of disorder and debauchedness are, through just censures, seasonably lopped off.

But stay. Where are we, or what is this we speak of, or to whom? While I mention the church of England, as thinking it your honour and my own to be the professed sons of such a mother, I am now taught a new divinity, and bidden to ask which church we mean. My simplicity never thought of any more churches of England but one. Now this very day's wiser discovery tells us of more. There is a prelatical church, they say, for one; and which is the other? Surely it is so young that as yet it hath no name, except we shall call it indefinitely, as the Jews were wont to style the creature they could not abide to mention, "that other thing." And what thing shall that be, think we? Let it be called, if you please, the church antiprelatical; but leave England out of the style. Let it take a larger denomination, and extend to our friends at Amsterdam and elsewhere, and not be confined to our England. Withal, let them be put in mind, that they must yet think of another subdivision of this division. Some there are, they know, which can be content to admit of an orderly subordination of several parishes to presbyteries, and those again to synods: others are all for a parochial absoluteness and independence. Yea, and of these there will be a division, in *semper divisibilia*, till they come to very atoms; for to which of those scores of separated congregations, known to be within and about these walls, will they be joined?

and how long without a further scissure? O God, where do men stay when they are once past the true bounds!

But if it be so that the prelatical part must needs make up one divident member of this English church, tell me, brethren, I beseech you, what are the bounders of this church? what the distinction of the professors and religion? and if the clients of the prelacy and their adherents, whose several thousands are punctually calculated, be they who make up this prelatical church, what grounds of faith, what new creed do they hold, different from their neighbours? what scriptures, what baptism, what eucharist, what Christ, what heaven, what means of salvation, other than the rest?

Alas! my brethren, while we do fully agree in all these, and all other doctrinal and practical points of religion, why will ye be so uncharitable as by these frivolous and causeless divisions to rend the seamless coat of Christ? Is it a title, or a retinue, or a ceremony, a garment, or a colour, or an organ-pipe, that can make us a different church, while we preach and profess the same saving truth? while we desire, as you profess to do, to walk conscionably with our God, according to that one rule of the royal law of our Maker? while we oppose one and the same common enemy? while we unfeignedly endeavour to *hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace?* O consider, I beseech you in the fear of God, consider whether these be the thoughts of the sons of peace, and such as are suitable to the charge and legacy of our dear Saviour; and think seriously from what spirit they proceed.

For us, we make no difference at all in the right and interest of the church betwixt clergy and laity, betwixt the clergy and laity of one part and another. We are all your true brethren. We are one with you both in heart and brain, and hope to meet you in the same heaven; but if ye will needs be otherwise minded, we can but bewail the church's misery and your sin, and shall beseech God to be merciful to your willing and uncharitable separation. Howsoever, I have freed my soul before my God in the conscience of this just expostulation and faithful advice.

What remains, but that I pour out my heart in my fervent and daily prayers to the Father of all mercies, that it would please him to inspire this great council with all wisdom from

above, and crown this great meeting with the blessing of all happy success; so as it may produce much glory to his own name, much complacency and contentment to his dear anointed, comfort to all good hearts, terror to his enemies, seasonable restraint to all insolence and faction, prevention of all innovations; and lastly, a firm peace and settlement to this church and commonwealth, and to all other his majesty's dominions? Which God grant, for the sake of the Son of his love, Jesus Christ the righteous. Amen. Amen.

A DEFENCE

OF THE

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE

AGAINST THE FRIVOLOUS AND FALSE EXCEPTIONS

OF

SMECTYMNUUS:

WHEREIN THE

RIGHT OF LITURGY AND EPISCOPACY

IS CLEARLY VINDICATED FROM THE VAIN CAVILS AND CHALLENGES

OF THE ANSWERERS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE SAID HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

SECONDED, IN WAY OF APPENDANCE,

WITH THE JUDGMENT OF THE FAMOUS DIVINE OF THE PALATINATE,

D. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG:

CONCERNING THE DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, AND THE NO-RIGHT OF LAY ELDERSHIP.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS LATIN.

TO THE

KING'S MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,

Your majesty was pleased to cast a gracious eye upon a late 'Humble Remonstrance,' made to the High Court of Parliament; bemoaning the lawless frequence of scandalous libels, and modestly asserting the true right of liturgy and episcopacy.

I little thought that so meek and gall-less a discourse could have irritated any the least opposition; but now I find, to my grief, that even to move for peace is quarrel enough; and feel many fists about my ears ere I could imagine to have offended.

Occasion is taken from those quiet lines to combine forces against the cause I maintained. The quarrel is insolently managed by many unknown hands[a]. Yet, the riot of these impotent assailants should not easily have drawn me forth, had I not perceived that their confident ostentation and proud carriage in this affray hath won them some, how undeserved soever, opinion of skill with their credulous abettors; and thereby some disadvantage to my just cause.

As one therefore that hates to betray the truth by an unfaithful silence, I do cheerfully enter these lists; rejoicing to hope that your majesty's eye may be the judge and witness of my success.

Neither shall it be displeasing to your majesty, that your most honourable peers and most faithful commons, now assembled, shall see the injustice and ungroundedness of that bold appeal, which was made to them by my daring answerers: whose abilities I tax not; but their fidelity I must; as those who have sought foully to abuse their implored judges with false shows of misalleged antiquity, and merely colourable pretences of proofs.

Which, if I do not make good to them and the world in this ensuing discourse, let the blemish of reputation lead way to the sharpest censure upon the person of

Your majesty's

Zealously loyal subject,

THE MOST HUMBLE REMONSTRANT.

[a] The dissenting ministers who wrote against our author, under the assumed name of SMECTYMNVVS, were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow: the initials of their names forming the word SMECTYMNVVS. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. 4to. p. 666.—PRATT.

A DEFENCE

OF THE

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

SECT. I.

My single 'Remonstrance' is encountered with a plural adversary, that talks in the style of "we" and "us." Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know; but could they say, *My name is Legion, for we are many;* or were they as many legions as men, my cause, yea God's, would bid me to meet them undismayed, and to say with holy David, *Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear*, Ps. xxvii. 3. The truth of God which I maintain shall bear me up against the discouragements of my confessed weakness. In which just confidence I do gladly fly to the bar of this high and honourable court, craving no favour but justice.

Besides number, these men think perhaps to carry it by bulk: for those that spare not to condemn the multitude of my few words, lash out into so tedious an answer, that if I should return them a reply in the same proportion, the reader's eye would be tired with the very prospect, and his tongue could not but say, *Quis leget hæc?* But though they have had so little mercy on him as to put him to the penance of their longsome volume, I dare not abuse his leisure in following them in every step of their loose and superfluous discourse, but shall so contract their lavish sheets, as that while I save time I shall not lose aught of truth.

And first, these brief men complain of the length of my preface, and fetch their grounds afar off from the "admired sons of justice, the Areopagi[a]:"—

The Areopagi? who were those? Truly, my masters, I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the men. It

[a] Acts xvii. 22.

is an ill sign, they say, to stumble at the threshold. And what say the admired Areopagi, the grave judges of Athens? They condemn prefaces and passion, neither of which can be justly charged upon the 'Remonstrance:' for the passion, let any reader judge whether aught can be more calmly, more mildly written: and for the preface, brethren, your censure is palpably mistaken; for that which you miscall the preface, is one of the main pieces of the substance of that intended discourse, which was a too just complaint of the shameful number of libels lately dropped from our lawless presses; a point no less considerable, nor less essential to that proposed 'Remonstrance,' than those which your peremptory analysis makes the only subject thereof. I beseech you, brethren, spend your logic upon your own works; let mine be such as I contrive them.

Those trifling cavils which you are pleased to make at some phrases[b] of this misnamed preface are not worth notice. It is not for us to run after the spending of every mouth. Belike it angers you to hear of the honesty of my moderate paper, out of the conscience of your own guiltiness. Fain would you excuse that which the world cries shame on, the multitude of the late seditious pamphlets, whereat you might well blush in silence; when an honourable person in open parliament could reckon up no less than seven score that had passed the press since the beginning of this session.

Those other verbal exceptions[c] are but light froth, and will sink alone. That scum may be worth taking off which follows: wherein I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judge whether these men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me, against the clear verdict of any knowing man's conscience.

In comparing of governments of churches, and states, I had said that 'if antiquity may be the rule, the civil polity,' as in general notion, 'hath sometimes varied,' as that of the state of Rome had done to seven several forms; 'the sacred never:' the civil 'came from arbitrary imposers;' the sacred from men inspired.' These gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the present and particular government of our own monarchy, as if I implied that to be variable and arbitrary; and are not ashamed to mention that deadly name of treason. Whereas no man that is not wilfully blind, but sees that I speak of the common forms of government

[b] 'Branded,' and 'misliked,' &c. [c] Page 4.

that are in the several states and dominions in the world: whereof some are ruled by an aristocracy, others by a democracy, others by a monarchy, whether limited or absolute, others by a mixed form of all these; which were in the first beginnings, in the free arbitrement of their founders: not aiming at the settled government of any one kingdom, much less of our own.

Brethren, while you desire to seem godly, learn to be less malicious. In the meantime God bless all good men from such charity, and our sacred monarchy from such friends. The form of the episcopal government of the church hath contrarily been ever one and the same, without any considerable variation: and if it have anywhere "invaded the civil" administration and "yoked monarchy," it is the insolence of the persons, not the fault of the calling: and if "William Rufus," a prince noted for grossly irreligious, "oppressed by" tyrannical popish "prelates," did let fall this choleric word, that he would have "the Jews confute them;" and that rather than fail England should turn Jewish on this condition: is this an argument for any Christian to use for the confuting of godly and loyal protestant bishops, which are ready to be censured rather for too great observance of sovereignty? Let any but a Jew judge whether this be a fit instance for a Christian. Anything serves against episcopacy.

The testimony of a pope (whom these men honour highly), Pius IV. is also brought in as irrefragable against the divine right of bishops. And what says antichrist? He tells the Spanish ambassador that his master, suing for the council's declaration of this truth, knew not what he demanded; "for bishops, so declared, would be exempted from his regal power, and as independent as the pope himself." Tell me, brethren, do ye like or believe this assertion because a pope said it? Or can ye blame him who would have all episcopal jurisdiction derived merely from himself, to be unwilling that their right should be yielded to have the same grounds which he pretends for his own? And if there might be this danger in those kingdoms where the clergy challengeth an exemption from the power of all secularity, why is this enviously upbraided to those of ours who do gladly profess, notwithstanding the apostolical, that is divine, right of their calling, to hold their places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from his majesty?

Not less spiteful nor more true is your observation of the comparison made between the endeavours of alteration in our neighbour church by our "episcopal faction," and that which "is now

justly desired by the humble petitioners to the honourable house." It is a foul slander to charge the name of episcopacy with a faction for the fact imputed to some few. Fie brethren! are ye presbyters of the church of England, and dare challenge episcopacy of faction? Had you spoken but such a word in the time of holy Cyprian, whom you frequently cite as a pattern of good discipline, what had become of you?

Neither is the wrong less, to make application of that which was most justly charged upon the practices and combinations of libelling separatists to humble and peaceable petitioners: the one railing downright upon an established and holy government whom I deservedly censured, the other modestly suing for a reformation of the abuses of government. Surely, while the worst are thus patronised by our indulgent answerers, it is an hard question whether the libellers themselves, or these their miszealous advocates, are more justly to be 'branded for incendiaries.'

Sect. II.

After this overflowing of your gall, you descend to the two main subjects of this quarrel, liturgy and episcopacy.

I had truly said that our liturgy 'hath been hitherto esteemed sacred, reverently used by holy martyrs, frequented by devout protestants; as that which hath been confirmed by edicts of religious princes, and our own parliamentary acts.'

"And hath it so?" say you, "whence then proceed so many additions and alterations that have changed the face and fabric" thereof? Additions and alterations? What! in the present liturgy? Where, or what? Tell me, I beseech you brethren, are they visible, or are they not? If not, how come ye to see them? if so, why cannot we? Perhaps somewhere instead of priest there is minister: perhaps absolution is interpreted by a remission: perhaps in private baptism there is mention of a lawful minister: perhaps instead of purification of women there is thanksgiving. And can ye know the book when ye see it again after these "alterations," these "additions?" Is it not now with this misaltered liturgy, as with the disguised dames mentioned of old by Dr. Hall, (whom you name I dare say for honour's sake!) so misshapen by their monstrous fashions that their redivived grandsires could not now know them? Can ye but blush at this envious and groundless suggestion?

And why should not I speak of martyrs as the authors and

users of this holy liturgy? Why should not we glory in their name and authority? Slight you them as you please; we bless God for such patrons of our good cause. What a poor return is this! While I tell you what our holy martyrs did, you tell me what one of our bishops said; as if we were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every bishop. Even of the best man we may say, as the Psalmist doth of Moses, *Effutiit labiis; he spake unadvisedly with his lips.* As for the words themselves, if a bishop have said that our liturgy hath been so wisely and charitably framed as that the devotion of it yieldeth no cause of offence to a very pope's ear, as only aiming at an uncontroversory piety, I see not what heinous fault can herein be imputed to the speech, or the author. Would you think it requisite that we should chide and quarrel when we speak to the God of peace?

It is no little advantage therefore, both to our cause and piety, that our liturgy is taught to speak several languages, both for use and example; and thereby our church hath gained much justification and honour.

As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. Calvin's, *Tolerabiles ineptiæ*, however it might well have been forborne by him, *in aliena republica*, and by you to press it upon our own: we honour the name of that noble instrument of God's glory in his church; yet withal, we fear not to say, without any disparagement to his worth, that our liturgy, both in the frame and survey of it, passed the judgment of no less reverend heads than his own. Neither would you think it could become any of our greatest divines to meddle with the wafers or Lord's-day markets of his charge: let every church take care of their own affairs.

As for that "unparalleled discourse" of mine, concerning the antiquity of liturgies; "unparalleled," you say, "because no man that" you "have seen ever drew the line of liturgy so high" as I have done: I must tell you, that perhaps there may be some things in the world that may have escaped your not omniscient eyes; and perhaps this may be one. I cannot help your wonder, but I shall justify my own assertion.

In the meanwhile, ye do almost yield the question ere ye argue it. "If by liturgy," you say, "this Remonstrant understand an order observed in church assemblies, of praying, reading, and expounding the scriptures, administration of sacraments, &c.: such a liturgy we know and acknowledge both Jews and Christians have used." This yielded, what stick you at?

That there were "prescribed and stinted forms, composed by particular men in the church, and imposed upon the rest," this will not down with you. Wherein I cannot see how ye will avoid your own contradiction: for, I demand, is this order of praying and administration set, or no? If it be not set, how is it an order? and if it be a set order, both for matter and form, (for you cannot, I suppose, under the name of an order intend a mere table or rubric,) how can it be other than prescribed? If the forms were merely arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order? and if they were not arbitrary, certainly they were in some sort stinted and imposed.

But what a poor exception is this, that they were "composed by some particular men!" Was it ever heard, that a whole church together framed a form of prayer? Can one uniform expression be the original act of many thousand brains and tongues? Certainly some one or few must mould that which all shall both own and use.

It is a silly ostentation of antiquity that these men bring against these prescribed forms of liturgy.

Tertullian, in his Apol. chap. 30. says, The Christians of those times did in their assemblies pray for the emperor[e], *sine monitore, quia de pectore*, that is, "not being urged by any superior injunction, but freely out of the loyal inclination of their own hearts:" (you mis-English it, "Without any prompter but their own hearts.") What is this to a prescribed form? Or, if they will needs so take it, why do they not as well argue, that, because our ministers do ordinarily in their pulpits pray for the king in their own expressions, therefore there is no form of liturgy enjoined?

As for their other testimony, it is less to the purpose. Who ever denied that some things are to be asked, "according to every man's occasion?" Do we abridge this liberty by ordaining a public form? And, if the Lord's Prayer be yielded for an ordinary and stinted form, why not others? since the opposers of stinted forms do upon the same grounds decry that also.

[e] If we may not rather take it to allude to the manner of the heathens, who, because their gods were *multinomines*, according to their several powers and virtues, had certain monitors to put the suppliants in mind of the appellations of their deities; as Desiderius Heraldus thinks: and to this purpose, brings that of St. Augustin, cited out of Seneca; as he reads it, *Alius numina Dei subjicit;* or, as Lipsius, *nomina:* however, it cannot give the least colour to the sense intended by the answerers. [See the passage, Tert. Opp. Paris 1675. p. 27. Oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus.]

St. Austin says[f], "It is free to ask the same things that are desired in the Lord's Prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, in other ways of expression:" who ever doubted of it? Yet themselves will not dare to hold that in St. Austin's time there was no public liturgy[g]. This is but to mock the reader.

If Justin Martyr said that ὁ προεστὼς (whom they somewhat guiltily translate "the instructor of the people") prayed, as they falsely turn it, "according to his ability[h]," it is true: so do ours; and yet, God be thanked, we have a liturgy, and so had they. Neither is this liberty of pouring out ourselves in our prayers ever the more impeached by a public form; since both those may and do well stand together.

It is somewhat magisterially said by these men, that "set and imposed forms were not introduced till the Arian and Pelagian heresies did invade the church:" and as clerkly do they immediately confute themselves by their own testimonies cited out of the council of Laodicea[i], which was before their limited time; as being before the Nicene, and betwixt that and the Neocesarean. Nothing can be more full than the canon of that ancient synod, that "the same liturgy of prayers should be always used, both in morning and evening[k]." Yet, to mend the matter, "This," say they, "was a form of a man's own prescribing:" were it so, wherein is that the better? But how appears it? By another canon in a following council, which was the third council of Carthage, c. 23: as if Carthage meant to tell what was before done at Laodicea! And what say the fathers at Carthage? That, "in assisting at the altar," so are their words, "the prayer should be directed to the Father:" *et quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit;* that is, "whosoever shall offer to make use of any other form than is prescribed, should first confer with his more learned brethren:" plainly implying the contrary to that for which the

[f] Aug. Ep. 121. [ut sup. t. ii. p. 391.]

[g] Aug. de Don. Persever. c. 23.—Utinam tardi corde—sic audirent disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes nostras; quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia, ab exordiis suis usque dum finiatur seculum. [ed. Ben. t. x. p. 855.]

[h] Just. Mart. Apol. 2. [ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ὅση δύναμις προστρεφόμενοι, &c. Paris 1551. ed. Steph. p. 157.] The words are ὅλη δύναμις; that is, "with all intention;" and implied in that of the same Justin Martyr, ἀνιστάμεθα κοινὰ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.

[i] Conc. Laod. c. 19. First the prayers of the *catechumeni* preceded: then those of the penitents followed: then those of the faithful concluded. [Bin. t. i. p. 289.]

[k] Περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις, καὶ ταῖς ἑωθιναῖς, ὀφειλεῖν γίνεσθαι. Conc. Laod. c. 18. [ibid.]

answerers allege it, That the usual and allowed form was not of his own composing; and his own must not be at his own choice.

That of the Milevitan council[1] is shuffled up by the answerers; not with too much fidelity: for where they pretend the only drift of the council to be, that none should use set prayers but such as were approved of in the synod, the words of the council are full and affirmative, *Placuit ut preces*, "It is ordered that the prayers or orisons which are allowed in the synod, &c. shall be used or celebrated by all men;" *nec aliæ omnino dicantur*, "and that no other shall be used in the church than those, &c. approved in a synod;" adding a sound reason, *ne forte aliquid, &c.*; "lest perhaps something may be composed by them, through ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith."

Nothing can be more plain than that our Saviour prescribed to his disciples, besides the rules, a direct form of prayer; while he saith, *Pray thus.* Much of which form I find cited, as of ancient use, out of the *Seder Tehilloth* of the Jews of Portugal; the antiquity whereof, as not knowing how I might avow, I expressed myself within three days of the first impression in the safe terms of the immediate edition: which these men will not be pleased to take notice of, lest they should find their mouths to be stopped beforehand, and so they should have lost their dear quarrel. Howsoever, that it may not seem too strange that our Saviour should take up the forms and usages that had formerly obtained, surely, that he was pleased to make use, in the celebration of his last and heavenly banquet, of both the fashions and words which were usual in the Jewish feasts, Cassander hath well showed in his *Liturgica*[m].

The set forms of prayer that were used at the Mincha, and other the several occasions of the Jewish sacrifices, I find specified by learned Capellus, in his Spicilegium; to whom I refer the reader.

In the meanwhile, since they make such "wonder" of a set form, used by God's people ever since Moses's time, I shall give them such a hint thereof as perhaps they have not heard of before. In the Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of the

[1] Concil. Milev. ii. cont. Celest. et Pelag. [c. 12. Bin. t. 1. p. 600.]

[m] The English reader may see the various passages of the ancient Jewish prayers, which correspond with the Lord's Prayer, collected together in Mendham's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Lond. 1803. Introd. p. xvii. —PRATT, [abridged from his note.]

incomparable primate of Ireland, the lord archbishop of Armagh[m], by him procured out of the library of the famously learned Jos. Scaliger, thus they shall find: "After relation of the death of Adrian the emperor[n] (whom these Jews curse with a *Deus conterat ejus ossa*) which in their computation falls upon the year 4513 from Adam; *Quo tempore abstulit, &c.* At which time[o], say they, he took away that most excellent book, which was in their hands ever since the calm and peaceable times of the Israelites, which contained those songs and prayers which were ever used before their sacrifices. For before every of their several sacrifices they had their several songs, still used in those times of peace: all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of Moses the legate unto this day, by the ministry of the high priest. This book did that high priest embezzle; wherein was contained their genealogies to the days of Phineas, together with an historical enarration of the years of their generation and life: than which book there is no history, besides the books of Moses, found more ancient." Thus that ancient record.

That there were such forms in the Jewish church we doubt not; but that they should be deduced to the use of the church evangelical to save the labour of their devotions is but a poor and groundless requisition[p].

Those forms which we have under the names of St. James (who was, as Hegesippus tells us, the first bishop and *leiturgus* of Jerusalem), of Basil, and Chrysostom, though they have some intersertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxed for other than holy and ancient. And the implication of the ancient council of Ancyra is worthy of observation, which forbids those presbyters that had once sacrificed, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν: "To offer or to preach or to serve in the holy liturgies or administrations." Howsoever I persuade myself every ingenuous reader finds reason and authority enough in this undeniable practice of antiquity to outface an upstart conceit of some giddy heads that condemn all forms of prayer, be they never so holy, because such.

[m] [Archbishop Usher, primate of Ireland from 1624 to 1656. See Parr's Life.]

[n] Postea mortuus est Adrianus (cujus Deus non misereatur) obiitque cum luctu magno, &c.

[o] Viz. the high priest then living.

[p] Buxtorfius tells us, that the creed of R. Ben Maimon was taken out of the Jews' liturgy.

Now what should a man do with such sullen and crabbed pieces as these? If he cross them in plain terms he is false: if he comply with them in good words he rhetoricates! What have I professed concerning conceived prayers but that which I ever allowed, ever practised, both in private and public? God is a free Spirit; and so should ours be in pouring out our voluntary devotions upon all occasions. Nothing hinders but that this liberty and a public liturgy should be good friends, and may go hand in hand together; and whosoever would forcibly sever them, let them bear their own blame.

I perceive this is it which these techy men quarrel and dislike, that I make the applause of conceived prayer "but a vantage-ground to lift up the public form of" our "sacred church liturgy the higher:" which they are indeed loath should stand upon even terms, yea, above ground; professedly wrangling, first at the original, then the confirmation of it.

For the first, I had said our liturgy was 'selected out of ancient models;' including in a parenthesis 'not Roman, but Christian,' and thereby signifying, as any ingenuous reader would construe it, that our said liturgy had no relation either to the place or religion of Rome, but only to the Christian and holy matter of those godly prayers. Now these charitable men fly out into high terms, and "beseech your honours to consider how ye may trust these men, who sometimes speaking and writing of the Roman church, proclaim it a true church of Christ; and yet here Roman and Christian stand in opposition," ignorantly or maliciously? when any man may see here is not an opposition meant, but a different modification: as when the prophet says, *I am a worm, and no man;* or the apostle, *It is no more I, but sin;* or, *I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.* Neither is any phrase more common in our usual speech. In what sense we hold the Roman a true church is so cleared by the unanimous suffrages of unquestionable divines, that this iron is too hot for their fingers. Being then thus qualified, our liturgy needs not be either ashamed of its original, published in king Edward's proclamation, or blanked with their unjust aggravation. The composers of it we still glory to say were 'holy martyrs and confessors of the blessed reformation of religion;' and if any rude hand have dared to cast a foul aspersion on any of them, he is none of the "tribe" I "plead for:" I leave him to the reward of his own merits.

Thus composed and thus confirmed by the 'recommendation of four most religious princes,' and our own parliamentary acts, they dare not absolutely discharge it; but they do as they may, nibble at it in a double exception: the one, of the over rigorous pressing of it, "to the justling out of preaching and conceived prayer," which was never intended either by the law-makers or moderate governors of the church; the other, that neither our own laws nor king James's proclamation are so "unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians." Which bold flout, how well it becomes their gravity and pretended obedience we leave at either bar.

After an over comprehensive recapitulation of their exploits in this mighty section, they descend to two main queries.

Whereof the first is, "Whether it be not fit to consider of the alteration of the present liturgy:" intimating herein not an alteration in some few expressions excepted against, but a total alteration in the very frame of it, as their reasons import.

Yes doubtless, sirs, ye may consider of it: it is none of the laws of the Medes and Persians. What if the weak judgment of king James, upon some pretended reasons, decreed all forbearance of any further change! What if that silly and ignorant martyr, Dr. Taylor, could magnify it to bishop Gardiner and others as complete! What if great elogies and apologies have been cast away upon it by learned men since that time! What if innovations in religion be cried out of as not to be endured! yet consider of the alteration. Neither need ye to doubt but that this will be considered by wiser heads than your own; and whatsoever shall be found in the manner of the expression fit to be changed will doubtless be altered accordingly; but the main fabric of it, which your reasons drive at, my hope is we shall never see to undergo an alteration.

Yet still do you consider of this your projected alteration, while I consider shortly of the great reasons of your consideration.

First, "It symbolizeth much with the popish man." Surely neither as mass nor as popish. If an holy prayer be found in a Roman portuise, shall I hate it for the place? If I find gold in the channel, shall I throw it away because it was ill laid? If the devils confessed Christ the Son of God, shall I disclaim that truth because it passed through a damned mouth? Why should we not rather allow those good prayers which symbolize with all

Christian piety, than reject those which dwell amongst some superstitious neighbours?

2. "It was composed," you say, "into this frame on purpose to bring papists to our churches." Well, had it been so, the project had been charitable and gracious. What can be more thankworthy than to reclaim erring souls? But it failed in the success:—pardon me, brethren, if it had done so, it was neither the fault of the matter or of the men. But it did not: sir Edward Coke can tell you [q], that till the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth all came to church. Those times knew no recusant then. At last the Jesuitish causists, finding their great disadvantage by the inoffensive use of our liturgy, determined it utterly unlawful to join in church service with heretics. Hence came this alienation; hence this distraction. That we have not won more it is not the fault of our public devotion: why do you not impute it to the want or weakness in preaching rather? But that our liturgy "hath lost" any to the popish part, it is not more paradox than slander.

3. Those "stumblingblocks," which you say our liturgy lays "before the feet of many," are by many removed; and amongst the rest by a blind man [r], whose eyeless head directed how to avoid those blocks which these quick sights will needs see how to stumble at. But if there be found aught that may endanger a scandal, it is under careful hands to remove it.

4. "It is idolized," they say, "in England:" they mean at Amsterdam. Some separatists have made it such, never any just protestant. Others say rather that too many do injuriously make an idol of preaching: shall we therefore consider of abandoning it? and if some one have passed an hyperbolical praise of it, must it therefore be marred in mending?

5. "Multitudes of people," they say, "distaste" it. More shame for those that have so mistaught them! Would God too much multitude did not, through ill teaching, distaste the truth of wholesome doctrine, and abhor communion with the true church of Christ! Shall we to humour them abandon both?

6. "There is a vast difference," they say, "between it and the liturgies of all other reformed churches." A difference? wherein? not in the essential points, but in some accidents and outward formalities. Whose fault is that? ours was before theirs: why

[q] In his speech at Norwich assizes, published. [r] M. Fisher.

did not they conform to us rather than we come back to them? I may boldly say ours was and is the more noble church, and therefore more fit to lead than to follow. But indeed since our languages and regions are different, what need is there our liturgies should be one? and why should we be more tied to their forms than those of all other Christians—Grecians, Armenians, Copts, Abassine, Arabian, Egyptian? all which differ in no less from each other than we from them.

Consider now, brethren, whether these reasons of a change be worthy of any consideration.

The second query is so weak that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wise men: "Whether the first reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a liturgy, farther than to be an help in the want and to the weakness of the minister."

Brethren, can ye think that our reformers had any other intentions than all other the founders of liturgies, through the whole Christian, yea and Jewish church? the least part of whose care was the help of the minister's weakness, and their main drift the help of the people's devotion; that they, knowing beforehand the matter that should be sued for, and the words wherewith it should be clothed, might be the more prepared to join their hearts to the minister's tongue; and be so much more intent upon their devotion, as they had less need to be distracted with the doubtful expectation of the matter or words to be delivered.

It is no less boldly than untruly said that, 1. "All other churches reformed, though they use liturgies, do not bind their minister to the use of them[s]." Binding is an ambiguous word. I am sure both the French and Dutch churches, in both which I

[s] I beseech you, tell me, brethren, how you construe those words of Calvin, which he wrote to the protector of England, anno 1548, Oct. 22. Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo ut certa illa extet, a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua, non liceat: tam, ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ; quam, ut certius ita constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus, postremo, etiam, &c. That is, "As for a form of prayers and of rites ecclesiastical, I do greatly approve that there be a certain one extant, from which it should not be lawful for the ministers in their function to depart: both that by this means provision may be made for the simplicity and unskilfulness of some; and the consent of all churches amongst themselves may more certainly appear; lastly, that thus there may be a remedy for the desultory levity of some men, that affect still certain innovations; as I have showed that the catechism itself serves for this purpose. So therefore there ought to be a set form of catechism, a set form of administration of sacraments, and of public prayers."—[Calv. Epist. Genev. 1575. p. 69.]

have been present, require their prescribed forms to be used, both in baptism and in celebration of the Lord's supper, and in solemnization of matrimony. And in what rank will they place the Lutheran churches? And if the reformed churches use this liberty, what a poor handful are they to that world of Christian churches abroad which do both use and enjoin their liturgy in that first form we have seen urged in the Milevitan council!

2. The "rubric in king Edward's book" is misconstrued; which only out of respect to the people's ease, and their more willing addiction to the hearing of sermons, which were then so much more long as they were more rare, gave that liberty to ministers in the use of the liturgy, which divers ordinaries at this day, upon my certain knowledge, have often yielded unto. That rubric imports no more than our practice: neither of them disparages our liturgy.

3. "The homilies are left free," they say, "to be read or not by preaching ministers: why not then the liturgy? And if it can be thought no less than sacrilege to rob the people of the minister's gift in preaching, and to tie him to homilies, it can be no less to deprive them of their gift in prayer." Did we utterly abridge all ministers of the public use of any conceived prayer, on what occasion soever, the argument might hold force against us; but, that being yielded, our liturgy is untouched. Neither were it a lesser sacrilege to rob the people of a set form by the liberty of a free expression. And how doth this argument more strike us, than all the churches of the Christian world, whose preaching is out of their conception while their liturgy is enjoined?

4. It is a false ground, that the imposing of the book ties "godly men from exercising their gift in prayer." An enjoined liturgy may well stand with the freedom of a prayer conceived. The desk is no hinderance to the pulpit. He is wanting to his duty that slackeneth either service.

5. Much less can this be any reason to keep men from their presence at our church service, that a liturgy is imposed:—Tell me, is this liturgy good or evil? If it be evil, it is unlawful to be used: if good, it is not unlawful to be imposed. And were the imposition amiss, what is that to the people? It is imposed upon the minister; that whether act or passion rests in him, the people are no more concerned in it than if a minister should tie himself to the use of a prayer of his own making, as I have known some of the most famous divines of this kingdom constantly do. If

then there be "no way" left "to recover the people to a stinted prayer, but by leaving it free to use or not to use," O miserably misled people, whom nothing belike can reclaim, after such doctrine instilled, but a professed confusion!

Well may they object to themselves in this way, "divisions and disturbances" following upon a perfect deformity; and sooner may they object than avoid them.

But why more here, they say, than "in other reformed churches?" The difference is evident. Our churches have ever been but used to a settled liturgy, which the ears and hearts of our people look for: theirs perhaps began without it; yet so as, I doubt not, but if any man should now refuse to conform to their established forms, he should soon feel the dint of their censures.

The like answer serves for their objected homilies. Surely, were they enjoined to all by lawful authority, and made so familiar to the ears of every congregation as the liturgy is, some few could not forbear them without offence; while withal they should be allowed the helps of preaching, as in this case it is done; the use of the set liturgy being seconded by prayers conceived.

But the project is singular: that if "any minister should prove insufficient to discharge the duty of prayer in a conceived way, it may be imposed upon him as a punishment to use set forms and no other." Never confessor enjoined such a penance. Never law-maker imposed such a mulct. Certainly it were a more just and needful motion, that many who take upon them to preach with no small abuse of God's sacred word, might, as in way of correction, be enjoined only to read homilies. But who sees not in this overture an utter cassation of that liturgy which is pretended to be left free? For, if the freedom of a sole conceived prayer shall depend upon the supposed sufficiency of the minister, show me the man amongst five hundred of the forward artisans that will confess or think himself insufficient for the act, or unfurnished with the gifts of prayer. Away then with the book, while it may be supplied with a more profitable nonsense! Surely, where God hath bestowed gifts, it is fit they should be employed and improved to the best advantage of his people: but where there is nothing but an empty overweening and proud ignorance, there is great reason for a just restraint.

SECT. III.

Thus their cavils concerning the liturgy are vanished. We descend to the longer quarrel of episcopacy.

Where it is their ill hap to stumble again at the entering into these lists: beginning their answer (pardon, good reader) with a manifest leasing; while they dare say, that "whatsoever hath been either spoken or written by any, either learned divines or well reformed churches, is taxed by" me, "as no other than the unjust clamours of weak or factious persons." Certainly, had I done so, I had been no less worthy to be spit upon for my saucy uncharitableness, than they are now for their uncharitable falsehood. After my complaints of the many railing invectives and scandalous libels published of late, I came now to bemoan myself to that high court of justice, in these words: 'As for that form of episcopal government which hath hitherto obtained in the church of God, I confess I am confounded in myself, to hear with what unjust clamours it is cried down abroad, by either weak or factious persons.' 'Abroad,' I say, in relation to both houses; lest any malicious person should have traduced my words, as reflecting upon any free speech, made in either of them, against some of that calling: alluding to that impious licentiousness of our frequent libellers, both in the city and country, which shamefully revile episcopacy as wicked and antichristian. Now come these brotherly slanderers (sure the terms can be no better) and would needs wire-draw my words as far as France, Germany, or Geneva itself; and cry out of my "arrogancy" as condemning all divines, all churches; which the God of heaven knows never came within the verge of my thoughts. Yea, if I could have been so abominably presumptuous as to enlarge my 'abroad' to other nations; yet, I beseech you, readers, see how well this follows: Episcopal government is with unjust clamours cried down abroad, by either weak or factious persons; therefore, whosoever speaks or writes against episcopacy is either weak or factious! Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth left in you, cry God mercy for this egregious and palpable calumny.

Of the same strain is their witty descant upon my 'confoundedness.' I made use of the phrase as that which is taken up by the most elegant Greek and Latin[t] authors, to express extreme

[t] Quanquam discessu veteris confusus amici.—Juvenal.

sorrow. These deep philologers, as not seeming to know other sense, take it of a confoundedness through distraction. Sure the man is not in his right wits! Μῶροι, μαινόμενον ἀγόμεθα. And how so, trow we? Hear how he raves! He talks of 'all peaceable and right-affected sons of the church,' and 'craves an admittance in all their names;' whereas all could not take notice of his book: doubtless a deep frenzy! Brethren, I am still, and shall ever be, thus self-confounded, as confidently to say that he is no peaceable and right-affected son of the church of England, that doth not both hate libels, and wish well to liturgy and episcopacy: both which sum up my 'Humble Remonstrance.'

But this "slip," they confess, is "small." That other is worthy of a large dose of hellebore; that I say, "Episcopal government, that is government by diocesan bishops, derives itself from the apostles' times." This, they say, they cannot but rank amongst my notorious ———." Speak out, Masters. I would not have that word stick in your teeth, or in your throat. And why is this truth so notorious? because there "were no diocesans of above an hundred years after Christ." Now, readers, I beseech you, cast back your eyes upon those lines of mine; and see whether I make any mention at all of diocesans; but only of the sacred government by episcopacy. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their own stern. Brethren, what needs this importunity? Even "self-confounded" men do not always speak false.

What 'the joint confession of all reformed divines' is concerning the derivation of episcopacy from the apostolic times, I have elsewhere showed from some, in the name of all; and shall do again in the due place: to what purpose were this unseasonable anticipation? Indeed, no true divine did ever hold otherwise. The question never was, whether bishops were derived from the apostles; but what kind of bishops they were. For us, if we deduce not ours from them in respect of all the essentials of our calling, let the shame be ours.

Whereas I say the government hath continued 'without any interruption,' they ask jeeringly, "what, at Rome?" and tell me of "some places of the world," as Scotland for example, wherein "this government was never known for many years together." Brethren, what means this, whether simplicity or scorn? Could ye imagine me to mean that every place through the whole world hath had a continued line of bishops ever since the apostles?

Sure, you cannot so wrong your own judgments. Alas! we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brazil, New-England, Virginia, and a thousand others, that never had any bishops to this day: yet it is nevertheless safe to say, that the form of government by bishops in the Christian world derives itself without interruption from the apostles' times; forasmuch as there hath been no time or age since them wherein there hath not been this form of episcopal government continued. You tell me, that "in ancient times the Scots were instructed by priests and monks, and were without bishops, two hundred and ninety years." I acknowledge the words of Johannes Major. I wish they had not been without either before or since: but what is this to my assertion? There could be no interruption of that which had as yet no being: neither did I ever say that bishops were everywhere. You come to England: there you think to have me sure. You desire to know of the remonstrant, "Whether God had a church in England in queen Mary's days or no: and, if so, who were then bishops." Sure, brethren, you cannot be so ignorant as you make yourselves. Have you not seen Master Fox's "Acts and Monuments?" Have ye not seen Master Fr. Mason's "Vindication" of our succession? Or do ye make no difference betwixt an intermission and an interruption? Do ye not know that even the see of Rome, which would fain boast of a known succession, hath yet been without a bishop longer than the whole reign of queen Mary? if we may believe Damasus himself, after Marcellinus, for seven years, six months, and twenty-five days. And if, after the martyrdom of our orthodox bishops, revolted or popish governors held those sees, they were corrupt in their places, judgment, and practice: there was not an utter abolition of their calling, which their repentance restored to its first vigour.

Where I justly aver this continuance to have been 'without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian world,' you vainly think to choke me with a story from our own "darling Heylin," which tells us of the furious violence of the people of Biscay against the bishop of Pampeluna; reported also by the Spanish history to which you refer us, concealing yet that which the same history relates, that this was done upon some attempts and wrong conceived to be offered them by the clergy. A goodly instance, and fit for the gall of your ink, and as good a consequence! The Biscayners, upon a private quarrel, are enraged

against the person of their bishop; and for his sake, for the time, against his fellows: therefore some Christian congregation denies the succession of episcopal government from the times of the apostles [u]!

Of the like validity and judgment is your instance of French, Scottish, and Belgic churches. Who doubts of either their Christianity or their contradiction to episcopacy? But if you did not wilfully both shut your own eyes, and endeavour to blind the eyes of your reader, you could not but see that I limit the time 'until this present age.' Good brethren, while you object bold falsehood to me, learn to make some conscience of truths.

To let pass your untrue suggestions concerning my assertion, of one and the same form of prayer continued from Moses to the apostles, and by the apostles, &c. I cannot but wonder with what face you can reckon it amongst my untruths, that episcopal government 'hath continued in this island ever since the first plantation of the gospel.' I challenge you before that awful bar to which you have appealed. Name but one year ever since Christianity had footing in England, which was under the British or Roman government, wherein there were no bishops in this land: if you can name neither year nor author, be ashamed to say this truth hath had any contradiction; or else I hope the readers will be ashamed of you. What a poor shift is it, to tell me of the contradiction that episcopacy hath had "since the reformation!" I can tell the world that yourselves oppose it; what of that? You mislike the government; you cannot deny that it hath so long continued. So as my assertion continues inviolable, that the form of this government hath 'without contradiction continued' here ever 'since the first plantation of the gospel.'

"The man runs on still," you say; and, as "thinking to get credit to his untruths by their multiplication," dares boldly say, that "except all histories, all authors fail them, nothing can be more certain than this truth." And here you cry out, "*Os durum!*" and aggravate the matter enviously by the instance of divine truths concerning the main points of our holy creed. But, good sirs, do ye bethink whom you speak to? Could you suppose

[u] You might as well have told us, out of the same author, of the strange conditions that are in use amongst them, which they impose upon their king if ever he come into their coast, of his riding with one leg bare, and their mocking of him with their Maravedis.

to meet with so mean readers as should not know that no phrase is more ordinary in our hourly discourse than this, when we would confidently affirm any truth, to say, "It is so true as nothing can be truer[x]?" Not to enter into any metaphysical discourse concerning the being or degrees of truth, (wherein some that would be wise may perhaps have lost themselves,) would any man think it reasonable that upon such an ordinary and familiar assertion he should be called to account for the articles of his creed, and be urged to compare his truth with God's? Away with this witless and malicious intimation.

Pardon me, readers, that I have spent so much time and paper in following these triflers so close. Their uncharitable suggestions drew me on. Judge ye now whether of us have more just cause of "indignation."

Sect. IV.

Hitherto they have flourished; now I hope they will strike. Against the libellers' importune projects of innovation I urged, that 'were this ordinance merely human or ecclesiastical, if there could be no more said for it but that it is exceeding ancient, of more than fifteen hundred years' standing,' and in this island of the same age with the gospel itself, this might be a just reason to make men tender of admitting a change; an argument which I seconded with so rational enforcement as will, I doubt not, prevail with all unpartial judgments. Now my witty answerers tell me this is an *Argumentum Galeatum*, and that the reader may know they have seen a father, cite Jerome, who gave that title to a prologue, but never to an argument; and as if arguments were almanacs, tell us it was "calculated for the meridian of episcopacy, and may indifferently serve for all religions. Truly, brethren, you have not well taken the height of the pole, nor observed a just zenith; for, could you say so much for the presbyterial government had it continued here so long, I should never yield my vote to alter it: an uninterrupted course of so many years should settle it still. So as you are plainly deceived, the argument is not calculated for the meridian of episcopacy; but for whatsoever government, if so long time have given it peaceable possession: there had need to be strong reasons of law for an ejection. But that it may serve for all religions, it is but an envious suggestion, unless you add this withal, save where the

[x] Yet the words of the Remonstrance are not "nothing can be a more certain truth;" but, 'nothing can be more plain than this truth.'

ground of the change is fully convictive and irrefragable: in which cause both the mouths of Jews and heathens and papists, and your own, may be justly stopped.

As for that overworn observation of Cyprian that our Saviour says, *I am the way, the truth, and the life;* but doth not say, "I am custom," it is no less plausible than useful; but if we regard soundness of ratiocination, it is an illustration merely negative. So we may say, He saith not, "I am reason, I am experience, I am authority;" and yet authority, experience, reason, are worthy to sway with us in all matters of question; and withal, he that said, *I am the way*, said that the old way was the good way. And if "custom without truth," as that father said well, be nothing but "a grey-haired error," or as sir Francis Bacon wittily, "Antiquity without truth is a cipher without a figure;" yet, where custom and antiquity are backed with truth, there they are figures multiplied with many ciphers.

As for the "time" wherein their "learned ancients affirm the church not to have been "governed by bishops, but by presbyters;" and for the difference pretended to be betwixt the primitive bishops and ours, we shall meet with it in such due time and place as shall be justly occasioned.

What needs this frivolous waste of unseasonable words wherewith unless these men desired to swell up this their windy bulk, why do they tell us yet again of that already answered and groundless exception against both their own eyes and conscience; where I say that this government 'hath continued in this island ever since the plantation of the gospel, without contradiction?' whenas they cannot name any man in this nation that ever contradicted episcopacy 'till this present age,' or that ever contradicted this truth that episcopacy hath so long continued in this island, which is the only drift of my words. For alas! could I be so simple as not to know that this age hath bred opposition enough to the present government? could I doubt whether these very men oppose it? Yet, let the boldest forehead of them all deny that it hath continued thus long in our island; or say that any till this age contradicted it, so as that my assertion is just; their exception false and vain.

As for that "supply of accessory strength," which I did not "beg," but raise and evince from the light of 'nature' and rules of 'just policy,' for the continuance of those things 'which long use and many laws have firmly established as necessary and

beneficial;' it will stand long enough against the battery of their paper pellets. If some statute laws, which seemed once necessary and beneficial, proving afterwards in process of time noxious and burdensome, have been justly and wisely repealed, let them tell me whether the fundamental laws of the kingdom, upon any man's abuse, may be subject to alteration, or whether rather their wisdoms would not think fit to determine that the laws must stand, and the abuses be removed. Such is the cause we have now in hand; and if we shall go less[y], I speak not against an impossibility, but an easiness of change; the question being so stated, which their guiltiness would willingly overlook, 'that things indifferent or good, having been by continuance and general approbation well rooted in church or state, may not upon light grounds be pulled up.

Sect. V.

I justly fetch the 'pedigree' of our 'holy calling from no less than apostolical (and in that right divine) institution;' and prove it from 'the clear practice of their immediate successors,' and justly triumph in that consequence.

They tell me of "one scruple yet remaining." It is well if there be no more. And what may that be? That in original authority of scripture bishops and presbyters went originally for the same. Alas, brethren, what needed this to be a scruple in your thoughts or your words, when it is in express terms granted by us that there was at first a plain identity in their denomination? Here is one page, and that not without some labour of proofs, idly lost.

It is true that the Remonstrant undertakes to show 'a clear and received distinction of bishops, presbyters, and deacons (out of the undeniable writings of those holy men which lived in the times of the apostles and after them), with an evident specification of their several duties.'

And what say my answerers to this? "Yet," say they, "let us tell him that we never find in scripture these three orders, bishops,

[y] I can affix no meaning to this sentence; nor do the editions furnish any variation in the reading.—Pratt.

[The meaning seems to be this: The laws must stand, and the abuses be removed. Such is the cause I have in hand: and if I aim at less than this, it is not that I think the removal of abuses an impossibility, and would therefore seem to speak against it; but because I object to too great a facility in making changes.]

presbyters, deacons." Brethren, ye might have spared to tell me that, which I had told you before. I speak of the monuments of immediate succession to the apostolic times; ye of the writings of the apostles themselves: how then do you either answer or oppose my assertion? Although, I must also tell you, that though in the apostolic epistles there be no nominal distinction of the titles, yet there is a real distinction and specification of the duties, as we shall see in due place.

That ye may seem not to say nothing, and may make your readers believe you are not quite forsaken of antiquity, ye call Jerome, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Irenæus, and Cyprian, to the book. And what evidence will they give for you? That the names of bishops and presbyters were not at first distinguished, but used ἀδιακρίτως, "in a promiscuous sense;" and that some succeeding bishops of Rome were styled presbyters. This is all: but, that your trifling may appear to all the world, name but any one of our writers who have hitherto stood up in the cause of episcopacy, that hath not granted and proclaimed this which you contend for. Although withal let me tell you, that you could not have brought a stronger argument against yourselves; for hence the world shall see how little force can be drawn from the name to the thing, since the mentioned "Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus," bishops of Rome, are so famously known to have been in an height of elevation above presbyters; and since Cyprian, "who is styled by his presbyters *Frater*," is never found to style his presbyters bishops; and, being an holy bishop himself, in many epistles stiffly maintains the eminence of his superiority, and is somewhile honoured with the title of *Beatissimus papa Cyprianus*, which I suppose was never given to a mere presbyter.

But what do I here follow them who confess themselves out of the way? at last acknowledging, that their adversaries confess that which they would needs spend time to prove.

Let the names pass. All the question is, of the distinction of their offices; which they will follow as tediously as loosely.

And first, they would fain "know what" we "make the distinct office of a bishop."

Wherein they fall, somewhat unhappily, upon the very words of that branded Aërius. "Is it," say they, "to edify the church by word and sacraments? Is it to ordain others to that work? Is it to rule, to govern, by admonition and by other censures? Any or all of these belong unto the presbytery." Compare now the words

of Aërius, as they are related by Epiphanius; whom that father brings in speaking thus concerning episcopacy and presbytery: "There is one order of both; one honour, one dignity. The bishop imposeth hands; so doth the presbyter. The bishop doth administer God's worship or service; so doth the presbyter. The bishop sitteth on the throne; so doth also the presbyter." See, reader, and acknowledge the very phrases of that man whom holy antiquity censured even in this point, both for a frantic man[z] and an heretic. Brethren, God speed you well with your question!

As for the first, which is "edifying the church by word and sacraments," we make no difference; your distance may. We both hold it our work and make it so; and if any one have been slack herein, the fault is personal; we neither defend nor excuse it.

The main quarrel you grant to be in the second, which is, "the power of ordination," "impropriated," as you enviously and untruly speak, to ourselves. This, you say, "was in former times in the hands of the presbyters;" and undertake to prove it from 1 Tim. iv. 14, *Neglect not the gift which was given thee by prophecy, and by laying on the hands of the presbytery;* a place that hath received answer μυριομυριάκις; which I wonder you can so press, when Calvin himself, as you well know, in his learned "Institutions," even in his last and ripest judgment, construes it quite otherwise, taking it of the office, and not of the men, (however elsewhere otherwise): wherein also he follows the judgment of Jerome, Primasius, Anselm, Haymo, Lyranus, Erasmus, and others, as our learned bishop Downame hath largely showed. To countenance this sense of yours, you tell us you find πρεσβυτέριον so taken in scripture, and cite Luke xxii. 66, and Acts xxii. 5, wherein you do merely delude the reader: you find indeed the elders of the people so called, but the elders of the church never. To make good your own construction, therefore, you must maintain that laymen did and must lay on hands in ordination, which Calvin himself utterly abominates. Neither need we to give any other satisfaction to the point than that which we have from St. Paul himself, 2 Tim. i. 6, *Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the imposition of my hands;* mine, not others'. I ask then, was Timothy ordained more than once? once surely St. Paul's hands were laid upon him: when therefore the presbyters'? Yes, you say, this "was a joint act" of both, else "the harmony of scripture"

[z] Ἐμβροντηθεὶς τὴν ἔννοιαν. Epiph. [adv. Hær. l. iii. t. i. Hær. 56.]

is not maintained. Pardon me, brethren, if I think Mr. Calvin was more skilled in the harmony of scripture than ourselves; yet in his ear it sounded well that πρεσβυτέριον should be the office to which Timothy was ordained by Paul, and not a company of men that ordained him. Yet give me leave to marvel how you can have the boldness to say this power is communicated to presbyters; when you know that, not only other antiquity, but even Jerome himself, and that council of Aquisgrane which you cite, do still except ordination; which yet we do not so appropriate as to lay our hands alone upon the head of any presbyter.

The third part of our office consists in ruling; "which, though our bishops," you say, "assume to themselves," you will "discover to have been committed to and exercised by presbyterial hands." For evidence whereof you cite Heb. xiii. 17, *Obey them that have the rule over you, for they watch for your souls.* Brethren, what an injurious imputation is this! Do we not give you the title of *rectores ecclesiarum?* Do we not in your institution commit to you *regimen animarum?* Why will ye therefore bear your readers in hand that we herein rob you of your right? It is true that here is a just distinction to be made betwixt the government of souls in several congregations, and the government of the church consisting of many congregations. That task is yours; this is the bishop's; wherein their rule yet is not lordly, but brotherly, or paternal. Your argument reacheth not home to this; and yet you strain that place of 1 Thes. v. 12. beyond the due breadth, while you tenter it out to either a parity or community of censure.

Enjoy now what you have so victoriously purchased; but give me leave to "sum up" my reckonings also. Since then, however the name was at first promiscuously used, yet the office of bishops and presbyters differed even by apostolic institution; and the acts pertaining thereto, of ordination and power of ordinary government and censures, were in that very first age of the church manifestly differenced: therefore bishops and presbyters were not one.

SECT. VI.

The practice of the apostles is so far from "contradicting their rules," which your brotherly charity would fasten upon my assertion, as that it is a most clear proof and illustration of it. Their practice is irrefragable in the charge which they gave to Timothy and Titus, as we shall prove in due place: now if to this we shall

add 'the unquestionable gloss of the' more 'clear practice of their immediate successors,' I know not what more light can be desired for the manifestation of this truth. Whereto ye boldly answer, If this gloss "corrupt not the text we shall admit it;" implying therein, too presumptuously, that the universal practice of the whole primitive church succeeding the apostles may prove a Bourdeaux gloss to mar the text.

Brethren, go you your own way: let me err with such guides.

But ye are disposed to be liberal. Somewhat ye will grant us, besides that which we grant you.

It is agreed that the name of bishops and presbyters were at first promiscuously used: it is yielded by you "that in process of time some one was honoured with the name of bishop, and the rest were called presbyters." But what, I beseech you, was this "process of time?" Here lies your either error or fraud. We do justly and confidently defend that this time had no process at all. It was in the τῷ νῦν of the living apostles; which we shall plainly make good in the sequel.

It is also yielded "that this was not *nomen inane*," but seconded with "some kind of imparity." What then is the difference? All the question, you say, is "of divine right, and apostolical institution" of this imparity.

Let me beseech the reader to consider seriously of the state of this difference, in the mistaking whereof I have not a little unjustly suffered; and to remember how I have expressed it in my 'Remonstrance,' fetching pedigree of episcopacy from 'apostolical (and therefore in that right divine) institution;' and interpreting myself, not to understand by 'divine right' any 'express law of God requiring it, upon the absolute necessity of the being of a church,' but an institution of apostles inspired by the Holy Ghost, 'warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had.'

Now whether it may be thus apostolical, or a merely human and ecclesiastical invention, is the question in hand.

On your part you say stand Jerome and Ambrose. Two stiff champions indeed! And surely I must needs confess this is the only countenance of your cause; which yet hath been blanked more than once.

"Jerome tells us," you say right down, "in Tit. i. *Idem est ergo presbyter, &c.*"

Out of whose testimony you in sum collect, that a presbyter and a bishop were originally one; that the imparity was grounded

upon ecclesiastical custom; that before this priority the church was governed by the common counsel of presbyters; and that bishops ought still so to govern: and lastly, that the occasion of this imparity was the division which through the devil's instinct fell among Christians.

You look now that I should tell you that the book is of uncertain credit; or that Jerome was a presbyter, and not without some touch of envy to that higher dignity he missed; or that wiser men than yourselves have censured him in this point for Aërianism. I plead none of these; but, while you expect that I should answer to Jerome, I shall set Jerome to answer for himself.

For the first, I cannot but put you in mind that the same father, citing the words of the bishop of Jerusalem, that there is no difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter, passeth a *satis imperite* upon it: but let it be so.

At first, he says, bishops and presbyters had but one title. So say we too. But when began the distinction? Ye need not learn it of "Saravia:" he himself tells you when "divisions" began. And when that? when they "began to say, I am Paul's, I am Apollos's, I am Cephas's:" which was, I think, well and high in the apostles' time.

But this you would cleanly put off, as "spoken" by Jerome "in the apostle's phrase, not of the time of the apostle." This is but a general intimation of contentions arisen, though later, in the church:—Excuse me, brethren: this shift will not serve your turn. Then belike there should have been no distinct bishops till after ages, upon this ground, that till then there were no divisions: or if so, why should the remedy be so late after the disease? or how comes he elsewhere to name bishops made by the apostles; and to confess that before his time there had been many successions? Besides, he instanceth in the peculiar mis-challenging of baptism, which only St. Paul specifieth in his own time. And Clemens seconds him, in his epistle to the Corinthians, in taxing the continuance of those distractions: so as, by Jerome's own confession, episcopacy was ordained early within the apostles' times.

But then, say you, "it was not of apostolical intention, but of diabolical occasion:" Weakly and absurdly! As if the occasion might not be devilish, and the institution divine: as if the best laws did not rise from the worst manners. Were not the quarrels

betwixt the Grecians and Hebrews for the maintenance of their widows an evil occurrence? yet from the occasion thereof was raised the ordination of deacons in the church.

Yea, but Jerome saith this was rather by the "custom" of the church "than by the truth of the Lord's disposition." True, it was by the custom of the church, but that church was apostolical: not by the Lord's disposition immediately; for Christ gave no express rule for it: but mediately it was from Christ, as from his inspired apostles. Let Jerome himself interpret himself, who tells us expressly, in his epistle to Evagrius, this superiority of bishops above presbyters is by apostolical tradition; which is as much as we affirm. And while he saith, *toto orbe decretum est*, that in the time of those first divisions it was decreed all the world over, that bishops should be set up; I would fain know by what power besides apostolical such a decree could be so soon and so universally enacted.

But Jerome saith, "the presbyters governed the church by their common counsel." So they did, doubtless, altogether, till episcopacy was settled: who dares deny it?

Yea, but he saith they ought to do still. So say we also; and so in some cases we do. Church government is aristocratical. Neither is any bishop so absolute as not to be subject to the judgment of a synod: yea, in many matters it is determined by our laws that he must take the advice and assistance of his ecclesiastical presbytery.

So then St. Jerome is, in his judgment, no back friend of ours; but in his history he is our patron. With what forehead can they persuade their reader, the original of episcopacy was not, in Jerome's opinion, so early; when they cannot but confess that the same father hath in flat terms told us, that James was bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy of Ephesus, Titus of Crete? that ever since the time of Mark the evangelist, (who died five or six years before Peter and Paul, and almost forty years before St. John,) at Alexandria, till the days of Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters have always chosen one to be their bishop?

As for those poor negative arguments which follow, palpably begging the question, they are scarce worthy of a pass, were it not that by them they go about to confute their own author; affirming, that upon occasion of divisions episcopacy was constituted: but he stands so close to his own grounds, as that, contrary to their misallegation of Dr. Whitaker, he plainly tells them, epi-

scopacy is so proper a remedy for this evil, that, unless the bishop have a peerless power, there will be as many schisms as priests; the woful experience whereof we find in the miserable varieties of separatism at this day. Go on, brethren, since you are so resolved, to strike that friend whom you bring in to speak for you. Teach your advocate St. Jerome, how unlikely it is that the apostles should give way, as he professes they did, to such "a remedy" as might prove both "ineffectual" and dangerous; and that their holiness should make "a stirrup for antichrist."

We looked for Ambrose to come in next; and behold you bring in a foisted commenter; a man, by the convictions of Whitaker, Spalatensis, Cocus, Rivetus, Bellarmine, Possevine, Maldonate, as hath been elsewhere showed[a], of not a suspected only, but a cracked credit. If it mattered much what he said, I could out of his testimony pick more advantage than you prejudice to my cause. But, if you will hear the true Ambrose speak, he tells you[b], "There is one thing which God requireth of a bishop; another of a presbyter; another of a deacon."

As for the persons who brought in this imparity, you tell us out of the same authors, "the presbyters themselves brought it in. Witness Jerome ad Evagrium. 'The presbyters of Alexandria did call him their bishop, whom they had chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher degree.'"

But, brethren, what means this faithless and halved citation? Had you said all, the place would have answered for itself. The words are, *Nam et Alexandriæ, a Marco evangelista, &c.*[c]: "For at Alexandria, ever since Mark the evangelist, until the times of Heraclas and Dionysius, bishops, the presbyters have always called one, chosen out of themselves and placed in higher degree, bishop; as if an army should choose their general." Why did you avoid the name of Mark the evangelist, but that your hearts told you, that he dying many years within the time of the apostles, this election and appellation and distinction of degrees of bishops and presbyters must needs have been in the lifetime of the apostles, and not without their knowledge and approbation?

The presbyters then chose their bishops: who doubts it? But

[a] See "Episcopacy by Divine Right:" part iii. sect. 4.—PRATT.

[b] Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 3. [Paris 1586. t. v. p. 652.]

[c] Nam et Alexandriæ, a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant; quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, &c. [Opp. ut sup. t. iv. pars ii. p. 803.]

upon whose order and institution, save that which St. Paul to the superintendents met at Miletus, Acts xx. 28: *Spiritus Sanctus vos constituit episcopos:* "The Holy Ghost made you bishops or overseers."

I marvel, brethren, with what face you can make Jerome say that the presbyters themselves were the authors of this imparity, whenas himself hath plainly ascribed this to God's own work; when reading that, Isaiah lx. 17, *I will make thy officers peace;* according to the Septuagint, δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σοῦ, &c. *I will give thy princes in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness;* he applies this to the governors of the evangelical church?

And the blessed martyr and bishop, St. Cyprian, to the same purpose: "The deacons," saith he, "must remember that the Lord himself chose apostles, that is bishops; but deacons were chosen by the apostles themselves."

And, when ye cannot but know that the apostles themselves were the immediate actors in this business; if at least ye will believe the histories and fathers of the church: Irenæus tells you plainly that the apostles Peter and Paul delivered the episcopacy of that church to Linus; and that Polycarpus was by the apostles made bishop in Asia of the church of Smyrna[d]; and Tertullian particularly, that Polycarpus was there placed by St. John.

And St. Chrysostom clearly says, that Ignatius was not only trained up with the apostles, but that he received his bishopric from them[e]; and emphatically, that the hands of the blessed apostles touched his holy head[f].

And lastly, the true Ambrose, to the shaming of that counterfeit whom you bring forth under that name, tells you that Paul saw James at Jerusalem, because he was made bishop of that place by the apostles. Your slip may talk of "a council" wherein this was done; but this is as false as himself. It is well known there never was any such council in the Christian world; since the first general synod was the Nicene. And Jerome's *toto orbe decretum,* as we have showed, could import no other than an apostolical act.

As for St. Augustin[g], is it not a just wonder, reader, that these men dare cite him for their opinion, upon occasion of a modest

[d] [Iren. adv. Hier. l. iii. § 3.]

[e] Τὸν συντραφέντα ἐκείνοις, καὶ παντα-χοῦ συγγενόμενον.—Chrysost. tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 499.

[f] Παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς.—[Ibid.]

[g] Aug. Ep. 19. [lib. de Hæres. opp. ut sup. t. viii. p. 18.]

word concerning the honourable title of episcopacy; whenas they cannot but know and grant that he hath blazoned Aërius for an heretic, merely for holding the same tenet which they defend?

Lastly, if Gregory Nazianzen "in a pathetic manner have wished the abolition" of episcopacy, (as he never did,) what more dislike had he shown to it than he did to synods, when he said μηδεμίας συνόδου ἔξοδον, &c. that he "never knew good come of them?" But, reader, it will be worth the while to enquire into the fidelity of those men's allegations. Do but consult the place of Nazianzen, and thou shalt find that he speaks not particularly of episcopacy, but of all προεδρία, or precedency[h]; and of all quarrelsome challenges of place, and all tyrannical carriage of one man towards another; wishing that there were no standing upon points of precedency, but every man might be respected according to his virtue; and adding at last, *Nunc autem dextrum hoc, et sinistrum, et medium latus, &c:* "But now," saith he, "the right hand, and the left, and the middle place, and the higher and lower degree, and going before, and going cheek by jowl, what a world of troubles have they brought upon us!" Thus he. See then, reader, what a testimony here is for the utter abolition of episcopacy, from a man who was so interested in the calling, that he was wont to be styled by his adversaries Τριεπίσκοπος, "the bishop of three sees!" By this judge, reader, of the rest.

So then, after all the clamours and colourable pretences of these men, this 'imparity and jurisdiction' was conveyed from the apostles' hands; and deduced, in an 'uninterrupted line, through all following ages to this present day.'

How can this be, say they, "unless our bishops will draw the line of their pedigree through the loins of antichrist, and join issue and mingle blood with Rome?" For shame, brethren, eat this word. What! are there no bishops but at Rome? Is the whole church, all the world over, antichristian; even those which are no less angry at Rome than yourselves? Hath not episcopal imparity continued in them all this while? Is there no distinction to be had betwixt the calling and the abuse? If the antichristian church have had bishops, so it hath had churches, scriptures, baptism, learning, creeds. Because we have all these with them, will ye say we deduce them from the loins of antichrist? Away with this impotent spite and uncharitableness; and learn to be

[h] Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. ὄφελον γὰρ, &c. μηδὲ, &c.

more modest and true in your assertions, and less confident in your appeals.

SECT. VII.

Let me balk your idle words. The question is of the difference betwixt our present bishops and the ancient. This you will spread forth in three particulars.

The first is the manner of election to these places of eminence; which was of old "ordered by the privity, consent, and approbation of the people:" which you eagerly seek to prove out of Cyprian. Neither can it be denied that he is full and punctual in this point.

Holy Athanasius seconds it. And the old rule was: *electio clericorum, consensus principis, petitio plebis;* that a bishop came in, "by the suit of the people, the election of the clergy, the consent of the prince." Ye might well have, in this case, spared the fetching in of the good emperor Constantine.

Doubtless this was the manner of old: what variations followed afterwards in these proceedings, our learned Dr. Field hath well showed.

But sure this interest of the people continued so long, even in the Roman church, that Platina can tell us[1], Gregory the seventh was elected by cardinals, clerks, acoluthites, subdeacons, priests, abbots, bishops, clergy, and laity.

The inconveniences that were found in those tumultuary elections, and the seditious issue of them, which Nazianzen and Eusebius have laid before us in some particulars, were, I suppose, the cause why they were in a sort laid down.

But an imitation of this practice we have still continuing in our church: wherein upon the vacancy of every see there is a *congé-d'élire*, that is, "a leave to elect," sent down from the king to the presbyters (viz. the dean and chapter of that church) for an ensuing election of their bishop: and if this were yet more free, we should not like it the less.

But in the meantime, brethren, how are you quite beside the cushion where the objection was, that the apostles' bishops and ours were two, in respect of managing their function; and my defence is, that our bishops challenge not any other spiritual power than the apostles delegated to Timothy and Titus: you

[1] [Cardinales, clerici, acolyti, subdiaconi, presbyteri, præsentibus episcopis, abbatibus, multisque tum ecclesiastici tum laici ordinis.]—Platina in Vita Greg. VII.

now tell us of the different manner of our elections. What is this *ad rhombum?* We speak of their actions and exercise of power; you talk of others' actions to them.

Were it so pleasing to his majesty and the state to decree it, we should be well content to submit to this ancient form of election; the forbearance whereof is neither our fault nor our prejudice: so as you might well have bestowed this breath to a better purpose; and rather conclude that, notwithstanding this form of different choice, our bishops and those of former times are not two.

SECT. VIII.

We follow you into the execution of our episcopal office: wherein you will show ours and the apostles' to be two so clearly, that "he who will not wilfully shut his eyes may see a latitude of differences;" and that in three points.

The first, in "sole jurisdiction," which you say "was a stranger," yea "a monster, to former times;" and will make it good by the power of (that which in all wise writers was wont to be contradistinguished) ordination.

For this main point let my answerers know that the ordination is the bishop's; but the "sole," in their sense, is their own: neither did our bishops ever challenge it as theirs alone without the presbyters, but as principally theirs with them; so as, if the power be in the bishop, the assistance is from them; the practice in both. So is it in the bishops, that ordinarily and regularly it may not be done without them; and yet, ordinately, it may not be done without them by the bishop: which hath been so constantly and carefully ever observed, that I challenge them to show any one instance in the church of England to the contrary. Say brethren, I beseech you, after all this noise, what bishop ever took upon him to ordain a presbyter alone, or without the concurrent imposition of many hands. They, no less than Cyprian, can say[k], *Ego et collegæ:* although I must tell you, this was in the case of Aurelius, made a lector. And in that other testimony, which you cite out of his epistle 58, he speaks only of the fraternity's consent and approbation; not of their concurrence in their act. This is small game with you.

Neither is it less the order of the church of England than of the council of Carthage, *Cum ordinatur presbyter, &c:* "When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop blessing him and holding his

[k] Cypr. Ep. 33. [ed. Fell. Ep. 38.]

hand upon his head, all the presbyters that are present shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, with the hands of the bishops." With what conscience can ye allege this, as to choke us in our contrary practice, when you know this is perpetually and unfailably done by us? But now, that the readers may see how you shuffle, show us but one instance of a presbyter's regular and practised ordaining without a bishop, and carry the cause: else you do but abuse the reader with an ostentation of proving what was never denied.

But here by the way, brethren, you must give me leave to pull you by the sleeve; and to tell you of two or three foul scapes which will try whether you can blush.

First, that you abuse Firmilianus[1], in casting upon him an opinion of presbyters' ordaining which he never held. He, in his epistle to Stephen bishop of Rome, speaking of the true church in opposition to heresies, describes it thus: *Ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem:* under this name expressing those bishops who, presiding in the church, possess the power of baptising, confirming, ordaining. You injuriously wire-draw him to presbyters, and foist in *seniores et præpositos*, which are far from the clause and matter. Be convinced with the more clear words of the same epistle: *apostolis, et episcopis, qui illis vicaria ordinatione successerunt.*

Secondly, that you bewray gross ignorance, in translating Ambrose's *presbyteri consignant*, by "presbyters' ordaining." Who that ever knew what belonged to antiquity would have been guilty of such a solecism; when every novice knows that consigning signifies confirmation, and not ordaining?

Thirdly, you discover not too much skill, in not distinguishing of the chorepiscopi: some whereof had both the nature and power of episcopacy to all purposes, and therefore might well by the bishop's license in his own charge impose hands; others not. And less fidelity in citing the council of Antioch, can. 10, and the 13th of the council of Ancyra; if it were not out of our way to fetch them into trial.

Lastly, I cannot but tell you that you have merely cast away all this labour, and fought with your own shadow. For, however it were not hard to prove, that in the first times of the church it was appropriated to the bishop to ordain; which you cannot

[1] Firmil. Cyprian. Ep. 75. [ed. Fell. Epist. p. 221.]

but confess out of Jerome and Chrysostom; yet since we, speaking of our own time and church, do both profess and practise an association of presbyters with us in the act of ordination, whom have you all this while opposed? It is enough that you have seemed to say something; and have shown some little reading to no purpose.

SECT. IX.

Yet still you will needs beat the air very furiously, and fight pitifully with yourselves. Alas, brethren, why will ye take so much pains to go wilfully out of your way, and to mislead the reader with you? Who ever challenged, in that sense which you feign to yourselves, a "sole jurisdiction?" Why will you with some show of learning confute that which you yield us to "confess?"

We confess this "sole" cried down by store of antiquity. We do willingly grant that presbyters have, and ought to have and exercise, a jurisdiction within their own charge, *in foro conscientiæ*[m]. We grant, that in all the great affairs of the church, the presbyters, whether in synods or otherwise, ought to be consulted with. We grant, that the bishops had of old their ecclesiastical council of presbyters[n], with whose advice they were wont to manage the greatest matters: and we still have so; for to that purpose serve the deans and chapters: and the laws of our church frequently make that use of them. We grant, that presbyters have their votes in provincial synods.

But we justly say, that the superiority of jurisdiction is so in the bishop as that presbyters neither did nor may exercise it without him; and that the exercise of external jurisdiction is derived from, by, under him, to those which execute it within his diocese. Thus it is to Timothy that St. Paul gives the charge concerning the rebuke of an elder, or not receiving an accusation against him. It is to Titus that St. Paul leaves the ἐπιδιόρθωσιν, *correction*, of his Cretians. Thus the canons of the apostles, ἄνευ γνώμης, &c. Thus the blessed martyr Ignatius, in his undoubted epistle to those of Smyrna, μηδεὶς χωρίς, &c: "Let no man do anything in matters belonging to the church without the bishop[o]." Thus the council of Antioch orders, that whatsoever

[m] To this purpose is that which you cite out of Clemens Alex. Strom. l. v.

[n] Alluded to in that usual allegation of Ambrose.

[o] Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [Epist. ad Smyrn. Genev. 1623, p. 168.]

belongs to the church is to be governed, managed, and disposed, by the judgment and authority of the bishop, who hath τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, "the power of those things which belong to the church[p]."

It were easy to surfeit the reader's eyes with the clear testimonies of fathers and councils to this purpose. Our learned bishop Downame[q] hath given a world of instances of the several acts of jurisdiction appropriated to bishops by antiquity, exercised upon both laics and clergy. To him I remit my reader. So as you may easily set antiquity together by the ears in this point if you please; but surely the advantage will be so far on our side, that if you have not ten for one against you, I will yield my cause.

There is great difference of times, and in them of fashions. In those persecuted times, when the church was backed with no Christian magistrate, it was no boot to bid the guides of the church to combine their counsels, and to give strength to their mutual actions. When a general peace once blessed them, and they had the concurrence both of sovereign and subordinate authority with them, they began so much to remit of this care of conjoining their forces as they supposed to find less need of it. From hence grew a devolution of all less weighty affairs to the wielding of single hands.

For my part, I persuade myself that the more frequent communicating of all the important business of the church, whether censures or determinations, with those grave assistants which in the eye of the law are designed to this purpose, were a thing not only unprejudicial to the honour of our function, but very behoveful to the happy administration of the church.

In the meanwhile see, brethren, how you have, with Simon, fished all night and caught nothing. My word was, that ours were the same with the apostles' bishops; in this, that they challenge no other spiritual power than was by apostolic authority delegated to Timothy and Titus: you run out upon the following times of the church, and have with some waste quotations laboured to prove that, in after ages bishops called in presbyters to the assistance of their jurisdiction; which is as much to me as *baculus stat in angulo.*

[p] Concil. Antioch. c. 24, 25. [Bin. t. i. p. 426.]
[q] B. Down. Def. l. iii. c. 5.

SECT. X.

Your next section runs yet wilder. I speak of the no-difference of our bishops from the first, in the 'challenge of any spiritual power to themselves other than that delegated to Timothy and Titus;' you tell me of delegating their power to others.

What is this to the nature of the calling? Doth any man claim this as essential to his episcopacy? Doth any man stand upon it as a piece of his spiritual power? If this be granted to be an accidental error of some particular man, for it cannot be fastened upon all, what difference doth it make in the substance of the function?

As if some monster suddenly presented itself to you, you ask, "Was ever such a thing heard of in the best primitive times, that men which never received imposition of hands should not only be received into assistance, but be wholly entrusted with the power of spiritual jurisdiction?" Let me ask you again, Was ever such a thing heard of, either in the primitive or following times, that laymen should be so far admitted to the managing of spiritual jurisdiction as to lay their hands upon their ministers in their ordination? Yet this is both done and challenged by too many of your good friends[r]. Why do you object that to us wherewith the presbyterian part may be more justly choked?

But herein, brethren, you do foully overreach, in that you charge our bishops, as in a generality, with wholly entrusting the power of spiritual jurisdiction to their chancellors and commissaries. The assistance of those which are learned in the law we gladly use, neither can well want, in the necessary occasions of our judicature; but that we do either wilfully or negligently divest ourselves absolutely of that power, and wholly put it into laic hands, it is a mere slander.

For want of better proofs of the illegality of this course, you bring a negative authority from Cyprian, telling us what that holy martyr did not; that he did "not send" complainants "to his chancellor or commissary." It is very like he did not, nor yet to the bench of a lay presbytery.

But if he did not commit the hearing of his causes to a layman, we find that some others did. Socrates can tell you[s] of Silvanus, the good bishop of Troas, *κατιδὼν τοὺς κληρικοὺς*, &c.

[r] Howsoever it is now in some reformed churches laid down.

[s] Socrat. l. vii. c. 37.

"Perceiving that some of his clergy did corruptly make gain of causes, would no more appoint any of his clergy, οὐδένα τοῦ κλήρου, to be a judge; but made choice of some faithful man of the laity, to whom he committed that audience, and was much honoured for it."

What bishop Downame yields concerning the ordinaries, vicars, and chancellors of former times, till Ambrose's days, that they were only clergymen, you reject with scorn; and "challenge any man to produce the names of any clergyman that was vicar to Ambrose, or chancellor to Augustin, &c." What a poor brave is this! I challenge you to produce the name of any secretary or actuary that Ambrose or Austin had: because you cannot, shall I conclude they had none such? That instance of Silvanus, not long after Ambrose, is evidence enough.

But the antiquity of chancellors, which were the same with *ecclesiecdici*, or *episcoporum ecdici*, is proveable enough, (if it were for this place,) and their necessary use beyond the power of your confutation. But I had rather refer my reader to sir Thomas Ridley[t] and others that have laboured in that argument, and appeal to all men's judgment how soundly you have, upon this ground, proved that our bishops and the former were two!

Sect. XI.

How justly may I say, readers, of these men, as the king of Israel said of the king of Syria: *See, I beseech you, how* they *seek a quarrel against me!* 2 Kings v. 7. My just defence was, that our bishops are the same in substance and effect with those which were ordained by the apostles: they come now and tell me of an oath *ex officio*, used in the high commission and in our consistories; as if every particular manner of proceeding in our courts and judicatures must either be patterned by the apostolic, or else they are utterly unjustifiable. Why do they not as well challenge us, that we give men the book to touch and kiss in taking an oath? Why do they not ask how we can prove that those apostolical bishops had notaries, registrars, advocates, consistories? What frivolous and delusory exceptions are these to all wise men; and how strangely savouring of a weak judgment and strong malice!

As for your cavil at the oath *ex officio*, since you will needs

[t] [Author of "A View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law," 1607.]

draw it in by head and shoulders, how little soever it concerns us, I return you this answer; that if any of our profession have, in the pressing of it, exceeded the lawful bounds, I excuse him not, I defend him not: let him bear away his own load: but, *in thesi*, surely there is more to be said for it than you will seem to take notice of.

You ask for any "precedent" of it in "good antiquity." I give a precedent as ancient as Moses, Exod. xxii. 10, 11: and that other oath and real imprecation in the cause of jealousy, Num. v. 19. But perhaps it will fit you better that I instance in Mr. Calvin's case; who together with the consistory of elders appointed the said oath to be given to Camperell, a minister of Geneva, and to the other parties accused of an offensive dancing in the house of widow Balthasar[t]; in which corporal oath three interrogatories being put to the deponents, two of them are said to be concerning their purposes and intentions. If yet you call for other precedents, I call your eyes home; and will you to look into our courts of king's bench, common pleas, exchequer, star chamber: wherein the defendant is ordinarily put to answer the bill and interrogatories upon oath.

As for "that old maxim of *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*," you may, if it please you, object it as well to Moses, to Calvin, to our courts. It is easily thus satisfied, that no man is bound, at the suit of a party, to answer criminous articles, or such as are *propinqui actus*, as lawyers interpret it. But, as Petrus de Ferrariis[u] well determines it, *Proditus per famam, tenetur seipsum ostendere, et purgare*; "when a fame accuses him, he may clear himself by an oath." It is to be presupposed, that a man is brought into question by some of those lawful means which open a way to a further inquiry; and then, as Aquinas well[x], if there be a *semi-plena probatio*, or a strong fame, or evident tokens, an oath is seasonably imposed.

But sure the intention of the oath is quite mistaken; for it is meant to acquit and justify, not to accuse; neither is any man pressed to answer farther than he is bound in law: neither are the compulsions simple and absolute, but only causative, as the learned apologist hath fully declared.

If then a "Diocletian," or "Maximilian" (as you call him,) shall enact "that the adverse party shall not be required to

[t] Calvin. Epist. fol. 421.

[u] [Author of Aurea Practica.]

[x] Aquin. Quodlib. l. vi. q. 8.

exhibit such evidences as should create troubles to themselves," it is no other than is everywhere practised in all courts of judicature, and may well stand with the oath *ex officio*, as it is formerly limited.

Be advised therefore, till you understand the case better, to forbear to talk of "the lamp of nature in the night of ethnicism:" but know that the light of the law of God, and right reason, and common practice, give sufficient allowance to that which your misprision cavils at, in those whom ye ought to acknowledge "the fathers of the church."

You tell us of "the custom of the church," and proceedings in the time of Athanasius, and the rule of Gratian; as if we disallowed those just courses, where there is a direct and manifest accusation and evident proofs to be had: but what doth this hinder, that in case of a justly grounded suspicion, and a complaint of a half-proved offence, a man should manifest his innocence by oath?

That ye might seem to have seen the canon law, you tell us that "in some cases" it allows "trial without witnesses;" namely, where "the crime may be justly called notorious; and then deeply expound *notorium* by *manifestum*, therein plainly contradicting yourselves; for, if that be manifest which is lawfully known by confession, or by probation, or by the evidence of the thing, what probation can there be besides confession and evidence, without witnesses?

But this error is as trifling as your accusation; and after all this waste of words, notwithstanding some personal abuses of officers in undue processes of their courts, our bishops and the former are not two.

Sect. XII.

Your next section hath more pomp of reading in it than the rest; but to as little purpose. I shall trouble you with neglecting it. We cannot anger a gay man more than in passing by him unseen.

My ground was, that our bishops differ not in respect of any 'spiritual power' from that which was 'delegated from apostolic authority to Timothy and Titus:' you spend your time in proving that they differ in their employment in secular and state affairs.

But I ask, is this difference or fault universal or not? Sure you cannot say they are all thus misemployed; and if not, why

is this blame cast upon all? why should the calling and others' innocence suffer?

My cause shall yield you your postulate herein, and be no whit the worse. It is true the ordinary managing of secular affairs is not proper for a bishop. "Chrysostom's" counsel, "Julian's" practice, "Constantine's" bounty, "Cyril's" insolent pomp, the "Roman bishop's" degenerating into a secular principality, "Cyprian's" grave limitation, the just inhibitions of "many canons," are of an undoubted truth. And we could easily, if need were, add many more to these, and tell you of those κοσμικαὶ φροντίδες, that must, upon the apostolic canons, be avoided by sacred persons; and the rigorous charge of Cyprian[x] against Geminius Victor, for ordaining Geminius Faustinus a presbyter, but the executor of his last will; with many other the like instances. But what are these to the work in hand?

Two exceptions must necessarily be admitted.

The one of extraordinary occasions and services: as when a prince or state, having had good proof of the abilities of an ecclesiastical person, shall think fit, as now it is done in this great northern negotiation, to call for his counsel, or to employ his present agency for a time in some main business that may import the public good and safety of the church or commonwealth. So St. Chrysostom once, so St. Ambrose twice, was employed in embassy from the emperors. The very trade of tent-making did as much take up St. Paul for the time as a state employment might have done. And how many have we known that have not unprofitably professed physic both for soul and body, and done much good in both!

The other of a charitable interposition in matters of difference, for peace and reconciliation, and composing of the unkind quarrels of dissenting neighbours; wherewith St. Ambrose and St. Austin were so extremely taken up, that the latter makes no little complaint[y] of the importunity of those continual interpellations; such as both his morning studies were distracted by them, and the afternoon wholly spent in them; and professeth he could not have the opportunity of opening his estate and heart to

[x] Pro dormitione [ejus apud vos] Victoris non fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.—Cypr. Presb. et Diac. &c. l. i. Ep. 9. [Ep. i. p. 3. ed. Fell.]

[y] Aug. Ep. 110. [213. ed. Ben. t. ii. p. 790. Non permittor ad quod volo vacare, ante meridiem et post meridiem occupationibus hominum implicor.]

bishop Ambrose, by reason of that continual audience of causes daily brought before that great prelate.

Surely, if the charity of more of ours have not rendered them more guilty of secularity in this kind than the supposed ambition of others, there will be no cause why our bishops and the bishops of former times should be two.

Sect. XIII.

It is true, the "Remonstrant soars above these after times, even as high as the apostles." As if you knew not this before, whenas all this while you have endeavoured to show that the apostles' bishops and ours are two.

We do again profess that, 'if our bishops challenge any other power than was delegated to and required of Timothy and Titus,' we shall yield them 'usurpers:' you kindly tell us, so we "deserve to be, if" we "do but challenge the same power."

And why so, I beseech you, brethren? Because "Timothy and Titus," ye say, "were evangelists, and so moved in a higher sphere." Liberally and boldly spoken! but where is your proof?

"For Timothy," ye say, "the text is clear." But what text, what the least intimation, have you for Titus? Surely not so much as the least ground of a conjecture; yet how confidently you avow for both!

And even for Timothy your gloss is clear, not your text. St. Paul bids him *do the work of an evangelist:* what then? that rather intimates that he was none; for he doth not say, do thine own work, but *the work of an evangelist.* When I tell my friend that I must desire him to do the office of a solicitor or a secretary for me, I do herein intimate that he is neither, but so, for the time, employed: why is it not so here?

And what, I beseech you, is the work of an evangelist, but to preach the evangel, or good tidings of peace? So as St. Paul herein gives no other charge to his Timothy than in 2 Tim. iv. 2: *Preach the word; be instant in season, and out of season.* And this you say and urge to be the work of a bishop too: well therefore may Timothy, notwithstanding this charge, be no other than a bishop. What need these works to be contradistinguished? St. Paul says of himself, *Whereto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles;* 2 Tim. i. 11.

What! shall we say St. Paul was an apostle: he was not a preacher, or not a doctor, but an apostle?

You distinguish of evangelists. The word is taken either for the writers of the gospel, or for the teachers of it; and why then was not St. Paul an evangelist, who professed to be a teacher of the gospel to the Gentiles?

These teaching evangelists you dream to be of "two sorts:" the one, those that "had ordinary places and gifts;" the other, "extraordinary." But tell me, sirs, for my learning, where do you find those ordinary-placed and ordinary-gifted evangelists? unless you mean to comprise all preachers under this name; and then a bishop may be an evangelist also; so as the difference of a bishop and an evangelist vanisheth.

The truth is, these ordinary evangelists are a new fiction: their true employment was to be sent by the apostles from place to place for the preaching of the gospel, without a settled residence upon any one charge.

Upon this advantage you raise a slight argument, that "St. Paul besought Timothy to abide at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3, which had been a needless importunity if he had had the episcopal charge of Ephesus;" for then he must have necessarily resided there; whereas you recite several proofs and occasions of his absence: which will appear to be of little force if a man do duly consider the state of those times; the necessity whereof, in that first plantation of the gospel, made even the most fixed stars planetary; calling them frequently from the places of their abode, to those services which were of most use for the success of that great work: yet so as that either after their errands fully done, or upon all opportune intermissions, they returned to their own chair. The story therefore of those journal computations might well have been spared.

Your argument from Paul's calling the elders of Ephesus to Miletus, however you lean upon it, will prove but a reed. Yourselves confess, I know not upon what certain ground, that Timothy was at the meeting, Acts xx. with St. Paul. Had he been bishop there, "the apostle," you say, "instead of giving the elders a charge to feed the flock of Christ, would have given that charge to Timothy, and not to them." Besides, "the apostle would not so have forgotten himself as to call the elders bishops before their bishop's face;" and "would have given them some directions how to carry themselves to their bishops." In all which, brethren,

you go upon wrong grounds. Will ye grant that these assembled persons were presbyters and not bishops? under some bishop, though not under Timothy? otherwise, why do you argue from the want of directions to them as inferiors? But if they were indeed bishops, and not mere presbyters, as the word itself imports[z], your argument is lost: for then the charge is equally given to Timothy, and all the rest; and it was no forgetfulness to call them as they were.

You are straight ready to reply how unpossible it is, according to us, there should be many bishops in one city; and here were many presbyters from Ephesus:—but let me mind you that, though these presbyters were sent for from Ephesus, yet they were not said to be all of Ephesus. Thither they were called to meet St. Paul, in all likelihood, from divers parts; which he seems to imply when he saith, *Ye all, amongst whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God;* intimating the superintendents of several places.

So as, notwithstanding these urged probabilities, Timothy might have been, both before this time and at that present, bishop of Ephesus: after which, if Paul took him along with him to Jerusalem, this is no derogation to his episcopacy; and if Timothy were yet after this prisoner with St. Paul at Rome, as you argue from Heb. xiii. 23, this is no derogation from his episcopacy at Ephesus.

But, to cut the sinews of all this strong proof of your computation, it is more than probable that, whereas the whole history of the Acts ends with Paul's first being at Rome, that apostle survived divers years, and passed many travels, and did many great matters for the plantation and settling of churches, whereof we can look for no account from scripture, save by some glances in his following epistles: into which time these occurrents concerning Timothy's and Titus's ordination did fall; as may be justly proved out of the chronological table of the experienced Jacob Cappellus, compared with Baronius.

Now then the reader may take his choice, whether he will believe all antiquity that have meddled with this subject, affirming Timothy to have been bishop of Ephesus; or whether he will believe a new-hatched contradiction of yesterday raised out of imaginary probabilities. Shortly, it is far enough from "appearing

[z] Ἐπισκόπους.

that Timothy was no bishop, but a minister, an evangelist, a fellow-labourer of the apostles, an apostle, a messenger of the church:" it rather appears that he was all these in divers senses and upon several occasions.

The like ye say of Titus, whom you are pleased to create an evangelist, not being able to show that ever God made him so, save in that general sense that might well stand with episcopacy.

You tell us a story of his peregrination in the attendance of Paul, wherein you shall not expect any contradiction; but you shall give me leave to take you tripping in your own tale.

"From Cilicia," you say, Paul "passed to Crete, where he left Titus *for a while, to set in order things that remain.*" This "for a while" you put into a different character, as if it were part of the text; and guiltily translate τὰ λείποντα, *things that remain;* whereas ours turn it, in a more full expression of an episcopal power, *things that are wanting* or *left undone.*

But this is not the matter. You do yet again repeat the "for a while," urging the short time that Titus could be left at Crete; and yet, in your own marginal computation, there is no less distance of time betwixt this placing in Crete and sending for him to his next remove unto Nicopolis, than betwixt the year 46 and 51, the space of five years, which was a large gap of time in that unsettled condition, and manifold-distractive occasions of the church. If afterwards he were by apostolical command called away to attend the more-concerning services of the church, this could no whit have impeached the truth of his episcopacy.

But the truth is, he was ordained by St. Paul after all those journeys mentioned in the Acts, and, as Baronius with great consent of antiquity computes it, a year after Timothy. So, as you may well put up your conclusion as rather begged than enforced, and cast it upon the reader's courtesy to believe you against all antiquity, that Titus was an evangelist and no bishop, whereas these two may well agree together: he was an evangelist when he travelled abroad; he was a bishop afterwards when he stayed and settled at home.

You object to yourself the authority of "some fathers that have called Timothy and Titus bishops." Some? name if you can that father that hath called them otherwise. Away with these envious diminutions, when ye have a cloud of witnesses of much antiquity, which aver Timothy and Titus to have both lived and died bishops; the one of Ephesus, of Crete the other. Yea, but so "some

fathers have called them archbishops and patriarchs" too. What of that? Therein they have then acknowledged them bishops paramount. And if Titus were 'bishop of Crete,' which was of old ἑκατόμπολις, "the hundred-citied" island, and Timothy of Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia; the multitude of the territories under them, while it enlargeth their charge, doth detract nothing from the use of their office.

Secondly you tell us, from learned Dr. Raynolds, that the fathers, when they called any apostle bishop, "they meant it in a general sort and signification, because they did attend that church for a time, and supply that room in preaching the gospel which bishops did after;" not intending it, as it is commonly taken, for the overseer of a particular church, and pastor of a several flock." But what is this to Timothy and Titus? You say, "the same may be said of them:" but the doctor gave you no leave so to apply it, neither do we. Although, to say truth, all this discourse of yours is ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ, needless and extravagant. Whether Timothy or Titus were evangelists or no, sure we are that here they stand for persons charged with those offices and cares which are delivered to the ordinary church governors in all succeeding generations. And we do most justly take them as we find them, and with our first confidence maintain that we 'challenge no other spiritual power than was delegated unto them and to the angels of the Asian churches.'

You mean to confute us by questions, and those so poor and frivolous as are not worth answer; fastening that upon some particular abuse which we disclaim from our calling; as if under this claim we were bound to justify every act of a bishop.

To answer you in your own kind, when or where did "our bishops challenge power to ordain alone? to govern alone?" When (though you ignorantly turn an elder in age to an elder in office,) did "our bishops challenge power" to pass a rough and unbeseeming rebuke upon an elder? Where did our bishops give commission to "chancellors, commissaries, officials, to rail upon presbyters," or to accuse them without just grounds, and without legal proceedings? As for your last question, I must tell you it is no better raised than upon an ignorant negative: did the apostle say, reject none but an heretic? did he not wish, *Would to God they were cut off that troubled you?* Is it not certainly proved true, that some schismatic may be worse than some heretic? which I speak not so as to traduce any of our unconforming brethren,

whose consciences are unsettled in the point of this mean difference, as guilty of that hateful crime; but to convince the absurdity of our questionists; after whose ill raised cavils, thus fully answered, we have no cause to fear, upon their suggestions, to be 'disclaimed as usurpers.'

From Timothy and Titus you descend to "the angels of the seven Asian churches," which no "subtlety" at all, but the common interest of their condition, hath "twisted together" in our defence.

In the generality whereof I must premonish my reader, that this piece of the task fell unhappily upon some dull and tedious hand, that cared not how oft-sod coleworts he dished out to his credulous guests. I shall, what I may, prevent their surfeit.

Your shift is, that the angel is here taken "collectively, not individually." A conceit which, if yourselves, certainly no other wise man can ever believe: for, if the interest be common and equally appertaining to all, why should one be singled out above the rest? If you will yield the person to be such as had, more than others, a right in the administration of all, it is that we seek for. Surely it did in some sort concern all, that was spoken to him, because he had the charge of all; but the direction is individual, as Beza himself takes it. As, if a letter be indorsed from the lords of the council to the bishop of Durham or Salisbury, concerning some affairs of the whole clergy of their diocese; can we say that the name bishop is there no other than a collective, because the business may import many? Verily, I do not believe that the authors of this sense can believe it themselves. To your invincible proofs. In the epistle to Thyatira you say it is written, ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, *I say to you and to the rest*, Rev. ii. 24; where by *you*, must, as you imagine, be signified "the governors," by *the rest*, "the people:" but what if the better copies read ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς[a], *I say to you the rest in Thyatira*, without the copulative, as is confessed by your good friends; where then is your doughty argument? Here are no divisions of parties, but the pastor and flock. And truly thus it is; and my own eyes have seen it, in that noble manuscript, written by the hand of Tecla [or Thecla][b], as is probably supposed, some thirteen

[a] [Griesbach omits the conjunction, and enumerates many MSS. in support of that reading.]

[b] [The Codex Alexandr. sent to Charles I. by Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, in 1628, now in the British Museum.]

hundred years ago, as Cyril, the late renowned patriarch of Constantinople avoweth: your goodly proof therefore is in the suds. But, to meet with you in your own kind, if you will go upon divers readings, what will you say to that verse 20, where the angel of Thyatira is encharged: *Thou sufferest* τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ Ἰεζαβήλ, *thy wife Jezebel,* for so it is in very good copies, *to teach and seduce:* yea, so it is in that memorable copy of Tecla forementioned, which is to be seen in the Prince's library, under the custody of the industrious and learned Mr. Patrick Yong, as my own eyes can witness: and thus St. Cyprian reads it of old[c]. What! shall we think she was wife to the whole company, or to one bishop alone? I leave you to blush for the shame this proof alone casts upon your opinion.

Secondly, you tell us "it is usual with the Holy Ghost," even "in this very book, to express a company under one singular person:" as the "beast" is "the civil state," "the whore and the false prophet, the ecclesiastical state of Rome." But what if it be thus in visions or emblematical representations? must it needs be so in plain narrations, where it is limited by just predicates? Or, because it is so in one phrase of speech, must it be so in all? Why do you not as well say, where *the Lamb* is named, or *the Lion of Judah,* this is a collective of many, not an individual subject? "The seven angels," you say, "that blew the seven trumpets, and poured out the seven vials, are not to be taken literally, but synecdochically:" perhaps so, but then the synecdoche lies in the *seven,* and not in the *angels:* so I grant you the word *angel* is here metaphorical, but you are no whit nearer to your imagined synecdoche.

"The very name angel," you say, "is sufficient proof that it is not meant of one person alone," as being "a common name to all God's ministers and messengers:" as if he did not well know this that directed these epistles: and, if he had so meant it, had it not been as easy to have mentioned more as one? Had he said, "the angels of the church of Ephesus" or Thyatira," the cause had been clear: now he says *the angel,* ὁ ἄγγελος, the denoted person must be singular; for surely you cannot say that all the presbyters at Ephesus were one angel. The same reason holds for the "*stars:*" had he said, "To the star of Ephesus," I suppose nobody would

[c] Cypr. l. iv. ad Antonianum Epist.

have construed it of many, but of one eminent person: now he speaks of so many stars as angels, to wit, seven, in those seven churches.

Your fourth argument, from the text itself, is no better than ridiculous; poorly drawn from what it doth not say. Lo, "he saith, *The seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches*, Rev. i. 20: but he doth not say, "The seven stars are the seven angels of the same churches," but, "*the angels of the seven churches.*" Forbear if you can, readers, to smile at this curious subtlety. Because the seven is not twice repeated in mentioning the angels, there is a deep mystery in the omission. What cabalism have we here! Had he said, "The seven stars are the seven angels of the seven churches," now all had been sure: but he saith not so, but only thus, *The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches.* It is plain that every church hath his angel mentioned; and there being seven churches, how many angels I beseech you are there? now, because he doth not say expressly in terms, "seven angels of the seven churches," we are foiled in our proof. Judge, reader, what to expect of so deep speculations.

Lastly, "it is evident," you say, "though but one angel be mentioned in the front, yet the epistles themselves be dedicated to all the angels and ministers, and to the churches themselves." Who ever doubted it? the foot of every epistle runs, *what the Spirit saith to the churches;* not to one church, but to all seven. If therefore you argue that the name *angel* is collective, say also that every of these *seven angels* is the whole company of all the seven churches; which were foul nonsense. You might have saved the labour, both of Ausbertus[a] and the rest of your authors, and your own. We never thought otherwise but that the whole church is spoken to; but so as that the governor or bishop is singled out, as one that hath the main stroke in ordering the affairs thereof, and is therefore either praised or challenged according to his carriage therein: although also there are such particularities, both of commendations and exceptions, in the body of the several epistles, as cannot but have relation to those several overseers to whom they were endorsed; as I have elsewhere specified. Had all the presbyters of Ephesus *lost* their *first love?* had each of them *tried the false apostles?* Had all

[a] [Huic tribuuntur in apocalypsin libri decem qui revera sunt Authberti Abb. S. Vincentii—Conf. Raynaud. p. 125. See Bodl. Cat. art. Ausbertus.]

those of Sardis *a name to live, and were dead?* Were all the Laodicean ministers of one temper? These taxations were no doubt of individual persons; but such as in whom the whole churches were interested.

As for those "conjectural reasons" which you frame to yourselves, why "the whole company of presbyters" should be written to under the singular name of an angel, if ye please yourselves with them, it is well: from me they have no cause to expect an answer: they neither can draw my assent nor merit my confutation.

Take heed of yielding that, which ye cannot but yield to be granted by doctor Raynolds, and master Beza, doctor Fulke, Pareus [b], and others, that the *angel* is here taken individually; but still, if you be wise, hold your own, that our cause is no whit advanced, nor yours impaired, by this yieldance. Let him have been an *angel*, yet what makes this for a "diocesan bishop?" Much every way: for, if the church of Ephesus, for example, had many ministers or presbyters in it, to instruct the people in their several charges, as it is manifest they had, and yet but one prime overseer, which is singled out by the Spirit of God, and styled by a title of eminence *the angel* of that church; it must needs follow that, in St. John's time, there was an acknowledged superiority in the government of the church: if there were many angels in each, and yet but one that was *the angel*, who can make doubt of an inequality?

It is but a pitiful shift that you make, in pleading that these angels, if bishops, yet were not "diocesan bishops," for "that parishes were not divided into dioceses" (I had thought dioceses should have been divided into parishes rather,) "in St. John's days:" for, by the same reason I may as well argue, that they were not parochial bishops neither, since that then no parishes were as yet distinguished.

As if you had resolved to speak nothing but bulls and solecisms, you tell me that "the seven stars are said to be fixed in their seven candlesticks;" whereas those stars are said to be in the right hand of the Son of God.

But, say you still, "not one star was over divers candlesticks." Truly no: who ever said that one angel was over all the seven

[b] [David Pareus, a voluminous theological writer of the univ. of Heidelberg, in the end of the sixteenth cent. and beginning of the seventeenth.]

churches? but that each of these famous churches were under their own star or angel.

But those churches, you say, were not "diocesan." How doth that appear?

Because, first, "Tindall and the old translation calls them *seven congregations.*" For answer, who knows not that Tindall and the old translation are still wont to translate the word *church*, wheresoever they find it, by *congregation?* which some papists have laid in our dish. Learned doctor Fulke hath well cleared our intentions herein from their censure. Tindall himself professes to do it out of this reason, because the popish clergy had appropriated to themselves the name of the church; but however they rather made use of the word; yet not so as that hereby they intend only to signify parishional meetings. So Eph. iii. 10: *To the intent that now, to the rulers and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the congregation the manifold wisdom of God:* do we think this blessed revelation confined to a parish, or common to the whole church of God? So 1 Cor. xv. 9, they turn, *I am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the congregation of God:* do we think his cruelty was confined to a parish? So Matt. xvi. 18, *Upon this rock will I build my congregation:* was this a parish only? So Acts xii. 1. *Herod the king stretched out his hands to vex certain of the congregation:* was his malice only parochial? But, secondly, ye tell us that in "Ephesus, which was one of those candlesticks, there was but one flock:" Acts xx. 28. Yea, but can you tell us what kind of flock it was; whether national, or provincial, or diocesan? Parochial I am sure it could not be. You have heard before that those elders or bishops were sent for from Ephesus; but that they were all of Ephesus it cannot be proved. When all of them then are bidden to *take heed to the flock* of Christ, *whereof* they are *made overseers*, each is herein charged to look to his own; and all are, in the next words, required to *feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*

So as your second argument is fully answered in the solution of the first, and in the former passages of this section. The advantage that you take from Epiphanius, affirming that divers cities of that time might have two bishops, whereas Alexandria held close to one, can avail you little when it shall be well weighed:—first, that your tenet supposeth and requireth that every presbyter should be a bishop; and therefore, if your cause

speed, there should be no fewer bishops than parishes:—secondly, that the practice of the whole church, both before and after Epiphanius, is by such clear testimonies convinced to be contrary. Famous and irrefragable is that canon[b] of the Nicene council, ἵνα μὴ, &c, that "in one city there might not be two bishops." So before this, Cornelius, writing to the bishop of Antioch, objects it scornfully to Novatian, that he did not know ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι, &c, that "in a catholic church there ought to be but one bishop." And it is a known word of the confessors of old in Cyprian's time, "One God, one Lord, one bishop." Make much if you please of this conceit of yours, that Epiphanius's neighbourhood might acquaint him well "with the condition of the Asian churches:" but let me add, that you shall approve yourselves mere strangers to all the rules and practices of antiquity, if you shall stand upon the general plurality of bishops in the same city or diocese. And last of all remember, that Epiphanius reckons up Aërius[c] as an heretic, for holding presbyters equal with bishops.

Your third argument, that "there is nothing said in these seven epistles that implies a superiority," is answered by the very superscription of each letter, which is, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, *to the angel:* and much more by the matter of the several epistles. For what reason were it for an ordinary presbyter to be taxed for that which he hath no power to redress? that the angel of Pergamos should be blamed for the having of *those which hold the doctrine of Balaam*, or *the Nicolaitans*, when he had no power to proceed against them? or the angel of the church of Thyatira, for suffering *the woman Jezebel*, if it must be so read, *to teach and seduce*, when he had no power of public censure to restrain her?

But what need we stand upon conjectural answers to convince you in this plea; as likewise in the supposed decision of the kind of superiority which you urge in the next paragraph; when we are able to show, both who the parties were to whom some of these epistles were directed, and to evince the high degree of their superiority? Ignatius the martyr, besides Tertullian, is witness for both; who tells us[d] that Onesimus was now the angel or bishop of Ephesus, Polycarpus[e] of Smyrna: and, as commenting upon this very subject, oft ingeminates the duty of subjection

[b] Conc. Nic. Can. 8. [Bin. t. i. p. 307.]

[c] [Adv. Hær. l. iii. t. i. § 4.]

[d] Ignat. ad Ephes. Ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγήτῳ; ὑμῶν δὲ [ἐν σαρκὶ] ἐπισκόπῳ, &c.—[Patres Apostol. Jacobson. t. ii. p. 270.]

[e] [Ibid. Epist. ad Polycarpum.]

owing to the bishop, and the divers degrees of those three several stations in the church, as we already instanced.

Away then with those your unproving illustrations and unregardable testimonies, which you, as destitute of all antiquity, shut up the scene withal: and let the wise reader judge whether the "Remonstrant" hath not, from the "evidence" of "Timothy and Titus, and the angels of the Asian churches," made good that just claim of this sacred hierarchy, against all your weak and frivolous pretensions.

From the Remonstrant, lest your discourse should not be tedious enough, you fly upon some other defenders of the hierarchy; and fall upon the two postscripts of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, wherein Timothy and Titus are styled the first bishops of Ephesus and Crete; which I am no way engaged to defend. You say they are not of canonical authority; so say I too. But I say they are of great antiquity; and so you must confess also.

Fain would I see, but any pretence of so much age against the matter of those subscriptions, the averred episcopacy of Timothy and Titus, cited by these confident antiquaries. Surely he were senseless that would imagine the postscripts as old as the text, or as authentic; but we may boldly say they are older than any records of the gainsayers.

Where these subscriptions are not seconded by authority of the ancient church, there I leave them: but where they are so well backed, there is no reason to forsake them.

The exception therefore which you take at the postscript of the Epistle to Titus, is not more stale than unjust. You say peremptorily, it was not written from Nicopolis; neither was Paul then there. How appears it? Because he says, in the body of the Epistle, "*Come to me to Nicopolis, for I am determined there to winter*. He saith not, '*here* to winter,' but '*there*;' as speaking of a third place." But how slight this ground is will be easily apparent to any man that shall consider, that St. Paul was in perpetual journeying from place to place; and therefore, though now, at that instant, at Nicopolis; yet how soon occasions might call him away, and how long, he knew not: therefore it was most fit that he should pitch upon a certain place whither Titus should direct his way toward him. Notwithstanding your guess, therefore, since holy Athanasius plainly tells us that St. Paul wrote this Epistle from Nicopolis, and is therein followed by Oecumenius and Theophylact; and in that famous ancient manuscript sent by

the late patriarch of Constantinople, I find it plainly dated ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως, it must needs follow that either this subscription was before Athanasius's and Tecla's time, or else that they went upon some other good ground of their assertion.

Lastly, it may well go for a reason of your own making, that the postscript styles Titus "bishop of the church of the Cretians; whereas it would be said, of the churches of the Cretians; for the Christian churches of any nation are called, by Luke and Paul, churches, and not church." Who would not yield you this truth, that the Christian churches are called churches? what can they be called else, when they are mentioned in their several diversities? but when they are, upon some entire relation, conjoined and united, as these of Crete, under one government, they may well be called, not the churches, but the church.

That flash of wit might well have been forborne, wherein you make an envious comparison betwixt the authority of these subscriptions and episcopal authority, of urging subscription "to their ceremonies." And why theirs, I beseech you? Have you been urged to subscribe to any other ceremonies than have been established by the laws of this realm and church? Was it episcopal power that enacted them? Had you been but as obedient, these ceremonies had been equally yours: now, out of pure love, you impose that upon us which you repined that the laws should impose upon you. Go on thus charitably, and prosper.

Because you wanted work from the 'Remonstrance,' you will cut out some for yourselves. An "objection" of your own must be answered; "that is, from the inequality that was between the twelve apostles and the seventy disciples." And well may you shape and fashion your own "answer" unto your own objection. "It cannot be proved," you say, "that the twelve had any superiority over the seventy, either of ordination or jurisdiction." What! have you forgotten, brethren, that the apostles ordained the deacons, Acts vi. 6, by prayer and imposition of hands? that the apostle Paul laid his hands on Timothy! Have you forgotten, how, by virtue of his apostleship, he charges, commands, controls, censures? What is, if this be not, ordination and jurisdiction? "But," say you, "suppose it were so, yet a superiority and inferiority between officers of different kinds, will not prove a superiority and inferiority between officers of the same kind." Deeply argued! Surely hence you may infer, that one bishop is not superior to another, nor "one presbyter above another;" but

that a bishop should not be superior to a presbyter, were an uncouth consequence. If the twelve apostles therefore were superiors to the seventy disciples, and bishops (as your own Jerome tells you[d]) succeed those apostles, and presbyters come in the room of the seventy, where is that identity or sameness of kind which you pretend? All antiquity hath acknowledged τρεῖς βάθμους, "three several ranks," in the church hierarchy; and if you have a mind to jumble them together, take away the difference betwixt presbyters and deacons, as well as that betwixt bishops and presbyters: *Jam sumus ergo pares.*

And now we appeal to the same bar, how far you have been from disproving the divine right or apostolical institution of episcopacy; and whether your reliance upon Jerome's authority in this point hath been grounded upon any other reason but your own weak presumption.

Yet still, like as I have heard some beaten cocks, you dare crow, and tell your reader that, "though scriptures fail" us, yet we "support" ourselves by "the indulgence and munificence of religious princes." Surely if God should have withdrawn himself, in vain should we make flesh our arms. Our calling we challenge from God: some accessory titles, dignities, maintenance, we thankfully profess to have received from the bounty of royal benefactors. What of this! herein you say, "the author acknowledgeth a difference between our bishops and the bishops of old." Yes, verily, so he gladly doth with all humble thankfulness to God and good princes. Make your best of this concession.

Suddenly you fall fair, and profess your well-pleasedness with the liberal maintenance of the church; although somewhat yet sticks with you. "When the ministry came to have *agros, domos, locationes, vehicula,*" as you say from Chrysostom, then "*Religio peperit divitias*, religion brought forth riches, and the daughter devoured the mother, and a voice was heard from heaven, *Hodie venenum*;" and then you tell us of "wooden priests" and "golden chalices." But, brethren, take no care for this danger; our last age hath begun to take sufficient order for the redress of this

[d] So Cyprian.—Episcopis loquens, &c. Qui apostolis [illegible] vicaria ordinatione succedunt [successerunt]. Ep. 69. [ed. Fell. Ep. 75. p. 225.] Unitas [unitatem] per apostolos nobis successoribus tradita [traditam]. Ep. 41. [ed. Fell. Ep. 45. p. 88.] Meminisse debent diaconi quoniam apostolos, i. e. episcopos et præpositos, Dominus elegit. Ep. 65. [ed. Fell. Ep. 3. p. 6.]

evil; and if in time you shall see wooden chalices and wooden priests, thank yourselves.

However, you grant there is not an "incompossibility" betwixt "large revenues" and "an humble sociableness:" "yet," you say, "it is rare," and tell us that the rich provision of bishops hath "ushered in" both "neglect of their ministry," and "pompous attendance," and "insultation over their brethren:" and you instance "in the pride of Paulus Samosatenus," and shut up with the "grave complaint of Sulpitius Severus." It is not to be denied, brethren, that some such ill use hath been made by some, of their abundance; but surely in this ablative age, the fault is rare, and hardly instanceable. Both the wings and train of many of ours have been so clipped, that there is no great fear of flying high. But if it be so, the fault is fixed to the person, who with more grace might otherwise improve the blessing. Cast your eyes upon others, even your own great patrons, and tell me if you do not espy the same ill use of large means and flattering prosperity; yet you desire not to abridge their store, but to rectify the employment of it: learn to be so charitable to your spiritual superiors.

And now, at last, you "give a *vale* to your Remonstrant's arguments," and shut up with a bold recollection: concerning which let me say thus much; truly, brethren, had you as good a faculty in strewing, as you have in gathering, there were no dealing with you: but it is your ill hap to tell the reader, in your recapitulation, of great feats that you have done in your former discourse, whenas he must needs profess that he sees no such matter. I appeal to his judicious eyes, whether in all this tedious passage you have proved anything but your own bold ignorance and absurd inconsequences.

Sect. XIV.

My "satisfaction to objections" comes next to be scanned: objections, which would to God they were only of my own framing!

In the first, that episcopacy is no prejudice of sovereignty, I justly prove, for that there is a compatibleness in this case of God's act and the king's. 'It is God that makes the bishop, the king that gives the bishopric.' What can you say to this? You tell us you "have already proved that God never made a bishop, as he stands in superiority over presbyters." So you told us, and that

is enough: we were hardhearted if we would not believe you: whenas we have made good by undeniable proofs, that besides the grounds which our Saviour laid of this imparity, the blessed apostles, by inspiration from God, made this difference in a personal ordaining of some above the rest, and giving express charge of ordination and jurisdiction to those select persons in church government whom the bishops have ever since succeeded. Tell us not therefore, that if we "disclaim the influence of sovereignty into" our "creation, and assert that the king doth not make" us "bishops," we "must have no being at all:" for, that the reader may see you stop your own mouth, answer me, I beseech you, where or when ever did the king create a bishop? name the man, and take the cause. It pleases his majesty to give his *congé-d'élire* for a bishop's election to his see, to signify his royal assent thereunto: upon which the bishop is solemnly ordained by the imposition of the hands of the metropolitan and other his brethren; and these do, as from God, invest him in his holy calling, which he exercises in that place, which is designed and given by his majesty. What can be more plain than this truth? As for that unworthy censure which you pass upon the just comparison of "kings in order to bishops, and patrons in order to their clerks," it shall be acknowledged well deserved, if you shall be able to make good the disparity. "When he shall prove," you say, "that the patron gives ministerial power to his clerk, as the king gives episcopal power to the bishop, it may be of some conducement to his cause:" shortly, brethren, the same day that you shall show me that the king ordained a bishop, the same day will I show you that a patron ordained a presbyter. The patron gives the benefice to the one, the king gives the bishopric to the other; neither of them do give the office or calling to either. Go you therefore with your "friar Simon" to your cell, and consult with your convent for more reason and wit than you show in this and the next scornful paragraph; wherein, while you flout at my modest concession with an unbeseeming frump, you are content silently to balk that my second answer, which you know was too hot or too heavy for your satisfaction.

In the second, the imputation pretended to be cast by this tenet upon all the reformed churches which want this government, I endeavoured so to satisfy, that I might justly decline the envy which is intended to be thereby raised against us: for which cause I professed that we do 'love and honour those our sister churches

as the dear spouse of Christ,' and give zealous testimonies of my well-wishing to them. Your uncharitableness offers to choke me with those scandalous censures and disgraceful terms, which some of ours have let fall upon those churches and their eminent professors; which I confess it is more easy to be sorry for than on some hands to excuse. The error of a few may not be imputed to all.

My just defence is, that no such consequent can be drawn from our opinion: forasmuch as the divine or apostolical right, which we hold goes not so high as if there were an express command, that upon an absolute necessity there must be either episcopacy or no church; but so far only, that it both may and ought to be. How fain would you here find me in a contradiction! while I one where reckon episcopacy amongst matters essential to the church; another where deny it to be of the essence thereof! Wherein you willingly hide your eyes, that you may not see the distinction that I make expressly betwixt the being and well-being of a church: affirming that 'those churches to whom this power and faculty is denied, lose nothing of the true essence of a church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection.' No, brethren; it is enough for some of your friends to hold their discipline altogether essential to the very being of a church; we dare not be so zealous.

The question which you ask concerning the reason of the different entertainment given in our church to priests converted to us from Rome, and to ministers who in queen Mary's days had received imposition of hands in reformed churches abroad, is merely personal, neither can challenge my decision. Only I give you these two answers. That what fault soever may be in the easy admittance of those who have received Romish orders, the sticking at the admission of our brethren returning from reformed churches, was not in case of ordination, but of institution: they had been acknowledged ministers of Christ, without any other hands, laid upon them; but, according to the laws of our land, they were not perhaps capable of institution to a benefice, unless they were so qualified as the statutes of this realm do require. And, secondly, I know those, more than one, that by virtue only of that ordination which they have brought with them from other reformed churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings, without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling.

The "confident affirmation" which you allege of the learned

bishop of Norwich[c] is no rule to us. I leave him to his own defence.

You think I have too much work on my hand to give satisfaction for myself in these two main questions, which arise from my book.

What high points shall we now expect, trow we?

"First, whether that office, which by divine right hath sole power of ordination and ruling all other officers of the church, which he saith episcopacy hath, belong not to the being, but only to the glory and perfection of a church."—Can we tell what these men would have? Have they a mind to go beyond us, in asserting that necessity and essential use of episcopacy which we dare not avow? Do they not care to lose their cause, so they may cross an adversary? For your question, you still talk of sole ordination, and sole jurisdiction: you may, if you please, keep that pair of soles for your next shoes: we contend not for such an height of propriety [proprietorship], neither do we practise it: they are so ours that they should not be without us, as we have formerly showed. That therefore there should be a power of lawful ordination and government in every settled church, it is no less than necessary; but that, in what case soever of extremity and irresistible necessity, this should be only done by episcopal hands, we never meant to affirm: it is enough that regularly it should be their act.

Your second question is: "There being in this man's thoughts the same *jus divinum* for bishops that there is for pastors and elders, whether, if those reformed churches wanted pastors and elders too, they should want nothing of the essence of a church, but of the perfection and glory of it:"—The answer is ready. If those reformed churches, wanting those whom you call pastors and elders, did yet enjoy the government by bishops, priests, and deacons, they should be so far from wanting aught of the essence of a church, that they should herein attain to much glory and perfection.

And so much for your deep questions.

The presumptuous "Remonstrant would seem to know so much of the mind of those churches," that he saith, "if they might have their option," he doubts not but "they would gladly embrace episcopal government." A foul imputation, which your zeal must

[c] B. Montague.

needs wipe off! For which purpose you bring the confessions of the French and Dutch churches, averring the truth and justifiableness of their own government. For which they have good reason: neither shall you herein expect my contradiction, nor yet my present labour of reconciling their government and ours, in the main and material points of both. This condition they are in, and they do well to defend it; but they did not tell you they would not, if opportunity were offered, be content with a better. I am deceived if their own public constitutions be not still concluded with the power of a change: and I have elsewhere showed, out of Fregevillæus, that this order of government was in their churches at first only provisional; and instanced in those testimonies of approbation which their learned divines have freely given to our form of administration[f], which I shall not now stand either to repeat or multiply. Let it be enough for the present, to say that, upon my certain knowledge, many eminent divines of the churches abroad have earnestly wished themselves in our condition, and have applauded and magnified our church as the most famous, exemplary, and glorious church in the whole Christian world. So as I wanted not good reason for that which you are pleased to style presumptuous assertion.

But "the reason" of my assertion is yet so more offensive, that you wonder how it could fall from my pen: that there is little difference in the government of other protestant churches and our own, 'save in the perpetuity of their moderatorship, and the exclusion of lay elders.' A passage belike, as you say, of admirable absurdity. But soft, brethren; I am afraid, first, lest you speak of what you know not. I speak not only of the next churches of France and the Netherlands: I speak of them in a generality, as one that, if this place would bear it, could give a particular account of them all. Neither can your cavils work my repentance. You tell me of "the moderator in Geneva," as if all the church of God were included in those strait walls: I could tell you of the superintendents of the churches of Germany; of the præpositi in the churches of Weteraw, Hessia, Anhalt; of the seniores in Transylvania, Polonia, Bohemia. But what of the moderator in Geneva? He "is not of a superior order to his brethren." But let me tell you, when master Calvin was moderator there, as he constantly was for many years, no bishop in England

[f] See Sections IV. and V. of the Introduction to Episcopacy by Divine Right. —PRATT.

swayed more than he did in that church: and even in the Low Countries, how much the *deputati synodi,* after they had been frequently employed in those services (as, for instance, my ancient and truly reverend friend, Mr. Bogermannus), prevailed, and with what authority they carry the affairs of the church, it is not hard to understand. For those other circumstances which you are pleased to mention, were the moderatorship perpetual, they would soon accordingly vary; and if not so, yet you may remember that I said not, no difference at all, but 'little;' whereof your well-affectedness to our government can make this use, that "then the abrogation of episcopacy will be wrought with the less difficulty, and occasion the less disturbance." The old word is, "Well fare a friend in a corner." Still you are for the destructive: none but the Babylonian note sounds well in your ear; *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.* But the God of heaven, whose cause it is, will we hope vindicate his own ordinance, so long perpetuated to his church, from all your violent and subtle machinations, and prevent the utmost danger of your already sufficiently raised disturbance.

SECT. XV.

Concerning the lay presbytery I said, and say still, most justly, that it 'never had footing' in the church of God till this present age. These wits cry out in great sport, See how like the man looks to doctor Hall in his "Irrefragable Propositions." Truly, brethren, as like him as ye are like yourselves, who are still scornful and insolent. But though ye be commonly spiteful, yet you are so seldom witty, that we may well bear with you for once. Be he like whom he will, Dr. Hall will sufficiently defend both those "Propositions" and this "Remonstrance," against all your impotent cavils.

For this, concerning the questioned lay presbytery, you make a fair flourish to little purpose.

You do wisely to omit those three known texts[g], which the world knows have been so thoroughly canvassed and eluded; and that famous text of an acknowledged counterfeit, Ambrose, so often exploded. We shall have now new stuff from you, but of as little worth. Surely, had the foregoing patrons of your lay eldership found that they could have received any colour of protection from these places of antiquity alleged by you, they

[g] Viz. 1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 28; and Rom. xii. 8.—PRATT.

had not, after the raking of all the channels of time, forborne the utmost urging of these your testimonies in their favour and defence; but they well saw how little reason there was to press those unproving evidences which you will needs urge as convictive.

Your testimony from Origen[h] cannot but shame you, if yet you can blush. You feared to cite the chapter, that in so long a book you might not be discovered.

But the scope of the place is clearly thus: Origen is upon comparison of the philosophers and Christians in their care of teaching. *Nam illi* (scil. *philosophi*) *propalam apud vulgus disserentes, non sunt curiosi in discernendis auditoribus, &c:* "For the philosophers," saith he, "in their public discourses to the people, are not curious in the differences of their auditors; but every one that lists comes and hears them at pleasure. But the Christians do, what they may, carefully pre-examine the minds of those that desire to hear them. And, first, they do privately so to those that are bewitched (with paganism), before they be received into the congregation: and when they seem to have come on so far as to be desirous to live honestly, then do they bring them in, but in distinct degrees; the one, of those which are newly admitted, but have not yet attained (the cognizance of their purification) baptism; the other, of those which are now come on so far as to profess the Christian religion. In this latter rank are appointed some which do inquire into the lives and manners of those that come, that they may be a means to keep off such candidates of religion as do carry themselves amiss from their assemblies, and the rest that are like themselves they may gladly receive."

In which passage it is most evident that Origen speaks of those which are newly admitted into the church; who, by reason of their late knowledge and acquaintance with those which they left behind them in pagan superstition, might be fit monitors to know and notify the condition of such candidates as did offer to come into the church.

Now these trusty answerers would make the world believe that this is spoken of some sage elders that were to govern the church; and, to deceive the reader, unfaithfully turn the words, *nonnulli præpositi*[i] *sunt;* as if they were some ruling elders indeed; whereas the word signifies and intends only a designation of such

[h] Orig. contra Celsum. c. 14. [ed. Ben. l. iii. c. 51. t. i. p. 481.]
[i] Τεταγμένοι.

novices as were well approved, to an office of monitorship concerning those which would profess to be converts.

And now to return your own words, "we would gladly know whether these were not as it were lay elders."

As for those other testimonies which you have drawn hither out of Augustin, Optatus, and the letters of Fortis and Purpurius, out of Baronius, I could, if need were, double your files in this kind. Might that do you any service, I could tell you, out of the acts of the purgation of Felix and Cæcilianus[k], of *episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, seniores;* out of the synodal epistle of the Cabarsussitan council, as mentioned by St. Augustin in his enarration upon the Psalms, *Necesse nos fuerat Primiani causam, seniorum literis ejusdem ecclesiæ postulantibus, audire atque discutere,* which is a more pregnant place than any you have brought; and could reckon you up yet more out of the code of the African canons, can. 91; out of Gregory, subscribed, as they say, Turonensis, who, speaking of the bishop of Marseilles, brings him in to say, *Nihil per me feci, &c;* "I did nothing of myself, but that which was commanded me *a dominis nostris et senioribus;* out of Gregory the Great, in his epistles, more than once." I could weary you with supply of such authorities.

But, brethren, I shall sadly tell you, that you do herein nothing but abuse your reader with a colourable pretence. For all those places you allege are nothing at all to the purpose in hand. Who can make question, but that Carthage, and Hippo, and other African cities, had old and grave men in them? Who can doubt that they had magistrates and men in authority? such as we still are wont, out of the ancient appellation, to style Aldermen! Who can doubt that they did, in all great occasions of the church, take the advice and assistance of these prime men? But will it hence follow, that in the sense you contend for they had a settled lay presbytery? Was their church ever the more, according to your construction, governed by pastors, elders, deacons?

That these forecited were such as we have intimated is most evident. In the African canons, can. 100[l], they are called *οἱ γέροντες,* "the old men." And in the 91st canon we find, as a commentary upon this point, *Debere unumquemque nostrum, in civitate sua, convenire Donatistarum præpositos, aut adjungere*

[k] Vide Justellum, in Notis ad Canon. African. [see Gesta purgationis Cæciliani et Felicis—appended to the works of Optatus Milev. ed. Paris. 1631. p. 268.]

[l] [S. S. Conc. Labbe. Paris. 1671. p. 1115.]

sibi vicinum collegam, ut pariter eos in singulis quibusque civitatibus per magistratus vel seniores locorum conveniant[m]; that is, "That every one of us should, in our own cities, meet with the chief governors of the Donatists, and take with him some neighbour as his colleague or assistant, that they together may give them a meeting by the magistrates or elders of the places."

But you will say, there were those which were called *seniores ecclesiastici*, "ecclesiastical elders," also. True, there were such. Justellus confesses so much: and learned Isaacus Casaubonus (whose manuscript notes I have seen) and his worthy son Mericus Casaubonus, in his notes upon Optatus, yield no less: but these, they do truly say, were but as our churchwardens; men that were trusted with the utensils, stock, and outward affairs, of the church: or, as I may more fully compare them, our vestrymen, who are commonly and of old designed under the name of the eight men, or twelve men, in every great parish (as I am sure it is in the western parts), to order the business of seats, and rates, and such like external occasions.

Now that those places which you have cited intend no other elders than these, you shall be convinced out of your own testimonies.

The place which you bring out of St. Austin, *contra Cresconium grammaticum*, runs thus[n]: *Omnes vos, &c;* "All you bishops, presbyters, deacons, and elders, do know, &c." Where you see plainly, that the elders which he means are below deacons; and so you shall find them wheresoever they are mentioned. Now those that you contend for are, by your own claim, in a key above them.

Optatus, whom you cite, is clear against your sense, while he makes only *quatuor genera capitum*[o]; "only four sorts of men in the church, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the faithful" (laity). And in his first book against Parmenian, *Quid commemorem laicos, &c,* he reckons up mere "laics, ministers, deacons:" *Presbyteros secundo sacerdotio constitutos;* "presbyters in the second degree of priesthood:" *et, principes omnium, episcopos*[p] [*episcopi*]; "and[p] the chief of all, bishops."

[m] Διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν πρῶτα φερόντων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις συνέλθωσι. Can. Afric. 91. [S. S. Conc. Labbe. Paris. 1671. p. 1106.]

[n] Aug. contra Crescon. l. iii.—Omnes vos episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, et seniores scitis, &c. Where, against your own knowledge, you translate *presbyteri* "elders," to blear the reader's eyes with a show of a double sort of elders; whereas *presbyteri* are there manifestly distinguished from *seniores*.

[o] [Lib. ii. ed. Paris. 1631. p. 59.]

[p] [Lib. i. ed. Paris. 1631. p. 39.]

Shortly, brethren, that there were in the church of old ruling elders, which were in a rank above deacons, and had, together with the pastors, a settled power of government in the church, it is an opinion no less new than unjustifiable; and I do here solemnly profess, that if any one such instance can be brought, I will renounce episcopacy for ever.

Do not then, against the light of your own knowledge, set a face on proofs of those things which never were; but give glory to God in yielding to so undoubted and clear a truth.

SECT. XVI. XVII. XVIII.

The rest that remains is but mere declamation; not worthy of any answer but contempt and silence.

It is most true, 'that the religious bishops of all times have strongly upheld the truth of God against Satan and his antichrist.'

What can you say to this? You tell me of "some irreligious ones that have as strongly upheld Satan and his antichrist against the truth of God." What is this to the calling? Cannot I tell you of some wicked and irreligious presbyters? shall the function itself therefore suffer? You tell us what an "unpreaching bishop" once said of a preacher: I challenge you to show any unpreaching bishop in the church of England this day. It is your slander, this; not their just epithet.

The "scandals of our inferior ministers" I profess I could not but bleed to see; but withal desired to have had them less public. Your charity accuseth me of excusing them; and, blaming my humble motion of Constantine's example, profess to desire the blazoning of them to the world. Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeal to that great tribunal.

In your next section, like ill-bred sons, you spit in the face of your mother: a mother too good for such sons, the church of England: and tell us of "papists that dazzle the eyes of poor people with the glorious name of the holy mother, the church." If they be too fond of their mother, I am sure your mother hath little cause to be fond of you, who can and dare compare her to those Ethiopian strumpets which were common to all comers. For your whole undutiful carriage towards her, take heed of the ravens of the valley. As if we were no less strangers than you enemies to the church of England, you tell the world that we know not who she is, and that we wonder when we are asked the

question, and run descant upon the two archbishops, bishops, convocation; even what your luxuriant wit shall please; and at last you make up your mouth with a merry jest, telling your reader that the Remonstrant, out of his 'simplicity, never heard nor thought of any more churches of England than one.' *Ridiculum caput!* Sit you merry, brethren; but truly, after all your sport, still my 'simplicity' tells me there is but one church of England. There are many churches in England; but many churches of England were never till now heard of. You had need fetch it as far as the "heptarchy." And to show how far you are from the objected simplicity, ye tell us in the shutting up, that England, Scotland, and Ireland, are all one church. *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ.*

But now take heed of "obelisks." You profess, you for your parts do "acknowledge no antiprelatical church." I am glad to hear it; nor I neither: but I beseech you, if you make and condemn a prelatical church of England, what shall be the other part of the contradistinction?

The Remonstrant tells you of further divisions and subdivisions, which upon this ground you must necessarily make of the church. Your deep wisdoms take this, as of his upbraiding of the divisions in the church, in mere matter of opinion; and fly out into the censures of the prelatical party as the cause thereof, and would have them say, *Mitte nos in mare, et non erit tempestas.* The truth is, the severalties of sects, and their separate congregations about this city, are many and lamentable. I do not upbraid, but bewail them. The God of heaven be judge where the fault rests; and, if it be his holy will, find some speedy redress! but in the meantime one casts it upon faction, another upon ungrounded rigour: wheresoever it be, *woe be to* those *by whom the offence cometh.* Lay you your hands on your hearts onwards, and consider well whether your fomenting of so unjust and deep dislikes of lawful government have not been too much guilty of these woful breaches.

As one that loves that peace of the church which you are willing to trouble, I, persuading an unity, ask, 'what bounders' you set; 'what distinction of professors' you make; 'what grounds of faith; what new creed;' what different 'scriptures, baptism, means of salvation,' are held by that part which you miscall the 'prelatical church?' you answer according to your wonted charity and truth.

What 'bounds?' Those, you say, of "the sixth canon; from the high and lofty promontory of archbishops to the *terra incognita* of an &c." Witty again! Alas, brethren, if this be all, the lists are too narrow. Here are but four ranks of dignities, and few in each: but if that inclusive "&c." reach far, yet what will you make of all this? Do you exclude bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c, from being members of the church of England? Sure you dare not be so shamefully unjust. If therefore, that they have an interest in the prelacy cannot exclude them from their interest in the church, what becomes of your bounders? This is fit work for your "obelisk!"

What 'distinction?' You say, "Worshipping to the east, bowing to the altar, prostituting," perhaps you mean prostrating [q], "themselves in their approaches into churches." And are these fit distinctions, brethren, whereupon to ground different churches? If they difference men, do they difference Christians?

What 'new creed?' You say, "Episcopacy by divine right is the first article of their creed."—For shame, brethren! did ever man make this an article of faith? Who will think you worthy to have any faith given you in the rest of your assertions? You add, "Absolute and blind obedience to all the commandments of bishops."—Blush yet again, brethren! blush to affirm this; when you well know that the words of the oath of canonical obedience run only, *in omnibus licitis et honestis mandatis*, "in all lawful and honest commands." You add, "Election upon faith foreseen."—What? nothing but gross untruths? Is this the doctrine of the bishops of England? Have they not strongly confuted it in papists, in Arminians? Have they not cried it down to the pit of hell? What means this wickedly false suggestion? Judge, reader, if here be not work for "obelisks!"

What 'scripture?' You say, "apocrypha and traditions unwritten." Mark, I beseech you, unwritten traditions are scriptures first, then apocrypha! And why, I pray you, is it more our apocrypha than yours? Are all our bibles "prelatical" too? Shortly, all those churches and houses and persons that have the Apocrypha in their bibles belong to the "church prelatical." What have we lost by the match?

What 'baptism?' What 'eucharist?' You tell us of the "absolute necessity" which some popish fools have ascribed to the

[q] The word is "prostrating" in Smectymnuus's Answer, Lond. 1641, which appears to have been the first edition.—PRATT.

one, and of "an altar and table set altarwise" in the other. What are these to the church of England? Doth the error of every addle-head, or the site or posture of a board, make a different church?

What 'Christ?' You answer (near to a blasphemy), "A Christ who hath given the same power of absolution to a priest that himself hath." This can be nothing but a slanderous fiction. No Christian divine ever held that a priest's power of absolution was any other than ministerial; Christ's sovereign and absolute. If you know the man, bring him forth, that he may be stoned.

What 'heaven?' You say, Such as "is receptive of drunkards, swearers, adulterers." Brethren, take heed of an hell while you feign such an heaven; and fear lest your uncharitableness will no less bar you out of the true heaven above, than you bar prelatical sinners from their access thereinto. But, if you had rather, go on still in your own way: separate yourselves from us that profess we are one with you: charge upon us those doctrines and opinions which we hate no whit less than yourselves: fasten upon the church of England those exotical positions of unsound teachers which itself hath *in terminis* condemned; and say, as you are not ashamed to do, "We thank God we are none of you." We forgive you, and pray for your repentance.

Your "Queries," wherein I see you trust much, are made up of nothing but spite and slander. If I answer you with questions shorter than your own, and more charitable, you will excuse me. In answer then to your first, I ask,

1. Who ever held the lordships of bishops to stand by divine right? If nobody, whether he that intimates it doth not falsify and slander? Why is it a greater fault in one of our doctors to hold the Lord's day to stand *jure humano* than it was in master Calvin?

2. I ask whether it were any other than king James himself, of blessed memory, that said, "No bishop, no king;" and, if it were he, whether that wise king did not mean to prejudice his own authority?

3. Whether, since it hath been proved that bishops are of more than merely human ordinance, and have so long continued in the Christian church, to the great good of church and state, it be not most fit to establish them for ever, and to avoid all dangerous motions of innovation?

4. Whether these answerers have the wit or grace to under-

stand the true meaning of the *jus divinum* of episcopacy; or, if they did, whether they could possibly be so absurd as to raise so senseless and inconsequent inferences upon it?

5. Whether there be any question at all in the fifth question; since the Remonstrant himself hath so fully cleared this point, professing to hold episcopacy to be of apostolical, and in that right, divine institution?

6. Whether master Beza have not heard soundly of his distinction of the three kinds of episcopacy, in the full and learned answer of Saravia; and whether he might not have been better advised than in that conceit of his to cross all reverend antiquity; and whether the painter that dressed up his picture after the fancy of every passenger do not more fully resemble those that frame their discipline according to the humour of their people, varying their projects every day, than those which hold them constantly to the only ancient and apostolical form?

7. Whether it were not fit that we also should speak as the ancient fathers did, according to the language of their times; and whether those fathers could not better understand and interpret their own meaning in the title of episcopacy than these partial and not over-judicious answerers; and whether they have not clearly explicated themselves in their writings to have spoken properly and plainly to the sense now enforced?

8. Whether presbyters can without sin arrogate unto themselves the exercise of the power of public church government, where bishops are set over them to rule and order the affairs both of them and the church; and whether our Saviour, when he gave to Peter the promise of the keys, did therein intend to give it in respect of the power of public jurisdiction to any other save the apostles, and their successors the bishops; and whether ever any father or doctor of the church, till this present age, held that presbyters were the successors to the apostles, and not to the seventy disciples rather?

9. Whether ever any bishops assumed to themselves power temporal to be barons, and to sit in parliament as judges, and in court of star-chamber, &c, or whether they be not called by his majesty's writ and royal authority to these services; and whether the spiritual power which they exercise in ordaining, silencing, &c, be any other than was by the apostles delegated to the first bishops of the church, and constantly exercised by their holy successors in all ages, especially by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustin,

and the rest of that sacred order; men which had as little to do with antichrist as our answerers have with charity?

10. Whether the answerers have not just cause to be ashamed of patronizing a noted heretic, Aërius, in that for which he was censured of the ancient saints and fathers of the church; and whether the whole church of Christ, ever since his time till this age, have not abandoned those very errors concerning the equality of bishops and presbyters which they now presume to maintain?

11. Whether the great apostasy of the church of Rome do or did consist in maintaining the order of government set by the apostles themselves; and whether all the churches in the whole Christian world, even those that are professedly opposite to the church of Rome, do let in antichrist by the door of their discipline, since they all maintain episcopacy no less constantly than Rome itself?

12. Whether, if episcopacy be, through the munificence of good princes, honoured with a title of dignity and largeness of revenues, it ought to be ever the more declined; and whether themselves, if they did not hope to carry some sway in the presbytery, would be so eager in crying up that government; and whether, if there were not a maintenance annexed, they would not hide themselves, and jeopard their ears rather than mancipate themselves to the charge of souls?

13. Whether there be no other apparent causes to be given for the increase of popery and superstition in the kingdom besides episcopacy, which hath laboured strongly to oppose it; and whether the multitude of sects and professed slovenliness in God's service in too many have not been guilty of the increase of profaneness amongst us?

14. Why should England, one of the most famous churches of Christendom, separate itself from that form of government which all churches through the whole Christian world have ever observed, and do constantly and uniformly observe and maintain? and why should not rather other less noble churches conform to that universal government which all other Christians besides do gladly submit unto?

15. Why should the name of bishops, which hath been for this 1600 years appropriated, in a plain contradistinction, to the governors of the church, come now to be communicated to presbyters, which never did all this while so much as pretend to it; and if in ancient times they should have done it, could not have escaped

a most severe censure? And, shortly, whether, if we will allow you to be bishops, all will not be well?

16. Whether, since both God hath set such a government in his church as episcopacy, and the laws of this land have firmly established it, it can be lawful for you to deny your subjection unto it; and whether it were not most lawful and just to punish your presumption and disobedience in framing so factious a question?

And thus I hope you have a sufficient answer to your bold and unjust demands, and to those vain cavils which you have raised against the 'Humble Remonstrance.'

God give you wisdom to see the truth, and grace to follow it! Amen.

TO THE POSTSCRIPT.

THE best "beauty" that you could "have added to your discourse," brethren, had been honesty and truth, both in your allegations of testimonies and inferences of argumentation. In both which, I must needs say, and I speak it in the presence of God, to whom I must shortly give an account, that I never saw any writer that would dare to profess Christian sincerity, so foully to overlash; as if ye made no conscience by what means you uphold a side or win a proselyte. God touch your hearts with a true sense of that whereof you cannot be but in this discourse convinced!

Now you think to garnish your work with a goodly pasquin, borrowed, for a great part, out of "Sion's Plea," and the "Breviate;" consisting of a rhapsody of histories "concerning the pride, insolence, treachery, cruelty, and all other the deadly sins of popish prelates, but especially of those who swayed the see of Canterbury in those days of darkness and Romish tyranny." Whereto, I suppose, you expect no answer, as being a thing utterly unconcerning us; and that whereof I might say, setting aside the ill intention of an application, as Huntingdoniensis said of the cardinal's adultery, *Celari non potuit, negari non debuit.*

But tell me, brethren, what can be your drift in this your tedious relation? Is there any man that offers to undertake their

patrocination? or is it any advantage to you to make their memory yet more odious? Let them have been as foul as ill-will can make them; let them have been, in their times, devils incarnate; what is that to us?

"They were bishops," you say. True; but they were popish bishops; limbs of that body whose head we abjure. The fault of their wickedness was in the popery, not in the episcopacy; in the men, not the calling. Why should you think to choke us with these hateful instances? If I should go about to rake together all the insolencies, murders, incests, treasons, and villainies, that have been done by popish presbyters in the time of that lawless ignorance and superstition, would you think these could be any blemish to you? Why will you then be so miserably uncharitable as to cast upon us the crimes of those whom we equally condemn, and to feoff their faults upon their chairs? What one profession is there in all mankind which, if we should go about to ransack, would not yield some persons extremely vicious? Shall the vocation be condemned for the crimes of the men?

At last, to make up the mouth of your admirable charity, you tell us of the gracious "practices of the prelates, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign to this present day;" whose "great design," you say, still hath been "to hinder reformation, to further popery and Arminianism, to beat down preaching, to persecute zealous professors," and some such other noble projects of episcopal piety.

Tell me, brethren, as you will answer it before the just Judge of all the world, have these been the main designs of bishops? Are they all guilty of these woful enormities, or are they not? If ye say they are, the world will cry shame on your falsehood: if they are not, the world will cry no less shame on your injustice in taxing all for the fault of some.

What! are these the only remarkable works that your eyes could discover to fall from the hands of bishops? Could you see no colleges, no hospitals built? no churches re-edified? no learned volumes written? no heresies confuted? no seduced persons reclaimed? no hospitality kept? no great offenders punished? no disorders corrected? no good offices done for the public? no care of the peace of the church? no diligence in preaching? no holiness in living? Truly, brethren, I can say no more, but that the fault is in your eyes, and not in your object; wipe them, and look

better: yea, I beseech God to open them rather, that they may see good as well as evil.

As for that base and scurrilous proverb, to which you say it is now come (whereas the world knows it is elder than your grandsires, and was taken up in the popish times), it were more fit for a *scurra in trivio*, or some ribald upon an ale-bench, than for grave divines.

How easy were it for me to reckon up an hundred of such spiteful adages, which vulgar envy hath been wont to cast upon the rest of the clergy, worthy of nothing but scorn! and so had this been, if your wit and charity had not been alike. But surely, brethren, if "whatsoever is spoiled, they say, 'The bishop's foot hath been in it;'" I doubt not but they will say, The bishop's foot hath been in your book; for I am sure it is quite spoiled by this just confutation. After your own pottage (for your proverb *sapit ollam*), you tell us of Bonner's "broth;" I should have too much wondered at this conclusion, but that I hear it is the fashion in some countries to send in their kail in the last service; and this, it seems, is the manner amongst our *Smectymnuans*.

Well, to shut up all, let them of their Bonner's "beef" and "broth" make what brewis they please for their credulous guests. Learned and worthy doctor Moulin shall tell them[a], that the restoration of the English church and eversion of popery, next under God and our kings, is chiefly to be ascribed and owed to the learning and industry of our bishops; some whereof, being crowned with martyrdom, subscribed the gospel with their blood. Thus he. Neither doubt I, but that many of them, if occasion were offered, would be ready to imitate them in those red characters.

In the meantime I beseech the God of heaven to humble you in the sight and sense of your own grievous uncharitableness; and to put at last into your hearts and tongues the counsels of peace. AMEN.

[a] P. Moulin. Epist. iii. ad episcop. Winton., &c. ["Instaurationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et eversionem papismi post Deum et reges debere præcipue episcoporum doctrinæ et industriæ." —See Opusc. quædam posthuma Lancelotti episc. Wint. Lond. 1629. p. 179.]

THE DETERMINATION OF THE QUESTION,

CONCERNING THE

DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY.

BY THE FAMOUS AND LEARNED DIVINE,

DR. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

KNOW reader, that whereas, in one of those many angry pamphlets which have been lately published, there is an intimation given of some disgraceful language that fell from Dr. Voetius, the learned professor of Utrecht, concerning the person of Dr. Hall, B. of Exeter, there hath been serious inquisition made into the truth of that report; and that the said Dr. Voetius disavows, to the party that inquired of it, any such words of under-valuation by him spoken, as is testified under the hand of sir William Boswell, knight, his majesty's lieger with the states.

And if upon the sight of a displeasing title of a book, contrary to his own judgment, any learned divine should have passed a censure upon the work, there was small reason for the reporters to reflect upon the person of the author.

Yea, I am confident that many of our worthy brethren at home, who are differently minded concerning this tenet of the right of episcopacy, if they would be pleased to inform themselves thoroughly of the state of the question, as it is defended by the author of that treatise, would find small cause of scruple in this opinion.

For whereas there are three degrees of truths and holy institutions, as they are commonly distinguished, human, apostolic, divine; the first, from mere men; the second, from men apostolical; the third, from God himself immediately: the author desires to go a midway in this difference; holding it too low to derive episcopacy from a merely human and ecclesiastical ordinance; holding it too high to deduce it from an immediate command from God; and therefore, pitching upon an apostolical institution, rests there. But because those apostles were divinely inspired, and had the directions of God's Spirit for those things which they did for the common administration of the church, therefore, and in that only name, is episcopacy said to lay claim to a divine right: howsoever also it cannot be gainsaid that the grounds were formerly laid by our Saviour in a known imparity of his first agents.

Now surely this truth hath so little reason to distaste them, that even learned Chamier himself can say, *Res ipsa cœpit tempore apostolorum, vel potius ab ipsis profecta est.* And why should that seem harsh in us which soundeth well in the mouths of less interested divines?

But because the very title of that book hath raised more dust than the treatise itself, be pleased, readers, to see that this very question is in the very same terms determined by that eminent light of the Palatinate, Dr. Abrah. Scultetus, whose tract to this purpose I have thought fit to annex.

Peruse it, and judge whether of those two writers have gone farther in this determination. And if you shall not meet with convincing reasons to bring you home to this opinion; yet, at leastwise, find cause enough to retain a charitable and favourable conceit of those who are (as they think, upon good grounds,) otherwise minded: and whilst it is on all parts agreed, by wise and unprejudiced Christians, that the calling is thus ancient and sacred, let it not violate the peace of the church to scan the original, whether ecclesiastical, apostolical, or divine. Shortly, let all good men humbly submit to the ordinance, and heartily wish the reformation of any abuses.

And so many as are of this mind, *Peace be upon them, and the whole Israel of God!* AMEN.

THE QUESTION,

Whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right: that is, whether the apostles ordained this government of the church, that not only one should be placed over the people, but over presbyters and deacons, who should have the power of imposition of hands or ordination, and the direction of ecclesiastical councils.

This was anciently denied by Aërius, as is related by Epiphanius in his seventy-fifth Heresy; and by John of Jerusalem, as appears by Jerome in his epistle to Pammachius.

And there are not wanting, in these days, many learned and pious men who, although they acknowledge Aërius to have erred, in that he should disallow of that manner of ecclesiastical government which had been received by the whole world, yet in this they agree with him, that episcopal government is not of divine right.

From whose opinion, why I should sever my judgment, I am moved by these strong reasons, famous examples, and evident authorities.

My judgment is this:—

First, in the apostles' epistles the name of bishop did never signify anything different from the office of a presbyter. For a bishop, presbyter, and an apostle, were common names; as you may see, Acts xx. 17, 28; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2; Acts i. 20.

Next, in the chief apostolical church, the church was governed by the common advice of presbyters, and that for some years in the time of the preaching of the apostles. For, first of all, companies must be gathered together before we can define anything concerning their perpetual government.

Then the apostles, as long as they were present or near their churches, did not place any bishop over them, properly so called, but only presbyters; reserving episcopal authority to themselves alone.

Lastly, after the gospel was far and near propagated, and that

out of equality of presbyters, by the instinct of the devil, schisms were made in religion, then the apostles, especially in the more remote places, placed some over the pastors or presbyters; which shortly after, by the disciples of the apostles, Ignatius and others, were only called bishops; and by this appellation they were distinguished from presbyters and deacons.

Reasons moving me to this opinion :—

First, Jerome, upon the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus, writeth, that "A presbyter is the same with a bishop; and before that, by the instinct of the devil, factions were made in religion, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, but I of Cephas,* the churches were governed by the common counsel of presbyters: afterwards it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest."

From whence I thus argue:

When it began to be said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, but I of Cephas,* then one chosen out of the presbyters was placed over the rest; but while the apostles lived it was so said among the people, as the first Epistle to the Corinthians, besides other of St. Paul's Epistles, puts it out of doubt: therefore, while the apostles lived, one chosen out of the presbyters was placed over the rest.

Again: there can be no other term assigned in which bishops were first made than the time of the apostles, for all the prime successors of the apostles were bishops; witness the successions of bishops in the most famous churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, as it is in Eusebius: therefore, either the next successors of the apostles changed the form of ecclesiastical government received from the apostles according to their own pleasure, which is very unlikely, or the episcopal government came from the apostles themselves. Besides, even then, in the time of the apostles, there were many presbyters, but one bishop: even then, in the time of the apostles, ὁ προεστὼς, he that was placed over the rest, which afterwards was called bishop, did impose hands, or ordain ministers of the word; which presbyters alone did not presume to do. Even then, therefore, the calling of bishops was distinct from the office of presbyters.

If any desire the examples of apostolical bishops, the books of the ancients are full of the episcopal authority of Timothy and Titus: either of which, howsoever, first performed the office of

an evangelist; yet, notwithstanding, ceased to be an evangelist, after that Timothy was placed over the church of Ephesus, and Titus over the church of Crete: for evangelists did only lay the foundations of faith in foreign places, and then did commend the rest of the care to certain pastors; but they themselves went to other countries and nations, as Eusebius writes in his third book of Ecclesiastical History and 34th chapter[a]. But Paul taught some time in Ephesus and Crete, and laid the foundations of faith there; therefore he commandeth Timothy to stay at Ephesus, and Titus at Crete, not as evangelists, but as governors of the churches. And indeed, the epistles written to either of them do evince the same; for in these he doth not prescribe the manner of gathering together a church, which was the duty of an evangelist, but the manner of governing a church, being already gathered together, which is the duty of a bishop: and all the precepts in those epistles are so conformable hereunto, as that they are not referred in especial to Timothy and Titus, but in general to all bishops; and therefore in no wise they suit with the temporary power of evangelists. Besides, that Timothy and Titus had episcopal jurisdiction, not only Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Ambrosius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Œcumenius, Primasius, Theophylact, but also the most ancient writers of any that writ the history of the New Testament, whose writings are now lost, do sufficiently declare. Eusebius, without doubt appealing unto those, in his third book of Ecclesiastical History, and 4th chapter: "Timothy," saith he, "in histories is written to be the first which was made bishop of the church of Ephesus, as Titus was the first that was made bishop of the church of Crete." But if John the apostle, and not any ancient disciple of the apostles, be the author of the Revelation, he suggests unto us those seven new examples of apostolical bishops; for all the most learned interpreters interpret the seven angels of the churches to be the seven bishops of the churches; neither can they do otherwise, unless they should offer violence to the text. What should I speak of James, not the apostle, but the brother of our Saviour, the son-in-law of the mother of our Lord? who by the apostles was ordained bishop of Jerusalem, as Eusebius, in his second book of Ecclesiastical History and 1st chapter, out of the sixth of the Hypotyposes of Clement; Jerome, concerning ecclesiasti-

[a] [Edit. Burton Ox. 1845, lib. iii. c. 37.]

cal writers, out of the first of the Comments of Hegesippus, relate: Ambrose upon the first chapter unto the Galatians, Chrysostom in his twenty-third Homily upon the xv. of the Acts, Augustin in his second book and 37th chapter against Cresconius, Epiphanius in his sixty-fifth Heresy, the sixth Synod in Trullo and 32d canon, all assenting thereunto. For, indeed, this is that James that had his fixed residence at Jerusalem as an ordinary bishop, whom Paul, in his first and last coming to Jerusalem, found in the city; (almost all the apostles preaching in other places, Gal. i. 19;) and that concluded those things which were decreed in the assembly of the apostles, Acts xxi. For he was, with Chrysostom, bishop of the church of Jerusalem; from whom, *when certain came,* Peter *would not eat with the Gentiles;* Gal. ii. 12.

From examples I pass to authorities, which Ignatius confirms by his own authority; whose axioms are these:—"The bishop is he which is superior in all chiefty and power. The presbytery is a holy company of counsellors and assessors to the bishop. The deacons are the imitators of angelical virtues, which show forth their pure and unblameable ministry. He which doth not obey these is without God, impure, and contemns Christ, and derogates from his order and constitution:"—in his epistle to the Trallians. In another place, "I exhort that ye study to do all things with concord; the bishop being president in the place of God, the presbyters in place of the apostolic senate, the deacons as those to whom was committed the ministry of Jesus Christ:" in his epistle to the Magnesians. And again: "Let the presbyters be subject to the bishop, the deacons to the presbyters, the people to the presbyters and deacons:" in his epistle to those of Tarsus[b]. But Ignatius was the disciple of the apostles: from whence then had he this hierarchy, but from the apostles?

Let us now hear Epiphanius, in his seventy-fifth Heresy. "The apostles could not presently appoint all things. Presbyters and deacons were necessary; for by these two ecclesiastical affairs might be dispatched. Where there was not found any fit for the episcopacy, that place remained without a bishop; but where there was need, and there were any fit for episcopacy, they were made bishops. All things were not complete from the beginning; but in tract of time, all things were provided which were required

[b] [This Epistle, though it has some evidence in favour of its genuineness, is generally considered to be spurious.]

for the perfection of those things which were necessary: the church by this means receiving the fulness of dispensation."

But Eusebius comes nearer to the matter, and more strongly handles the cause; who, in his third book of Ecclesiastical History and 22d chapter, as also in his Chronicle, affirmeth, that Erodius was ordained the first bishop of Antioch in the year of our Lord 45, in the third year of Claudius the emperor; at which time many of the apostles were alive.

Now Jerome writeth to Evagrius, that at Alexandria, "from Mark the evangelist, unto Heraclas and Dionysius the bishop, the presbyters called one, chosen out of themselves and placed in a higher degree, the bishop." But Mark died, as Eusebius and Bucholcerus testify, in the year of our Lord 64: Peter, Paul, and John, the apostles, being then alive. Therefore it is clear that episcopacy was instituted in the time of the apostles; and good Jerome suffered some frailty when he wrote that "bishops were greater than presbyters, rather by the custom of the church than the truth of the Lord's disposing;" unless, perhaps, by "the custom of the church" he understands the custom of the apostles; and by "the truth of the Lord's disposing" he understands the appointment of Christ. Yet not so he satisfies the truth of history; for it appears, out of the first, second, and third chapters of the Revelation, that the form of governing the church by angels or bishops was not only ratified and established in the time of the apostles, but it was confirmed by the very Son of God. And Ignatius called that form the order of Christ.

And when Jerome writes that "it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest;" and when I have demonstrated that, in the lifetime of the apostles, bishops were superior to presbyters in ordination, and that each church had one placed over it; do we, not without cause demand, where, when, and by whom, episcopacy was ordained? Episcopacy therefore is of divine right. Which, how the prelates of the church of Rome, for almost three hundred years, did adorn with the truth of doctrine, innocency of life, constancy in afflictions, and suffering death itself for the honour of Christ; and on the other side how, in succeeding times, first by their ambition, next by their excessive pragmatical covetousness scraping up to themselves the goods of this world, then by their heresy, last of all by their tyranny, they corrupted it; that the Roman hierarchy at this day hath nothing else left but a visard of the

apostolical ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the lively image of the whore of Babylon,—our histories, both ancient and modern, do abundantly testify.

Wherefore all bishops are warned from hence that they throughly weigh with themselves the nature of apostolical episcopacy, of which they glory that they are the successors.

That episcopacy had two things peculiar to it—the privilege of succeeding, and the prerogative of ordaining: all other things were common to them with the presbyters. Therefore both bishops and presbyters should so exercise themselves in godliness, should so free themselves from contempt by their conversation, and so make themselves examples to their flock; not neglecting, especially, the gift of prophesying received from above, but being wholly intent to reading, consolation, and teaching; to meditate on these things, to be wholly conversant in them: and so perpetually employed in this holy function and divine affairs, with this promise, that if they shall do these things they shall both save themselves and their auditors; but if, after the custom of some great ones, they follow the pride and luxury of this world, they shall both destroy themselves and them that hear them.

THE JUDGMENT

OF THE LEARNED DIVINE,

D. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

PRIME PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT HEIDELBERG,

CONCERNING

LAY ELDERS.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON 1 TIMOTHY,

BY ABRAHAM SCULTETUS,

CHAP. XXVII.

CONCERNING 1 TIM. V. 17.

THERE are some that think this place of scripture is of force enough to make good a lay presbytery; for their eyes and judgments are dazzled with that distinction of elders which they suppose to be clearly intimated here by St. Paul. But, if they shall have diligently scanned the place, and compared it with other texts of scripture, they shall soon find that the defence of lay elders out of this place is both contrary to the signification of the word προεστῶτες, i. e. *those that rule,* and contrary to the signification of the word presbyter; and that it is quite against St. Paul's perpetual doctrine; and it is against the judgment of all the fathers that have expounded this speech of St. Paul.

It is contrary to the signification of the word προεστῶτες: for προστασία, or ecclesiastical rule or government, is an honour wherewith only ministers of God's word are invested in the New Testament, and not any lay persons. *We beseech you, brethren,* saith the apostle, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, *that you know those that labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and that*

admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. "Upon which words," saith Calvin, "it is worthy to be observed what titles he gives to pastors. First he saith that they labour; and then he sets them forth by the name of rule or governance." And Beza upon the place: "It appears from hence that the church was governed by pastors in common, and that the degree of a bishop was not thought of, and therefore προίστασθαι, to rule, is the same with ἡγεῖσθαι, to lead; because the shepherds are wont to go before their flock." But the apostle, Heb. xiii. 7 and 17, calls the ministers of the word leaders: therefore, according to Beza, we must acknowledge, those that are over the people are the ministers of the word. Neither doth Justin Martyr, in his Apology to Antonius, call the προεστῶτα any other than the pastor and teacher of the congregation.

Moreover, the defence of lay elders out of this present text of St. Paul is contrary to the signification of the word presbyter; which, when it is used concerning the polity of the New Testament, doth always signify the ministers of the word, Acts xi. 30. They sent their collection *to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul;* that is, to the ministers, of whom it is said, Acts xiv. 23, χειροτονήσαντες δέ, *They ordained them elders in every church:* and, Acts xv. 2, a main question of faith is propounded to *the apostles and elders* of Jerusalem; but, what! to be decided by laymen? For the *elders* met with the *apostles, to consider of this matter;* Acts xv. 6. And the *presbyters* are joined together with the *apostles,* ver. 22, and are distinguished from *the whole church;* as also ver. 23, and chap. xvi. 4. Again, in the xxth of the Acts, the *elders* of Ephesus, ver. 17, are said to be made *bishops, to feed the flock of Christ,* ver. 28. And in Acts xxi. 18, and the verses following, the presbyters or elders of Jerusalem instruct the apostle Paul what he is to do; and therefore were no laymen. In this very chapter, when Timothy is commanded to receive no accusation against an elder, the elder there is a teacher; as shall be showed in the next chapter. Tit. i. 5, *That thou mayest ordain elders in every city:* what kind of elders? surely, teachers; for he adds, *If any be blameless, &c. for a bishop must be unreproveable &c.* And, James v. 14, the sick are bidden to send *for the elders of the church,* that they may *pray over,* and *anoint* the sick *with oil in the name of the Lord;* which is no layman's duty. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, *The elders I exhort, who am also a* fellow *elder; feed the flock:* how is he a

fellow elder, but because he is a teacher, as they? and they are charged to feed the flock; therefore, pastors. 2 John 1. and 3 John 1, John, the apostle, without all question, is called an elder. Ignatius makes often mention of elders or presbyters in his epistles, but never of lay elders. And in his epistle to those of Tarsus[a], describing the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his time, he saith, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, "Let the presbyters be subject to the bishops, and the deacons to the presbyters, and the laymen to both deacons and presbyters." And to the Magnesians, "As the Lord," saith he, "doth nothing without the Father, so neither do you without your bishop; neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor laic[b]:" where observe, that the very deacons did not sit in the presbytery apostolic; much less laymen.

Thirdly, the defence of lay elders out of the 17th verse of ch. v. of 1 Tim. is against the perpetual doctrine of St. Paul: for, to give honour to the presbyters or elders is to honour them with maintenance out of the public stock of the church; for so the apostle before commands those that are indeed widows to be honoured, that is, to be designed to public attendances and allowances. And the reason which the apostle gives confirms this explication of the honour required; when he saith, *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.* And in Matthew, the honour of parents is chiefly to be taken of meat and maintenance: which signification is very familiar and proper to the word *Kabud* [כָּבֵד], used in the fifth commandment; and so the word is expounded by Mark, vii. 12. But maintenance out of the stock of the church, the apostle would not have to be given, even to such poor widows as could be otherwise provided for; as before, ver. 16: and he himself laboured with his own hands, that he might not be burdensome to others; much less would he have the chief of the laity, who abound with wealth, to be maintained of the common store, and that more liberally than others. For if by *those that rule well,* you shall understand both lay elders and sacred also, you must needs conclude that they are all *worthy of double honour,* both those which *rule* and those which *labour in doctrine:* which conclusion the apostle is against elsewhere; whilst he saith, *Those which serve at the altar must partake of the altar:* and *the Lord* himself, who hath *appointed that those which preach the gospel should live of the gospel;*

[a] [See note, p. 377.]

[b] [Epist. ad Magn. Jacobson, Patr. Apost. 1847. § vii. p. 324; the latter part does not appear there.]

1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. Whereupon Jerome, in the same place; "He would," saith he, "have them to yield carnal things to those of whom they receive spiritual things; because they, being taken up in teaching, cannot provide necessary things for themselves." Yea, I say yet more, if St. Paul had, by *those that rule,* understood lay elders, certainly he would somewhere have put them in mind of their duty, or at least have made mention of them, 1 Tim. iii. where he doth not omit to give charge even of deacons and deaconesses: but he doth neither of the two; but, presently after the mention of bishops or presbyters that were pastors, he falls into the speech concerning deacons and their wives: so as it is a plain proof that lay elders were utterly unknown to him.

Fourthly, the defence of lay elders out of this place is utterly against the judgment of the fathers, so many as ever have expounded this text of the apostle.

Neither indeed is there any necessity at all, that, because the apostle saith, *those especially that labour in word and doctrine,* therefore we should devise new elders to be taken out of the common people: for it was well known, that those of the clergy which are over the Lord's flock have their distinct offices and employments. There are of them which administer sacraments, make public prayers, privately admonish faithful people, and withhold them from sinning: there are others which, being endued with excellent gifts of speaking, employ themselves in being teachers and guides to men's souls in the way to heaven: and the labours of these men, which are taken by them in word and doctrine, are justly preferred before the service of them which administer the sacraments, and make prayers for the church; even by the testimony of the apostle himself, who saith, *Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the gospel;* 1 Cor. i. 17. He was sent for both purposes; but the chief end of his mission was the preaching of the gospel.

Whosoever therefore thus rule the people, whether they do administer the sacrament, or only preach the word, or whether they do both, *are worthy of double honour:* where a certain number is put for an uncertain; *double honour,* that is, greater and more than others.

Although some are of opinion that here, by apostolic authority, there is a greater portion assigned to the governors than to others that appertain to the church; others interpret it of that double honour which is fit for governors to have: one, of an awful

reverence and command; the other, of more largeness of maintenance; that they be both observed and respected above others, and that they have a more liberal provision of necessaries for their livelihood.

But the first of them is the more simple exposition of the words. He therefore holds those that are set over the people *worthy of double honour.*

And why double? A little before he had given them order about the honouring, that is, maintaining, of their widows at the charge of the church. From the widows he passeth to the elders or presbyters; whom, if they rule well, he would have honoured with a double allowance, that is, greater than that of the widows, both by reason of their office and by reason of their family; and amongst those that rule, yet again, he would have those most regarded who are employed not so much in administering the sacraments as in preaching the word. I doubt not but this is the most true explication of this place.

A SHORT ANSWER

TO THE

TEDIOUS VINDICATION

OF

SMECTYMNUUS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

TO THE

MOST HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

MOST HONOURABLE LORDS, AND YE MOST NOBLE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

Nothing could fall out more happily to me, than that my bold adversaries have appealed to your inviolable justice: for, sure I am, while you are, as you ever will be, yourselves wise and just, my cause cannot miscarry in your hands. With no less, therefore, but better grounded confidence, I cast myself upon your impartial judgment; rejoicing to think how clearly you will distinguish betwixt a facing boldness and a modest evidence of truth. How can I but receive courage from your pious and just proceedings? It is I that vindicate, these men oppose, that holy liturgy, which your most religious order, in this active session, commanded to be entirely observed. How busy faction is to cross that your most seasonable decree, every day yields new and lamentable proofs. If these endeavours of mine serve only for the pursuance of your so necessary and gracious act, they cannot fear to be unwelcome. But, if I have hurt a good cause by a weak and insufficient handling, let me suffer in your censure, and let my adversaries triumph in my sufferings. Contrarily, if, after all their smooth insinuations, it shall be found that this champertous combination hath gone about, by mere shows of proof, to feed the unquiet humours of men, in the unjust dislike of most justifiable, ancient, and sacred institutions; and to cast false blames upon my peaceable and sincere managings of a certain truth; let them pass for what they are, and feel that justice which they have appealed.

AN ANSWER

TO A

CALUMNIATORY EPISTLE,

DIRECTED BY WAY OF

PREFACE TO THE READER.

READERS:—My comfort is, that you have eyes of your own, and know how to use them. With what gravity would our Smectymnuans else persuade you, that my late 'Defence' is fraught with such stuff as you shall find undiscernible by any but their eyes!

You cannot well judge of the management of this quarrel, unless it will please you to receive notice how this fray began. It is not long since I sent forth a meek and peaceable 'Remonstrance;' bemoaning the frequence of scandalous pasquins, and humbly pleading for the just and ancient right of liturgy and episcopacy. Wherein I could not suppose that any person could find himself touched, save only those who profess friendship to libels, enmity to the established forms: when all on the sudden the Smectymnuans, a strange generation of men, unprovoked, unthought of, cry out of hard measure, and fly in my face as men wrongfully accused. I know them not: I hurt them not. If their own guilt have galled them, that is no fault of mine. A long and bitter "Answer" is addressed by them where no question was moved: insomuch as I could hardly induce his majesty, when I presented my 'Defence' to his royal hands, to believe that any exception could be taken to so fair and innocent a discourse. My labour was all for peace: even this is made the ground of the quarrel. What should I now do? I were worse than a worm, if upon this treading upon I did not turn again: yet not so much out of respect to my own poor and (if need were) despicable re-

putation as to the public cause of God and his church, which I saw now engaged in this unjust brawl. According to my true duty, therefore, I published a short and defensive Reply to their long "Answer;" wherein I hope the judicious will witness that the truth sustains no loss. Now, enraged with a moderate opposition, they heat their furnace seven times more, and break forth into a not more voluminous than vehement invective. I do not see them look fleeringly through their fingers at their seemingly unknown, yet often discovered and oft vilified, antagonist. It is all one, so long as he is nameless. If he be a consul, they are senators. Civility is but a ceremony. All faces under masks are alike.

It matters not for the person: let it please you to look at the cause.

In the carriage whereof, they first tax me with overlashing in my accusations. I had objected to them, misallegations, misinterpretations, misinferences, weak and colourable proofs; neither can their querulous noise make me go less, or be less confident in my charge. They liken themselves to Cato; and well may! they are extremely like! of thirty accusations, no one could be proved against Cato; of no fewer charges which are laid upon them, I see not how they acquit themselves of one! Who can but wonder at this eminent boldness, that they dare tell you, "There are, after all" my "general exclamations, but four places," for which I tax them of falsehood? Falsehood" is their own word: 'misallegation' is mine. Be pleased to cast your eye upon my margin[a], and to count this quaternion of their imputed errors. But they are misinferences and weak inconsequences, which, besides miscitations, were upon the file of my accusations; wherein I fear Cato's number will be outvied. Readers, such fidelity as you find in the denial of my manifest exceptions against their allegations, look for in the demonstrative proofs of their exceptions against mine. There is, belike, a "Machiavel" somewhere: find him out, I beseech you, and let him be brought forth to shame: certainly, where the falsehood lies, there he lurks.

[a] Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. p. 13. of the Defence [p. 304 of this vol.] August. Ep. cxxi. p. 14. [p. 305 of this vol.] Justin Martyr. Apol. ii. p. 14. [p. 305.] Concil. Laodic. c. viii. p. 15. [p. 305.] Concil. Milevit. ii. p. 16. [p. 306.] Hieron. ad Evagr. p. 61. [p. 327.] Greg. Naz. Orat. xxviii. p. 65. [p. 329.] Firmilianus in Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 71. [p. 332.] Ambr. in Presbyt. consignant. p. 72. [p. 332.] Concil. Antioch. c. x. p. 72. [p. 332.] D. Raynolds, p. 101. [p. 344.] Orig. contr. Cels. p. 141. [p. 360.] August. contr. Crescon. l. iii. p. 146. p. [362.]

In the second place, they tell you of railings, revilings, scornings, never the like since Montague's appeal, and present you with a whole bundle of such strange flowers of rhetoric, as truly I wondered should ever grow in my garden: wherein they have done passing wisely in not noting the pages, as the several beds wherein such rare plants grew: for I have carefully re-examined the book, and profess seriously that some of them I cannot find at all; others I find, but utterly misapplied. "We are called," they say, "vain, frivolous cavillers, riotous, proud, false, envious, &c." Let me appeal to your eyes, readers, where ever I thus wronged those whom I call "brethren." Divers of these words I confess to have used, but to another purpose, upon a different subject. That which I speak of the things, they unjustly take of the persons. For example: I talk of 'false and frivolous exceptions:" they say, I call them false and frivolous men. I talk of 'vain cavils:' they charge me to say they are vain cavillers. I speak of 'a riot of assailants:' they cry out that I call them riotous men. I say a 'suggestion' is 'envious:' they take it to themselves. I call the levellers 'factious persons:' they misapply it as spoken of them. I say an 'intimation' is 'witless and malicious:' I am taken to say the men are so. And, not to weary you with so odious a rabble, I say, 'this is weakly and absurdly objected:' they say I call them weak and absurd men. Thus I could easily pass through the rest, and show you, that what I speak by way of supposition, they take absolutely; what I speak as dehorting, they as accusing; what of speeches, they of persons; what of others, they of themselves. And thus rises the rare rhetoric which they have imputed to me: wherein I doubt not but ye, my readers, will take occasion to think, What fidelity shall we expect from these men, in citing other authors, when they do so foully misreport the book in our hand? They are not then my flowers, but their own weeds, which they have thus bundled up together. But had I so far overlashed as is pretended, your wisdom, readers, would send you to inquire of the provocation: for surely the occasion may, if not justify a man's act, yet abate his blame. When therefore ye shall look back, and see with what strange insolence I was entertained by these undertakers, ye will be so far from complaining of my sharpness, that ye will rather censure my patience. How blind self-love will make men in their own concernments! These men will not see in themselves that true guilt which they unjustly cry out of in another: so I have heard a man with a very noisome

breath censure the ill lungs of his neighbour. Let my margin present thee, reader, with but an handful out of a full sack[b]. These are their terms in their very first papers, without any pretence of imitation: but if we should rake together the scornful, girding, and (as some of their betters have styled them) unmannerly passages of this their angry vindication, it were enough to fill a book alone. Readers, ye may, if you please, believe how easy it were for me to pay them home in their own coin; but I had rather to consider what is fit for me, how nameless soever, to give, than what they are worthy to receive. Some others may, perhaps, be more sensible of this indignity than myself, who have learned to think more meanly of myself than they can speak; and at once both to pity this petulancy and disregard it.

In the third place, they talk of "daring protestations and bold asseverations," and spend some instances of the particular expressions of my confidence. Do not think, readers, that I will be beaten out with words. There is no one line of those passages which they have recited, that I will not make good against all the clan of Smectymnuus. Neither can I, out of this assurance, decline any bar under heaven for the trial of my righteous cause. It is therefore an unreasonable envious suggestion of theirs, that, in dedicating my book to his sacred majesty, I did ever the more "fly from" the judgment of parliament; when, in that very epistle, I made confident mention of my secure reliance upon the noble justice of their judicature. Besides, that it is not too wise nor too loyal an intimation of these men, which would imply such a distance betwixt sovereign and parliamentary interest: for me, I would ever suppose such an entire union betwixt them, as the head and the body; that they neither should nor can be severed in the rights of their several concernments. As for that resolute averment of "the author of Episcopacy by Divine Right, that he offers to

[b] *In the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance.*

"Episcopal bravado." p. 3. "Treason, treason." p. 4. "Episcopal zeal broke into flames of indignation." p. 10. "We know not what his arrogancy might attempt." p. 14. "So many falsities and contradictions." p. 15. "A face of confident boldness." p. 15. "A self-confounded man." p. 15. "Notorious falsity." p. 15. "Notorious ——." p. 16. "Not leave his——." p. 17. "*Os durum.*" p. 18. "Forgets not himself, but God also." p. 18. "Words bordering upon blasphemy." p. 18. "Indignation will not suffer us to prosecute these falsities." p. 18. "A stirrup for antichrist." p. 30. "Antichristian government." p. 75. "We thank God we are none of you." p. 84. "Borders upon antichrist." p. 90. "Pride, rebellion, treason, unthankfulness, which have issued from episcopacy." p. 95.

forfeit his life to justice, and his reputation to shame, if any living man can show any" lay presbyter (not, as they please to report the word, a "ruling elder") "in the world, till Farell and Viret first created him;" let me be his hostage: let my life go for his, if any one such lay presbyter can be produced. Let them search records and try their skill, and when they have overcome, triumph. But in the meantime they may not think to fob us off with the colourable testimonies of B. Whitgift, King[c], Saravia, who were all well known to be just so good friends to lay presbytery, as themselves are to episcopacy. For the rest, if I have been somewhat bold with them, in telling them right down of 'poor arguments,' 'verbal exceptions,' 'mere declamations,' 'shuffling of testimonies,' 'unproving illustrations,' I may crave your pardon, readers; but theirs I cannot, as not conscious of any ill-placed word in this easy censure. Shortly, my much reverenced friend, learned Rivotus[d], will give them but a little thanks in misapplying his censure of bishop Montague, to a man so differently tempered; whom he hath, with particular respects, vouchsafed to honour and oblige.

In the fourth place they tell you, that after all these "Thrasonical boasts" of mine, if their "whole book were divided into four parts, there is one quarter of which" I make "no mention."

Wherein, readers, I think verily you may believe them: for in the first leaf of my 'Defence' I foretold you so much, as finding nothing in that swollen bulk but a mere unsound tympany, instead of a truly solid conception; whereof you may easily perceive the one half (well near) bestowed, either in mere verbal quarrels, or in real disputes of things uncontroverted. I am more thrifty of my good hours than to follow them in so wild a chace; pitching only upon those points which I conceived to be valuable and pertinent; wherein my profession was, so to save time as that I should not lose aught of truth.

It is an injurious suggestion therefore which these men make, that where their proofs are strongest, there I have glided away without answer; since I can safely call God to witness unto my soul, that I am not conscious to myself of any one considerable argument of theirs that I have balked in my replicatory 'Defence:' but if in their estimation there be any such, as wherein they have placed an overweening confidence, let them not spare to reinforce

[c] [Qu. J. King, B. of London, 1611.]

[d] [Andr. Rivetus of Leyden, fl. in the early part of the 17th cent., author of numerous theological works.]

it to the utmost, that the world may witness their valour and my cowardice.

What need is there of this, you will say, when they have already gloried in the victory, vaunting that they have me "*confitentem reum*, and, in effect, the cause granted" by me in those things which are most material?" Were it so, readers, as they pretend, that I come nearer to their tenets than some others, one would think they should in this find cause to acknowledge and embrace mine ingenuity, rather than to insult upon me as in way of disgrace. I wis it is not the force of their argumentation that could move me one foot forward; but, if God's blessing upon my free disquisition of truth should have so wrought upon my better-composed thoughts as that I should have yielded to go some steps farther than others towards the meeting of peace, one would not think this should yield any fit matter of exprobration: but the truth is, I have not departed one inch from either my own tenet, or from the received judgment of our orthodox divines.

Now, that they may see the fault is not in my levity, but in their own misunderstanding, that "identity of the names and offices of bishops and presbyters," in the beginning of the apostles' times, whereat they take advantage, they may see averred at large in 'Episcopacy by Divine Right,' part ii. sect. 4; and, to second it, they are challenged in my 'Defence[e]' to name any one of our writers that hath not proclaimed this truth. Where then lies the contradiction?

The clear nominal distinction of the three orders of "bishops, presbyters, deacons," I professed to prove only out of the writings of those who were the next successors to the apostles. What is here of either yieldance or contradiction?

And if I have ingenuously granted that the primitive bishops were elected by the clergy, with the assent of the people; that bishops neither do nor may challenge to themselves such a sole interest in ordination or jurisdiction as utterly to exclude presbyters from some participation in this charge and act; that they ought not to divest themselves of their jurisdictive power by delegating it to others; that the ordinary managing of secular employments is improper for them; if in all these I have gratified them, why do they complain? and if I have disadvantaged my cause, why is it not urged to my conviction?

[e] Defence, p. 48. [p. 319 of this vol.]

It is warily said of these men that I "almost grant lay elders in antiquity." I do so almost grant them in my own sense that I utterly deny them in theirs.

Why should I make any doubt to yield unto the justice of their complaints in the Postscript against the insolence and tyranny of popish prelates? What lose we by this condescent? Or how can they plead they are not justly taxed for diffusing other men's crimes to the innocent, when their consciences cannot but fly in their faces for this injustice?

Lastly, I am charged with shameful self-contradictions; which surely must needs argue great rashness, or much weakness of judgment.

See the instances.

In the same epistle I profess "not to tax their abilities," and yet call them "impotent assailants." And why not both of these? He that taxeth not their abilities doth not therefore presently approve them. They may perhaps not want good abilities in themselves, and yet be unable to prove their cause. They may be able men, and yet impotent matches.

The contradiction they would raise in the words concerning evangelists is merely cavillatory. May you be pleased to turn to the ninety-fourth[f] page of my 'Defence,' you shall clearly acknowledge it. The word in a common sense signifies any preacher of the gospel; but in the peculiar sense of the New Testament it signifies some persons extraordinarily gifted and employed; not settled in any one place, but sent abroad by the apostles on that blessed errand: now, to say that any of these latter were "such as had ordinary places and ordinary gifts" (as they do, sect. xiii. p. 48), I do justly blame as a mere fancy; not herein contradicting anything but their light imagination.

In the contradiction pretended to be concerning the extent of episcopacy, sure they cannot but check themselves. In my 'Remonstrance' and 'Defence' they report me to say somewhere (but where no man can tell), that "bishops had been everywhere," and that "all churches through the whole Christian world have uniformly and constantly maintained episcopacy:" elsewhere, that I say they "were not everywhere," and that "there are less noble churches that do not confer to episcopal government." Words are more easily accorded than acknowledged. There are

[f] [Page 341 of this vol.]

not, there have not been, everywhere settled Christian churches. Wherever there have been settled Christian churches there have been bishops. From the apostles' times to this present age there have been bishops in all Christian regions: now, some late reformed churches have been necessitated to forbear them. Where, I beseech you, lies the contradiction?

I have often granted that the name of bishops and presbyters was at the first promiscuously used; and yet I do no less justly maintain, that for this sixteen hundred years the name of bishops hath been ordinarily appropriated, in a contradistinctive sense, to church governors, in an apparent superiority. Distinguish times, and reconcile histories.

The two next exceptions, concerning "diocesan bishops" and "civil government," are fully cleared and convinced in the due places of this ensuing 'Answer.' I shall not blur paper in an unseasonable anticipating my own discourse.

"Sole ordination" and "sole jurisdiction" we so disclaim as that we hold the power of both primarily in the bishop; the concurrent assistance in the presbyters. What opposition is there in an orderly subordination?

The last contradiction clearly reconciles itself. In stating the question concerning episcopacy, I distinguish "betwixt divine and apostolical authority;" professing not to affirm that bishops were "immediately ordained by Christ," and yet averring that "Christ laid the grounds of this imparity in his first agents." What discordance is in these two? Is the groundwork of an house the whole frame of it? Can they find the roof in the foundation? In the epistles to the seven Asian churches, Christ, I truly say, acknowledges (at least intimates) the hierarchy of those seven angels. Do I imply that he did immediately ordain them?

Readers, ye have seen the poor stuff of these their selected exceptions. Believe it, such are all their contradictions to me, as these contradictions which they find in me to myself, groundless and worthless; as I shall make good in this following discourse concerning the ancient, holy, and beneficial use of set liturgies in the church.

This subject, because, as it is untracked with any frequent pens of others, so it is that wherein my adversaries seem most to pride themselves (as supposing to have in it the most probable advantages against me), I have somewhat largely handled, to your ample satisfaction.

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But as for that other head of episcopacy, which hath already filled so many reams of waste paper, forasmuch as I see they offer nothing but that which hath passed an hundred ventilations, *transeat.* I have resolved to bestow my time better than in drawing the saw to and fro to no purpose. Let them first give a full and punctual answer to that which hath been already, in an entire body of a treatise, written concerning the 'Divine Right of Episcopacy;' and then let them expect that I should trouble myself with sweeping away these loose scraps of their exceptions. Till then, let them, if they can, be silent: at least I shall, as one that know how to give a better account of the remainder of my precious hours.

A SHORT ANSWER

TO THE

TEDIOUS VINDICATION OF SMECTYMNUUS[a].

SECT. I.

I AM sorry, brethren, that your own importunity will needs make you guilty of your further shame. Had you sat down silent in the conscience of a just reproof, your blame had been by this time dead and forgotten; but now, your impetuous defence shall let the world see, you did in vain hope to face out an ill cause with a seeming boldness. I may not spend volumes upon you, but some lines I must; enow to convince the reader of the justice of my charge, and the miserable insufficiency of your "Vindication."

It is not your stiff denial that can make it other than 'God's' truth which I maintain; or that can justify your errors. Let the cause speak for itself; and let that great Moderator of heaven, to whom we both appeal, judge.

It was a light touch that I gave to your grammatical slip of Areopagi: wherein it would not have hurt you to have confessed your oversight. Had you yielded that you 'stumbled,' though withal you say you stumbled like emperors, we could have passed it over with a smile: but now that you will needs fall into a serious contestation, and spend almost a whole leaf in a faulty defence, I must tell you that you make this an heinous trifle. To

[a] [This word, it is hardly necessary to mention, is framed out of the two initial letters of the names of the five undermentioned nonconformists: viz.

S. M. Stephen Marshall, B.D.
E. C. Edmund Calamy, B.D.
T. Y. Thomas Young, D.D. Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.
M. N. Matthew Newcomen, M.A.
W. S. William Spurstow, D.D. Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge.]

face out wilfully the least error is no less than a crime: and such is this of yours, as every true grammarian knows. I doubt not but you had "heard of Dionysius Areopagita;" but if you should have cited him under the name of Dionysius Areopagus, every scholar would have laughed you to scorn. Had you said, "the admired sons of justice, the Areopagus," I grant it had been good; according to that which you cite out of Sarisburiensis: but to say "the admired sons of justice, the Areopagi," no grammar, no authority, can bear you out; and, however you face it that you can bring "precedents enow out of approved authors," name but one, and take all. That of Sarisburiensis, which you allege, is altogether for me against yourselves. He says, "That senate of Athens was called Areopagus[b]:" so said my margin before: but what is this to your false Latin? brethren, this matter of Latinity is "but a straw;" but let me say, this willing defence of a plain falsehood is a block which your very friends cannot but stumble at. And how can the reader choose but think, he that will wilfully stand in the defence of a known falsehood in language, will not stick to defend a known error in his cause? Before ye stumbled: now ye fall: rise up, for shame, in a just confession; and look better to your feet hereafter.

But belike you have not a better faculty in stumbling than I in "leaping;" and talk of huge great "blocks" that I have overskipped in this whole book. Where are they? which be they, brethren? If such were, they are I hope still visible. Show them me, I beseech you, that I may yet try my skill. You instance in "some words sounding to contempt:" I thought what these "blocks" would prove; mere matter of words, not less windy than the froth of your next paragraph: wherein your gravity is set upon a merry pin; and in a becoming jeer tells us of the "gentleman student in philosophy," that desires to learn the rare secret of the 'sinking of froth;' for which I remit you and your deep student to the next tapster.

It is not all your shuffling that can shift the just charge of your gross uncharitableness. The 'Remonstrance,' comparing in a general notion the forms of civil government and ecclesiastical, expresses it in these terms: 'Since, if antiquity may be the rule, the civil polity hath sometimes varied, the sacred never;

[b] Doth he say, those judges were called Areopagi?

and if original authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers, this from men inspired:' than which no word can be in a right sense more safe or more innocent. Your good gloss appropriates[c] what *in thesi* was spoken of all forms of civil government, to our particular monarchy; and tells your reader that I deliver it as "arbitrary" and "alterable;" than which there cannot I suppose be any slander more dangerous. And to mend the matter, now in your "Vindication" you redouble your most injurious charge upon the Remonstrant; as if upon this ground it could follow, that "to attempt the alteration of monarchical government had been" in his opinion "less culpable than to petition the alteration of episcopal:" quite contrary to the express words of my 'Remonstrance;' whose implication is no other than this, that, if it were capital in them who endeavoured to alter the forms of civil government, they must needs seem worthy of more than an easy censure that went about in a libellous way to work the change of a settled government in the church.

See, reader; this latter is in the Remonstrant's judgment worthy of more than 'an easy censure:' the others' accusation is no less than 'deadly.' Whether now doth he hold less culpable? Truly, brethren, if you be not ashamed of this unjust crimination, I hope somebody will blush for you.

With how bold a face dare you appeal to the "reader," yea to the "most honourable parliament," and to the "sacred majesty" of our sovereign, that you "do the man no wrong!" Join issue then; and let all these judge. "First," you say, "one of the most confident advocates of episcopacy hath said, that where a national church is settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave overseers, to seek to abandon this form, and to bring in a foreign discipline, is as unreasonable as to cast off the yoke of just and hereditary monarchy, and to affect many-headed sovereignty." This you "think an assertion insolent enough, that sets the mitre as high as the crown." But what a foul injury is this! Reader, do but view the place, and see where the mitre stands. The words run thus[d]: 'so were it no less unreasonable[e], where a

[c] Answ. p. 4.

[d] [See the passage p. 160 of this volume.]

[e] They cite it "no less heinous."—AUTHOR. This accusation against his adversaries seems to be a singular oversight on the part of our author: as it is directly refuted by the passage just quoted from them, and which is very accurately taken from their "Vindication." Lond. 1641.—PRATT.

national church is settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave overseers, ruling under one acknowledged sovereign[f], by wholesome and unquestionable laws, and by these laws punishable if they overlash,' &c. Say now, reader, whether this man "sets the mitre as high as the crown." Neither doth he say it were no less heinous; for the difference of the morality is excepted before; but 'no less unreasonable;' as that which is there said to argue 'a strange brainsick giddiness' in either offence.

Yet more anger! The "Remonstrant rises higher, and sets the mitre above the crown." Wherein, I beseech you, brethren? What a Woolseian insolence were this! He tells us, you say, that civil government came from arbitrary imposers, the sacred from men inspired: now civil government here includes monarchy: therefore, this is to advance episcopacy above monarchy; since the one challenges God for the founder, the other human arbitrement.—Brethren, had your argument as much reason as spite, it would press sore: now, as you have framed it, it is a mere cavil. The Remonstrant speaks of all civil government in general: the several forms whereof, amongst several nations and people, no reasonable man can deny were introduced variously, according to the first institution of their founders. What error can your sharp eyes find in this proposition? Now you will needs draw this by an envious application to monarchy: as if I meant to derive it only from men; not from God. Ye are mistaken, brethren: they are your better friends that thus deduce monarchy. For us, we hold it is from God, by men: from God, as the author and ordainer; by men, as the means: we fetch it not from earth, but from heaven: we know who said, *By me kings reign;* and from him we derive their crowns and sceptres. But ye may know, which we have oft blushed and sighed to see laid in our dish by popish authors, who it was that said[g], "Kings, princes, and governors, have their authority of the people; and upon occasion they may take it away again, as men may revoke their proxies:" who it was that said, "It is not enough for subjects not to obey,

[f] These words, 'ruling under one acknowledged sovereign' are purposely left out in their citation of them, to make the proposition odious. What fidelity there is in this, let the reader judge.

[g] The first and greatest zealot at Frankfort. Lib. de Obedient. And Buchanan in his Book de Jure Regni. Nos autem id contendimus, populum a quo Reges nostri habent quicquid juris sibi vendicant, regibus esse potentiorem, jusque idem in illos habere multitudinem, [quod illi in singulos e multitudine habent.] Buchan. de Jure Regni [apud Scotos Dialogus. Edinb. 1583.]

but they must withstand, wicked princes." Sure they were no fautors of episcopacy, that have written so bloody lines against the safety and lives of lawful princes as I dare not transcribe; that have so undervalued their power, and so abased their original. Small reason had you to twit me with this hateful guilt.

It is but a poor put off, that you censure not my words as treasonable from my pen, which from yours had received no better construction: the words are the same, the intimation evident; and not less evincible than your vilifying of the judgment of that wise and (above all examples) learned king James; whom while you smooth in words, and directly oppose in his well-grounded edict concerning the liturgy of the church, what do you but verbally praise and really check? Ye cannot therefore so easily wipe off these aspersions of uncharitableness, by either stiff denial or unjust recrimination. For me, such is my malice towards you, that I can at once convince your want of charity and forgive it.

[h]IF the religion of "king William Rufus," or the infallible judgment of "Pope Pius," may do you any service, make your best of them: to me, they are much alike. "Whatsoever Daniel" (the poet, not the prophet) pleased to say, all historians were not "monks," nor all monks false tongued. Would God all divines were true! The actions of this prince blazon him more than the historians' pens: whereof some have taxed him for favour of Judaism; others for touches of atheism; all for indevotion.

As for the bishops of those times, I say they were 'popish,' and in that notion 'tyrannical;' for that dependence which they had upon him, *who exalts himself above all that is called God*, exalted them to their proud contestation with princes. It was their popery therefore that made them insolent, and their insolence that made them odious to kings.

"It hath been," ye say, the usual quality of "former and later bishops to tyrannise over such as fear them, and to flatter such as they fear." Your tongues are your own; but, brethren, if this be their quality, it is your fault that you will not suffer it to be their property. There are those that can do this, and more;

[h] [Paragr. 3.]

can tyrannise over those whom they ought to reverence, and flatter those whom they should not fear.

As for your Pius; should not the pope have been my 'antichrist,' I am sure he is yours. Little reason therefore could you have to use his testimony against your own profession. But why "may we not," you say, "use the testimony of antichrist against antichristian bishops?" Brethren, I understand you not. I hope you have more grace than to call ours so. If you have so much of the separatist in you, many good hearts will justly grieve to see that ye pretend to come forth under license. Sure you dare not mean, you dare not say, that the public government established here by law is antichristian: this were to strike where you would not; or, if you could be so bold, authority might oversee, but would never allow, so lawless an affront. If our bishops be antichristian, whence is your ordination? Good speed may you have, brethren, towards Amsterdam!

Full witty and sound is the inference which you draw from the grounds which I give of the pope's unwillingness to yield a divine right to bishops; for that he would have them derive their authority 'merely from himself.' Therefore, say you, it follows, "that they have no more divine right than the pope." Just; for the pope thinks so; pretending his own (false) right, and disclaiming their true.

But what's this, I ask, to our bishops, 'who profess, notwithstanding the apostolical, that is, divine right of their calling, to hold the places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from his majesty?' You answer: "Surely ours have begun to affect the same exemption from secular power; to make large and haughty strides towards an independent hierarchy." Where, or wherein, brethren? Will any justice hold it enough to accuse? I challenge your instances. If you can find an universal guiltiness this way, spare us not. I shall yield, we cannot suffer too much. But if your exceptions be either none (as your silence argues), or particular, why should not you smart for the unjust branding of a whole order?

Methinks you should shame and fear to speak of our affected independence of hierarchy, when ye know that an independent parochial hierarchy, if it could be worth so high a name, is, in public pamphlets and open sermons, set a-foot with much earnestness by those who would be thought no mean ones in your fraternity; and when you cannot but know that the bishop's

bench is openly challenged in the name of too much dependence upon sovereignty. Away with these idle slanders of your innocent, grave, and modest governors.

For Mr. "Hooker," we know you love and honour his memory dearly! Nothing of his can be unwelcome to us. Neither doubt we but that you will be no less edified by his "last" works, if they may see the light, than with his first. That man doth not look as if he meant to contradict his own truths.

[1] YE doubt to be "chid for this" licentiousness of your pen: and so you well may; for it can be no less than a foul slander to charge that "faction" upon whole "episcopacy" which you dare, upon urging, impute but to a 'few.' "The more," ye say, is your "misery, that a few bishops can put both the kingdoms into so dangerous a combustion." True; but if it be your misery, it is not our sin. Blame the guilty; strike not the innocent. But if but a few can do this, ye say, "what a stir would they all make, if they should unite their powers!" This is, in your own phrase, *argumentum galeatum*. If a few factious preachers in our neighbour pulpits, since the entering of this parliament, have kindled such a fire in the city and kingdom, what would they all do if their seditious tongues were all united!

But now ye speak to purpose: if "but a few were factors for this attempt, how was it that one of the episcopal tribe, in open court, called the Scottish design *bellum episcopale?*" Who can forbear to smile at this doughty proof? Why, brethren, was that word too big for one man's mouth? Could he not utter it without help of his fellows? Did they either say or think it the more because he spake it? What reason have you to feoff a private conceit on all? especially when the words may be capable of a less evil construction, as referring to the northern rise of that quarrel, not to our prosecution.

But "where," ye say, "were the rest of the peaceable and orthodox bishops the while?" Truly, in all likelihood, at home quietly in their own sees, in their retired studies, without notice of any plots, without any intimation of dangers; much more without intermeddling in any secrets of state, or close stratagems of disturbance. So as it was not their "love to peace and truth" that could "oppose" what they never could reach to know; neither is it any fault of theirs that "the dear and precious name of

[1] [Parag. 4.]

episcopacy" is "exposed" to base and vulgar "obloquy." Let those who will needs pour contempt upon the guiltless look for a just revenge from Him who hath said, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.*

Still therefore must I take leave to cry 'Fie' upon those my 'brethren' that 'dare to charge faction upon episcopacy,' and withal to deplore the unhappy miscarriages of any of our spiritual "fathers" that shall be found guilty of these woful broils. What 'Cyprian' would have done upon occasion of so high an indignity offered by you to that holy function, appears sufficiently in his epistle to Rogatianus[k]: though no instance can come home to the point; for let me boldly say that since Christianity looked forth into the world, there were never so high and base scorns put upon episcopacy as there have been by shameless libellers within the space of this one year in this kingdom, yea, in this city. God, in his great mercy, forgive the authors, and make them sensible of the danger of his just vengeance!

Sect. II.

What a windy section have you past; wherein you confess you have striven for "words!" "Things," you say, shall now follow; things well worthy to be not more "precious to the Remonstrant" than to every well-minded Christian—"LITURGY and EPISCOPACY."

Liturgy leads the way. We hadneed to begin with our prayers. I challenged you for the instances of those many "alterations" you talked of in the present liturgy. You answer me, "Truly, sir, if we were able to produce no fuller evidence of this than you have done of your Jewish liturgy ever since Moses' time, we should blush indeed; but if we can bring forth such instances, &c." Truly, brethren, you could do little if ye could not crack and boast: the greatest cowards can do this best. Do not say what ye can do, but do what ye say. Put it upon this very issue. For the liturgy, ye say, "we can bring forth instances of such alterations as shall prove this present liturgy to be none of that which was confirmed by parliamentary acts."

Mark well, readers; for certainly, in plain English, these men go about to mock you. The question is of the present liturgy, which is pretended to vary extremely much from that in queen Elizabeth's days. Now come our braving vindicators, and, after

[k] Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. [ed. Fell. Ep. 3. p. 5.]

all their brags, labour to show that this our present liturgy differs from that in the days of "Edward the Sixth;" and spend one whole page in the particular instances. Is not this pains well bestowed, think you? Have they not hit the bird in the eye? Utterly balking what they undertook, they undertake what no man questioned; and now beforehand crow and triumph in these cockleshells of a famous conquest.

But ye lay this for your ground, that "the liturgy confirmed by our parliamentary acts is the same which was made and confirmed in the fifth and sixth of Edward the Sixth;" with "one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year; and the form of the litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicant; and none other or otherwise." Thus says the act[1]. Now comes your rare sagacity, and finds, notwithstanding, queen Elizabeth's liturgy varying from the former, in many omissions, in many additions, in many alterations: wherein, what do ye other than give the check to a whole parliament? They say flatly, "None other, or otherwise:" you say the book is so altered that the liturgy now in use is not the same that was "established by act of parliament." But be that as it may; there lies not the question. If queen Elizabeth's book did so much differ from king Edward's, what is that to us? Say, as you have undertaken, what such huge difference there is betwixt king James's book and queen Elizabeth's. Now your loud vaunts end in flat silence: neither can you instance in anything, save some two petty particles not worthy of mention, that "in the title of Confirmation the words 'for imposition of hands' are added;" and "in the epistle for Palm Sunday 'in' is turned into 'at.'" These are all, besides those which I fore-specified, which have so "misaltered" the liturgy, that it can no more be known to be itself than the strangely-disguised dames which were mentioned in doctor Hall's reproof. Now let the reader say who is worthy to wear those "liveries" of "blushes" which in your wardrobe of wit you have been pleased to lay up for your friends.

But I have not yet said all. "If," you say, "to these we should add the late alterations in the use of the liturgy, bringing in loud music, uncouth and unedifying anthems, a pompous superstitious altar-service, we think any indifferent eye will say this is

[1] Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, 1° Eliz.

not the liturgy established by parliament." What mean you, brethren, thus to delude the reader? Are these things you mention any part of the liturgy? are they prescribed by any law of the church? are they found in any rubric of the communion-book? Do not the allowed forms of our public prayers, in all parochial and some cathedral churches, in chapels, in houses, stand entirely without these? Why do you, therefore, bring in these things as essential to liturgy? In the meet omission of some whereof no doubt some bishops of England, no less zealously conscionable though better tempered than yourselves, may be found to conspire with you.

As for the nameless bishop whom you cite, you must pardon me if I did not understand either you or him: for the words in your Defence run, that "the service of the church of England is not[m] so dressed, that if a pope should come and see it he would claim it as his own." Now you report them to be, that "the service of the church of England is now so dressed, &c:" so as you cannot blame me if I knew not the meaning or the man. But by this your description of his preaching it, "as matter of humiliation to all the bishops of this kingdom, in a day of solemn and national fasting," I perceive it is the reverend bishop of Carlisle[n] whom you thus cited, and whom you have herein not a little wronged. I acquainted that worthy prelate with the passage: he disavows the words, and defies the reporters; vehemently protesting that he never spake either those words or that sense; and, to make it good, delivered me the pretended clause, transcribed out of his notes with his own hand: which I reserve by me; no whit sounding that way; but signifying only a vehement dislike of some innovations, as the turning the table to an altar, and the low cringing towards the altar so erected; but as for the liturgy or service of the church of England, not a touch of either in his thoughts or tongue. Now, brethren, learn you hence just matter of private humiliation, for so foul a slander of a grave and religious bishop; and in him of this whole church.

For learned Calvin; if those who profess to honour his name would have been ruled by his judgment, we had not had so miserable distractions in the church, as we have now cause to bewail. All that I say of him is, that his 'censure' of some

[m] The word is *now* in Smectymnuus's Answer. Lond. 1641.—PRATT.

[n] [Barnabas Potter, bp. of Carlisle from 1629 to 1642. See Stubbs, Reg. Sacr. Anglic. Oxon. 1858.]

"tolerable fooleries[o]" in our holy service 'might well have been forborne *in aliena republica:*' your vindication is, that he wrote that epistle to the English at Frankfort. Who doubts it? The parties were proper; the occasion just: but not the censure. *Parcius ista,* when we meddle with other men's affairs. I may well be pardoned, if I say that harsh phrase doth not answer the moderation which that worthy divine professeth to hold in the controversy of the English[p].

[q]As for that "unparalleled discourse" whereon you run so much descant, "concerning the antiquity of liturgies" deduced so high as from Moses' time; you argue that it cannot be, because you never read it. Brethren, 'your not omniscient eyes' shall see that my eyes are so "lyncean" as to see you proudly misconfident: you shall see, that others have seen what you did not; and shall sample that which you termed "unparalleled."

It is neither thank to your bounty nor praise to your ingenuity that the question is half granted by you, but an argument of your self-contradiction.

An order of divine service you yield; but not a form: or a form, but not prescribed, not imposed. And for this you tell us a tale of "Justin Martyr's liturgy," and "Tertullian's liturgy:" how much to the purpose, the sequel shall show.

In the former you grant, that "after the exhortation they all rose and joined in prayer: prayer ended, they went to the sacrament." But whether these prayers were suddenly conceived, or ordinately prescribed, there is the question: and whether that sacrament were administered in an arbitrary and various form, methinks yourselves should find cause to doubt.

But, Justin says, to clear this point, that "in the beginning" of this action, "the president poured out prayers and thanksgiving according to his ability, and the people said Amen." Whatever his ability was, I am sure you have a rare ability in misconstruing the fathers: and particularly these testimonies of Justin and Tertullian.

To begin with the latter. Out of him you say, "the Christians in those times did in their public assemblies pray, *sine monitore, quia de pectore;* without any prompter but their own heart."

[o] Tolerabiles ineptiæ. [Calv. Epist. Genev. 1575. p. 158.]

[p] In Anglorum controversia moderationem tenui, cujus me non pœnitet.—Cal. Epist.

[q] [Parag. 2.]

Prove, first, that Tertullian speaks of public assemblies. Secondly, know, that if he did, the place is to your disadvantage: for, as a late learned author[r] well urges, would ye have it imagined that the assembled Christians did betake themselves publicly to their private devotions, each man by himself, as his own heart dictated? This were absurd, and not more against ancient practice, than, as yourselves think, piety[s].

Was it then, that not the people, but the minister was left to the liberty of his expressions? What is that to the people? How did they e'er the more pray without a prompter? How is it more out of their heart, when they follow the minister, praying out of unknown conceptions, than out of foreknown prescription? So as you must be admonished, that your *sine monitore*, "without a prompter," is without all colour of proof of prayers conceived.

Your "Zephyrus" blows with too soft a gale to shake the foundation of this argument; and indeed is but a side wind to my 'Heraldus,' and the very same blast with your "Rigaltius," though you would seem to fetch them out of different corners.

If I give you your own asking, you have gained nothing: for what would you infer? Christians prayed for the emperors without a monitor, as the heathens did not: therefore they had no forms of Christian prayers:—He were liberal that would grant you this consequent; when, rather, the very place shows what the form was which the Christians then used: "We are praying still for all emperors, that God would give them a long life, a secure reign, a safe court, valiant hosts, faithful counsellors, good people, and a quiet world[t]." This was Tertullian's liturgy, wherein the hearts of Christians joined "without a monitor."

It is small advantage that you will find in my sense of *sine monitore*; 'not being urged by any superior injunction.' "If no injunction," you say, "how could it be a liturgy; a commanded, imposed form?" You are unwilling to understand that the injunction here meant is general, a command to pray for the emperor; not a particular charge of the forms enjoined in praying. This was therefore the praise of their Christian loyalty, that even unrequired they poured out their supplications for princes.

[r] Author of the Use of Public Prayer.

[s] This is that which is ordinarily termed by them "A sacrifice of fools;" out of Eccl. v. 1.

[t] Precantes sumus pro omnibus imperatoribus; vitam prolixam, imperium securum domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum.—Tert. Apol. c. 30. [ed. Rigalt. Paris. 1675. p. 27.]

Shortly then, after all these pretended senses, Tertullian will not upon any terms be drawn to your party.

Those other two places of Tertullian and Austin are merely sleeveless and unproving; not making any whit at all more for conceived prayers, than for prescribed. Who ever made question, whether we might build our prayers upon our Saviour's form? or whether we might vary our prayers with our occasions? Those fathers say no more, we no less. Ye dare "not say there were no public liturgy in St. Austin's time:" my margin was conviction enough; which ye touch, as an iron too hot, with an hand quickly snatched away. Your denial should have drawn on further proofs[u].

Justin Martyr[x], though fifty years before Tertullian, follows him in your discourse. How guiltily you both translate and cite him, an author[y] of no mean judgment hath showed before me. I shall not therefore glean after his sickle. But shortly thus, take your *ὅση δύναμις* in your own best sense, for *quantum pro virili potest*[z]; what will follow? The president prayed and gave thanks to the utmost of his power; therefore the church had then no liturgy. What proof call you this? Look back, brethren, to your own citation[a]; you shall find prayers more than once in their Lord's-day meetings. These latter were the presidents; the former, some other ministers: these, in the usual set forms; those, out of present conception: both stand well together, both agreeable to the practice; as of these, so of former ages.

[b]BUT while I affect overfull answers, I feel myself grow, like you, tedious. I must contract myself and them.

Your assertion of the original of set forms of liturgy, I justly say is more 'magisterial' than true, and such as your 'own testimonies confute.'

That of the council of Laodicea is most pregnant for set forms[c],

[u] Your cavil in the margin of your book shows you want matter of quarrel. The *suas*, which you would have instead of *nostras*, is a disadvantage to yourself. Those are called the people's prayers, which the church ever had, and shall have: and those were to be looked on therefore prescribed, and to be read; there being a clear opposition betwixt *audirent* and *intuerentur*.

[x] Justin Mart. Apol. i. [καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς——ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει. ed. Thirlby, Lond. 1722. p. 98.]

[y] Use of Public Prayers.

[z] The word may as well imply all intension of voice, because the congregation was large.

[a] Page 15.

[b] [Parag. 3.]

[c] Conc. Laod. c. 19. [Bin. Col. Agr. 1606. t. i. p. 289.]

before Arius or Pelagius looked forth into the world: wherein mention is expressly made of three forms of prayer; one, by and for the *Catechumeni;* the second for the penitents; the third for the faithful. You cannot elude so clear a proof by saying the council required prayers for all these, but did not "bind to set forms" in prayers: for the same council stops your mouth, while it tells you in plain terms[d], τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, that "the same form or liturgy of prayers was to be used morning and evening." And Clemens (though not the true, yet ancient) tells us, τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἑστῶτες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, &c, and in the eighth book of his "Constitutions" recites large prayers which were publicly used in the church. Let the reader now judge where the shuffling lies. The canon requires one of these prayers to be in silence: what then? So doth our liturgy require, in the ordination of ministers, that in one passage of this solemn act, our prayers should be secret and silent; yet the rest is no less in set forms.

You might, then, be ashamed to object want of fidelity to me in the citation of that testimony which I but barely quoted in my margin.

Neither can you avoid a self-confutation in your own proofs.

There was no noise of the Arian heresy till the Nicene council. The council of Laodicea, wherein set forms are notified, was before the Nicene by your own account. Yea, but, say you, the heresy of Arius was not "just born at the period of the Nicene council:" true; but was it born so long before as that any council took notice of it before the Nicene? This you dare not affirm. But, for a second shift, "the heresy of Arius troubled the church some time before the name of Arius was borrowed by it:" grant we, upon good authority of fathers and councils, that the ground of the cursed error of Arius concerning the Son of God was laid before by others; what is that to the question of set prayers? What is, if this be not, a plain shuffle? Neither is it any other than a mere slur, wherewith you pass over the unanswerable pressure of the Laodicean council before mentioned, by cavilling the difference betwixt "prescribing" and 'composing.' The council is flat in both, and enjoins one and the same liturgy of prayers. Certainly, brethren, you find cold comfort at Laodicea.

Let us see how you mend yourselves at Carthage. The fathers

[d] Conc. Laod. c. 18. [ibid.]

there enjoin[e], that no man in his prayers should name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father; that in assisting at the altar their prayers should be directed to the Father; that no man should make use of any other form than is prescribed, unless he did first confer with his more learned brethren. Hence you gather, "there was no set form in use in the church;" and no "such circumscribing of liberty in prayer" that a man should be tied "to a set liturgy." The charge was doubtless given upon a particular occasion, which is buried with time. Whether it were ignorance or heedlessness in those African priests that they thus mistook in their devotions, I cannot determine. But why might it not be then, as it is with too many now, that notwithstanding the church's prescriptions men will be praying as they list; and let fall such expressions as may well deserve censure and restraint? However, that they had set forms, seems to be sufficiently implied in their own words: *Quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit:* for, what can that *aliunde* relate unto, but some former prescription? which that they had, even in these African churches, we need no other testimony than of the Magdeburgenses[f], who cites Cyprian himself for this purpose in his book *de Oratione Dominica;* where he tells us that the priest began with *Sursum corda,* "Lift up your hearts;" and the congregation answered, "We lift them up unto the Lord." To which they add, *Formulas denique quasdam precationum sine* [*absque*] *dubio habuerunt.* "They had then, without doubt, certain set forms of prayers;" and to suppose that they had prescribed forms for public use which no man should be required to use, it were a strange and uncouth fancy.

Neither need we any better contest for our defence than him whom you cite in your margin, learned Cassander, in the just allegation both of this council and the Milevitan[g], the canon whereof runs thus: "It pleaseth the fathers, that those prayers or orisons which are approved in the synod shall be used by all men: and no other shall be said in the church, but such as have been made by some prudent authors, or allowed of the synod; lest perhaps something may be composed by them, through ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith." Say, readers, is not this a likely testimony to be produced against set forms of

[e] Conc. Carthag. iii. c. 23. [Bin. ut sup. t. i. p. 544.]

[f] Centur. Magdeb. cent. 3. c. 6. [de ritibus circa orationes. Basil. 1564. p. 135.]

[g] Concil. Milevit. ii. [§. 12. Bin. ut sup. t. i. p. 600.]

prayer? What is it then that you would hence infer? First, "that this," being anno 416, "is the first mention of prayers to be approved or ratified in a synod, and the restraining to the use of them:"—Grant that it were so of prayers to be ratified or restrained: is it so of prayers to be used? Are you not sufficiently convinced herein by the synod of Laodicea? It is the occasion that draws on the law. Till now this presumption, of obtruding private men's prayers upon the public use of the church, was not heard of in those parts: now only was it seasonable for correction. Secondly, you say "the restriction was not such but that" it admitted "a toleration of prayers" framed by "prudent" divines, no less than those "which were approved by the synod:"—What gain you by that? when these prayers were said and not conceived; and so said that they were put into forms, not left to arbitrary delivery? Thirdly, "the occasion of this restriction," being "the prevention of errors" in praying, is so universal both for time and place, that it may well argue this practice to be most ancient for the original, and worthy to be perpetual for the continuance.

And now, that the vindicators may see how small cause the Remonstrant hath to be convinced of the lateness of set forms imposed, (not till the Arian and Pelagian heresies invaded the church,) let them be pleased to tell the reader what those εὐχαὶ προσταχθεῖσαι, "prayers prescribed," were, whereof Origen speaks in his sixth book against Celsus, so frequently used[h]: and, if that word may undergo another sense, what those εὐχαὶ can be construed, wherefrom he quotes three or four passages of scriptures in the fourth book against Celsus. Lastly, what the meaning and inference may be of that which the Centuries allege out of Origen in his second Homily upon Jeremy; *Ubi frequenter, in oratione, dicimus, Da, Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum prophetis: da cum apostolis Christi tui: tribue, ut inveniamur ad vestigia Unigeniti tui*[i]. If this be not part of a set form of prayer, and long before Arius or Pelagius, I have lost both my aim and the day: if it be, repent of your confidence, and recant your error; and grant, at last, that out of "most venerable antiquity" the

[h] Vid. Author of the Use of Public Prayer, pp. 8, 9.

[i] Cent. 3. c. 6. "Where we often, in our prayer, say, Give us, O Lord Almighty, give us a portion with thy prophets: give us a portion with the apostles of thy Christ: grant that we may be found in the footsteps of thine only-begotten Son." [Magdeb. ut sup. p. 135.]

approvers of liturgies have produced such evidences for their ancient use, as your insolent wisdom may jeer, but can never answer.

[k]How I admire your goodness! Merciful men, you pardon that fault which in justice ye could not find, or cannot prove.

My "confident assertion" of the prayers wherewith Peter and John joined when they went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, that they were 'not of a sudden conception, but of a regular prescription,' shall be made good with better authority than your bold and braving denial. I say the prayers wherewith they joined, not the prayers which they made. The prayers which they made were their own[l]; which wipes away your stout instance in the pharisee and publican: but the prayers wherewith they joined were public and regular. For, in all their sacrifices and oblations, the Jews had their set service of prayers, which gave life to those otherwise dead, or at least dumb, actions. The noble and learned lord Du Plessis[m], the great glory of the reformed church of France, speaks home to this purpose: so doth the renowned P. Fagius[n], the dead martyr of our Cambridge: besides learned Capellus, whom we cited in our late 'Defence.' *Confessio olim in sacrificio solennis: ejus, præter quam in lege vestigia, in prophetis formulam habemus. In ipsis Judæorum libris verba tanquam concepta extant, quæ sacerdos pronunciare solitus;* saith the said Mornay Du Plessis[o]: "There was a solemn confession in their sacrifice of old; whereof, besides that we have certain footsteps in the law, we have the very form in the prophets. In the books of the Jews the very express words[p] are extant which the priest had wont to pronounce." Thus he. And Lyranus, well acquainted with the Jewish practices, as being one of them himself, tells us, that the priest was used to confess, in general, all the sins of the people,

[k] [Parag. 4.]

[l] So Hannah made her private prayers in the house of God; 1 Sam. i. 10.

[m] Mor. du Pless. de Missa, l. i. c. 3. [Comme donc nostre Seigneur n'estoit pas venu pour abolir le loi ainsi pour l'accomplir; ni les apostres envoiès pour changer le just service de Dieu institué et entretenu en la synagogue ne doutons qu'à l'exemple de Christ ils ne se conformassent à ce saincte service. L'Institution, &c. du Sainct Sacrement, &c. Saumur 1604. p. 27.]

[n] P. Fagius in Paraphras. Chald. in Lev. xvi. and in xxiii.

[o] Du Pless. de Missa et ejus partibus, l. i. c. 5.

[p] *Verba tanquam concepta*, "the very words as conceived by him."

"as," saith he[q], "we are wont to do in the entrance of our mass." But Ludovicus Capellus, the French oracle of Hebrew learning, hath those very words, whereat you jeer so oft, as falling from my pen: *Ex quibus videre est, orationem, cujus causa Petrus et Johannes petebant templum, fuisse eam, quæ a Judæis dicitur* מִנְחָה קְטַנָּה; *quæ respondet oblationi vespertinæ lege præscriptæ, quæ fiebat, ut loquitur scriptura, inter duas vesperas*[r]. Thus he: whom I beseech you, brethren, laugh at for company.

Admire with me, reader, the subtlety of this deep exception. Our Saviour, I say, prescribed to his disciples, besides the rule, a direct form of prayer. What say my great challengers to this? "The Remonstrant will have an hard task," say they, "to prove from scripture that either John or our Saviour gave to their disciples public liturgies, or that the disciples were tied to the use of this form." Truly the task were as hard as the very mention of it is absurd and unreasonable. For shame, brethren, leave this palpable shuffling. The Remonstrant spake of a 'prayer:' ye ask for a "liturgy." The Remonstrant speaks of 'prescribing:' ye talk of "tying;" which, till your reply, came not so much as into question. It must be a weak sight that cannot discern your gross subterfuges.

'The use that our Saviour was pleased to make,' in his last supper, 'of the fashions and words which were usual in the Jewish feasts,' is plainly affirmed, not by Cassander only, whose *videtur* you please to play upon, but by Paulus Fagius at large; by Mornæus; by Capellus. And if these took it from "Maimonides, who wrote not till a thousand years after Christ," yet from whom, I beseech you, had Maimonides this observation? A man of yesterday may, upon good grounds of authority, tell a truth of a thousand years old.

I let pass the mere nonsense wherewith you shut up this paragraph, as more worthy of the reader's smile than my confutation; who will easily assume, by comparing the place, how little I meant to fetch a liturgy from a feast, or necessity out of an arbitrary act.

q Lyran. in Lev. xvi. [Postill. Nic. Lyran. Bibl. Sac. Lug. 1590. p. 1049.]

r Lud. Capel. Spic. in Act. iii. "Whence we may see, that the prayer for which Peter and John went up to the temple, was that which the Jews called מִנְחָה קְטַנָּה 'the lesser oblation;' which answered to the evening oblation prescribed by the law, &c."

To prove that the Jews had a form of liturgy even from Moses' time, I produced a monument above the reach of your either knowledge or censure: a Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of our most learned and famous primate of Ireland, written in Arabic, translated into that tongue out of the Hebrew; as Jos. Scaliger, whose it once was, testifies; fetching down the story from Moses to Adrian's time, and somewhat below it.

Out of this so ancient record, I cited the very words of the author, which these men would fain mistake as my own: wherein he mentions a book of the old liturgy of the Jews, in which were contained those songs and prayers which were used before their sacrifices: adding, "For before every of their several sacrifices, they had their several songs still used in those times of peace; all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of the legate (Moses) unto this day, by the ministry of the high priest[t]." Thus he.

This is our evidence. Now let us see your shifts.

First, you tell us, those "were only divine hymns, wherein there was always something of prayer." If but thus, we have what we would: for what are praises, but one kind of prayers; and what can be more said for a set form of hymns, than of petitions? But, brethren, ye might have seen in the author's own words, which you are loath to see, "songs and prayers, which were ever used before their sacrifices," and were comprised in that ancient service-book. See now, reader, whether there be not something for set prayers in the author's own words, which these men would wittingly outface, and not willingly see.

The testimony cannot be eluded: now it must be disparaged. "Joseph Scaliger had certainly but two Samaritan Chronicles." Who says he had more? I cited but one: what needed you (but to show the world you can tell something) to talk of two? What business have we with that "shorter Chronicle," which you will

[t] Postea mortuus est Adrianus, cujus Deus non misereatur! obiitque cum luctu et magna contritione. Tempus autem regni, anni sunt 21. (Deus conterat ejus ossa!) ita ut computus annorum ab Adamo ad mortem ejus 4513. mens. 7. Quo tempore &c. abstulit librum optimum, qui penes illos fuit, jam inde a diebus illis tranquillis et pacificis, qui comprehendebat cantiones et preces sacrificiis præmissas. Singulis, enim, sacrificiis singulas præmiserunt cantiones jam tum diebus pacis usitatas; quæ omnia, accurate conscripta, in singulas transmissa subsequentes generationes, a tempore legati (Moses sc.) ad hunc usque diem, per ministerium pontificum max. Hunc ille librum abstulit, &c. quo libro historia nulla præter pentateuchum Mosis antiquior invenitur, &c.—Chron. Samaritan.

needs draw into mention? Let that be as "fond" as your exception is unseasonable: what is that to us? How else should we have known that you had taken notice of a "Samaritan Pentateuch," and "learned Mr. Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana*?" Away with this poor ostentation: speak to the purpose. What can you say against that large Samaritan Chronicle which I produced, turned out of Hebrew into Arabic, written in a Samaritan character, and now not a little esteemed by the great and eminently judicious primate, in whose library it is? Surely, as I have heard some bold pleaders, when they have feared a strong testimony, pick quarrels at the face of the witness; so do you, brethren, in this case. Scaliger himself, you say, the former owner, passes this "censure" upon it, "that though it have many things worthy of knowledge, yet they are crusted over with Samaritan devices." Who can expect other, but that a Samaritan should speak like himself, when it comes to a difference in religion? but this is no reason why, in matters accorded, there should be any distrust. What a Bellarmine writes of the holy Trinity passeth for no less current than the best of our own. If Ainsworth lived and died a separatist, yet we dare believe him in his report of Jewish Antiquities, no less than Broughton, Weemes, Drusius. So as this wind shakes not the authority of this relation.

But "judge," you say, "how much credit we are to give to this book for antiquity, as far as Moses, which makes no mention of their own original, any other ways than that they came out of Egypt by Moses." A poor and groundless exception! for that which we allege this author for, is only the report of a book containing the forms of prayers used by the Jews since Moses; and as for the mention of their own original, it was their glory to fetch themselves from the first Jewish patriarchs, as the Samaritan woman did at Jacob's well: neither would they challenge a lower rise. No marvel therefore if they passed in silence the history of the defection of the ten tribes, as rather tending to their own blemish; especially considering what Josephus reports of their fashion, that ever, when the Jews prospered, they claimed brotherhood of them; when contrarily, they proclaimed hostility.

And what if this author "doth only touch the names of Samson, Samuel, David;" what doth this detract from the credit and validity of his history?

So as notwithstanding your frivolous cavils, we will take leave

to make so much of our Samaritan Chronicle, as to avow it for a noble and ancient proof of that my confident assertion of the use of liturgies since Moses.

[u] YOUR pretended proof to the contrary, which you so gloriously bring out of your "famous Rabbi Moses Maimonides" in his Mishna, will prove but a vain flourish; and if it work anything, it will be for my advantage. For what is it that he says? "It is," saith he, "an affirmative precept, that prayers should be made to God every day, &c." *Cæterum neque numerus, &c.* "But neither the number of those prayers, nor the obligation to this or that prayer, nor the certain and definite time of prayer, is enjoined in the law." Thus he. Now how doth that concern us? Who ever defended that Moses, in the letter of the law, had given order for either number, or time, or obligation of particular prayers, of several Israelites? although, under your good favour, we know that even then there were solemn forms of words to be used in the remove and resting of the ark[x], and in the solemn benedictions of Israel[y], and in the trials of jealousy prescribed by God himself to the priests; whereof what can ye make other than a shorter kind of stinted liturgy? Length or brevity makes no variance. But what doth this imply other than that there were of old, prescriptions both of number, and time, and forms, though not expressed in the law? particulars whereof we shall produce in the sequel: such as were not only for the help of the ignorant, but for the direction of the priests themselves, and for the better devotion of the people. That "Ezra," therefore, and "the men of the great synagogue," made use of those "eighteen forms of prayers" or benedictions prescribed by them so long ago, it argues nothing that the like forms were not in set practice before their times.

So as your Maimonides, after all your proritation, holds no other than fair terms with our Samaritan Chronicle.

And would learned Capellus, think you, make himself so merry at the view of this passage? Surely, brethren, it would be at your fond and ridiculous misprision, in playing not upon my words, but your own idle fancy.

I cited Capellus[z] for 'the forms of prayer used at the mincha and other sacrifices,' which you cannot gainsay: but that I should

[u] [Parag. 6.]
[x] Num. x. 35, 36.
[y] Num. vi. 23–26.
[z] Capell. Spicil. in Act. ii.

infer "from him, that the Jewish liturgies were as ancient as Moses;" it is your mere dream, not my assertion. It would become you to make more conscience of your suggestions.

As for the marginal note out of Buxtorfius, it is worthy of but a marginal touch. What such abuse were it to say, that Maimonides took those thirteen articles of his creed from the Jews' devotion; when the same author confesses they had a being before, but were by Rabbi Moses Bar Maimon redacted into this order wherein they stand? Surely, that ever since Ezra's time they had a known form of prayer, is confessed clearly by the same Rabbin, in his Mishna; as we have formerly seen: and what place could be more proper for the seat of a creed?

But to meet a little with your crowing insultation, in this passage of the age of the Jewish liturgy, what say you to that express testimony of Paulus Fagius[a]; a man, one of the best acquainted with Hebrew learning of all ours in his age: who, upon the Chaldee Paraphrase of Leviticus, chap. xvi. in the words *Et confiteatur super eum*, hath thus, *Forma confessionis, qua tum usus est summus pontifex, secundum Hebræorum relationem, hæc fuit, &c:* "The form of confession which the high priest then," in the first times of the law, "used, according to the relation of the Hebrews, was thus, "O Lord, thy people of the house of Israel have sinned: they have done wickedly: they have grievously transgressed before thee: I beseech thee now, O Lord, forgive their sins, and iniquities, and transgressions, wherein thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, done wickedly, and transgressed before thee." And, when the said high priest offered a bullock for a sin offering[b], then he said in this manner, "O Lord, I have sinned: I have done wickedly, and have grievously transgressed: I beseech thee now, O Lord, be merciful to those sins, and iniquities, and grievous transgressions, wherein I have sinned, done wickedly, and transgressed against thee." And when he should offer the other bullock, he used much-what the same form; adding, "I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, thy holy people, have sinned, &c. I beseech thee now, O Lord, pardon the sins, and iniquities, and transgressions, &c." This triple confession did the high priest solemnly use in the feast of expiation. And what the

[a] P. Fagius in Chal. Parap. Lev. xvi. O Domine, peccarunt: inique egerunt: [et prævaricati sunt coram te.]

[b] Et cum [cum vero] offeret juvencum pro peccato.

form of the high priest's prayer was when he appeared before the Lord, the said Fagius shows us out of the Talmud[c].

Besides this there was a set form, and that somewhat large, of prayer and benediction, which the master of the family amongst the Jews was privately wont to use in the holy feasts; which the same author elsewhere, in his Chaldee Paraphrase upon Deut. viii. fully expresses; adding withal (which you were pleased to make sport with, as mine), *Verisimile est, Christum quibusdam, quæ in his precibus continentur, usum fuisse*[d]. "It is very likely that our Saviour made use of some passages which are contained in these prayers." And Paulus Burgensis tells us, it was an old tradition amongst the Jews, that when they had eaten the paschal lamb, they sang the psalms from *Laudate, pueri, Dominum*, to *Beati immaculati;* that is, from the cxiiith to the cxixth; adding, *Verisimile hos a Domino decantatos:* "It is likely that these were sung by our Saviour in his last supper."

By this time the reader sees there is somewhat more ground for a set form of prayer amongst the ancient Jews than your deep rabbinism would condescend unto.

I have dwelt somewhat longer in this point, because I see the chief pride of your "Vindication" lies in this passage of Jewish skill. Wherein I well see with whose heifer you have ploughed, and what name you might add, if there were room, to your learned acrostics: but, when all is done, I am deceived if you may not put your gains in your eye.

FOR "Christian liturgies," your like confidence challenges the Remonstrant "to produce any liturgy that was the issue of the first three hundred years." I name those under the style of James, Basil, Chrysostom, as ancient, though spuriously interserted.

You tell me of those of Peter, Matthew, Mark, &c. (though Peter's was the same with Mark's), and cite learned Rivetus, who censures these as "zizania; the tares which the enemy sowed while the husbandman slept." Quite beside the cushion. Those were such, as all wise Christians will confess with St. Austin, were *a sutoribus fabularum, sub apostolorum nomine conscripti,* "broached by some cogging merchants under the name of the apostles."

[c] Ubi supra.

[d] P. Fagius in Chal. Parap. Deut. viii. [Maxime quod principium et finem attinet usum fuisse.]

But these other were generally, both for matter and manner, holy; though interspersed with some passages that might argue a later hand: while others of them bear such age as that they are cited by ancient fathers for authentic parts of the formerly received liturgies.

Shortly, then, to produce those entire liturgies which were in the first three hundred years, is as unreasonable to demand as impossible to perform. How many noble monuments besides these have perished, as swallowed up by the devouring jaws of time, which it were a vain hope to revoke!

But that there were such liturgies in use with those churches within the time required, I doubt not to evince.

What else, I beseech you, was that *Euchologium*, which Origen before that time cites? Whence were those passages of interchanged devotion, which the centuriators themselves instance in from Cyprian, fore-alleged by me? I dare boldly say, ye cannot answer these demands, and not yield your cause.

To which let me add, in the next succeeding age, those εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους which Eusebius tells us that Constantine made use of in his court[e]. Our learned Christophorson renders it thus: *Constitutas, cum universo ecclesiæ cœtu, preces reddebat;* so as, notwithstanding your colourable proof in your Defence, of the frame of a prayer enjoined to the soldiers by that good emperor, it is clear enough that in those times there was a set form of liturgy enjoined to the use of the church.

Learned Mornay, an author past exception, shall attest with me; who, in that elaborate and accurate treatise of the mass and the parts thereof, dividing that divine service according to the distribution of the Laodicean synod, which you would fain have eluded by a pretence of no prescription of forms, into that of the *Catechumeni*, that of the Penitents, that of the Faithful, hath thus[f]: *Hic jam mille fidelium locus, cujus ab oratione generali exordium, &c:* "This then is the place of the service of the faithful, whose entrance was always with a general prayer for all the world, for the state of the church, for the necessities both public and private. The Grecians call this a Litany, or supplication, &c." *Quæ autem orationis illius forma fuerit ab incunabulis ecclesiæ, ad hoc usque seculum custodita, ex coævis*

[e] Εἶτ' εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦσιν ἀπεδίδου. Euseb. de Vita Const. l. iv. c. 17.

[f] Morn. du Pless. lib. de Miss. cap. 5. [L'Institution, &c. du S. Sacrement. Saumur, 1604. p. 59.]

authoribus perspicuum: "What the form of that prayer was, which hath been kept, even from the cradle of the church unto this very age, it is apparent out of the authors that lived in those times."

Thus that famous lord, Du Plessis: who seconds his own judgment by pregnant authorities from Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin; to which, out of the fear of tediousness, I remit my reader.

By all which it is, I hope, made evident enough that, before ever Pelagius or Arius infected the world, prescribed forms of public prayers were commonly used in the Christian church.

It is indeed more than an "implication" which the Remonstrant drew from the Ancyran synod[g]. The presbyter that had once sacrificed was forbidden, *προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν,* "to offer, to preach, to officiate in priestly administrations." What is the minister's employment but the word, sacraments, and prayers: all three here inhibited; and these last under the name of liturgies?

And, that these anti-Remonstrants may not "delude" the reader with an opinion that any either mistake or fraud will follow upon the "ambiguity" of the word, it may please the reader to take notice of what these carpers will not see—a plain expression in my translated words, of 'liturgies or ministrations.' It is great pity that the Remonstrant did not know so well as these deep heads that *λειτουργεῖν* is a word of both various and general use. They needed not to send him to "Zonaras" or "Balsamon" for this parcel of philology, which he could have taught them nearer home, out of St. Paul himself, and St. Luke: in whom they shall find *ἡμέραν λειτουργίας* applied to Zacharias's sacrificing, Luke i. 23; and *σκεύη λειτουργίας,* which our last translation turns *vessels of the ministry,* Heb. ix. 21. Yea, the very collection of alms is St. Paul's *λειτουργία,* 2 Cor. ix. 12; and Epaphroditus is his *λειτουργός,* Phil. ii. 25. What use then was there of this vast piece of grammar-learning, when the Remonstrant himself interpreted liturgies by 'ministrations?'

I EXTOLLED the due use of 'conceived prayer.' Even this doth not please, but invites suspicion rather. Well might I complain of this sullenness and morosity.

If the quarrels that you picked with the both "original and

[g] Concil. Anc. [c. 1. Bin. t. i. p. 270.]

confirmation of our liturgy" prove unjust, you may well allow me to call your arguing about it no other than 'wrangling.'

For the original, I deduced it from 'ancient models; not Roman, but Christian:' you except at the terms of pretended "opposition;" and still "could fetch sparks to fling in the face of him" who, 'by the suffrages of unquestionable divines, hath showed the just sense of the true visibility of the Roman church. Truly, brethren, this is merely to bark, where you have no power at all to bite. What faculty you have in flinging sparks I know not; but I am sure, if you blow this coal hard, the sparks will fly in your eyes. The question is so thoroughly settled by those which you spitefully call "begged" suffrages, that no wit of man can find but a probable colour to revive it.

Fain would you have something to say to doctor Hall, if ye knew what it were. In his book of the "Old Religion" he cites a speech of Luther's: that this good friend of Rome says, "Under the papacy is true Christianity; yea, the very kernel of Christianity." What of this? Did doctor Hall feign that Luther said so? or do these men fear that Luther is turned papist? "Compare this," you say, "with that the bishop of Salisbury saith, in his begged suffrage, who thus speaks: That the church of Rome is no more a true church than an arrant whore is a true wife to her husband." Well: compare Luther with the bishop of Salisbury; two worthy divines: what then? They will, I hope, prove good friends, and doctor Hall with them both; whose own suffrage hath been and is no less peremptory against Rome than this which he begged: 'A married woman, though she be a close harlot, is yet a wife; and though she be not true to her husband's bed, yet she is truly his wife till she be legally divorced.' Such is the state of the Roman church to doctor Davenant, and doctor Hall, and all other orthodox divines. Where now is your charity, in raising such groundless intimations against your innocent brethren?

Tell the reader, I beseech you, where that "scorn" lies, which you say is cast upon you in this passage of my 'Defence.' I justly boast of those our martyrs and confessors which were the composers of our liturgy: you would fain counterpoise them with "some holy martyrs and confessors of the same reformed religion, that opposed it even to persecution;" and tell us of the "troubles of Frankfort." Pardon me, brethren; some confessors you may talk of, but martyrs ye can name none. One, who was

the most vehement of all those opposers, I knew to live and die in a quiet submission to the liturgy established: none of them suffered death for religion. They might be holy men, and yet might square in their opinions: even betwixt Paul and Barnabas there was a παροξυσμός. My praise of our martyrs tended not to the disparagement of any other.

As for that slur which your "Answer" seemed to cast upon the edict of king James and our parliamentary acts, that they are not unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, your so deep protestation clears you in our thoughts. I have charity enough to believe you; but I must tell you, that speech might have a good heart, but it hath an ill face. Let it pass with favour.

And as for those "cheerful expressions" which you confess you have taken liberty to make use of in the passages of your book, you will pardon me if they be entertained with as cheerful answers. "Tertullian" shall be seconded by Horace: *Ridentem dicere verum, quis vetat?* Let those laugh that win.

FOR your "Queries;" it seems you think I am merry too soon in receiving them with so "sarcastical a declamation."

YOUR project is of the altering of our liturgy: I tell you seriously, if you drive at 'total alteration,' as your words seem to import, your query is worthy of no better reception than scorn: for, that any private person should, as of his own head, move for the entire change of a thing established by so sacred authority and such firm and full laws, can be no better than a bold and ridiculous insolence.

It was truly told you, that if you intended only a correction of some inconvenient expressions, no doubt it would be 'considered of by wiser heads than your own;' whereby I meant that honourable and reverend committee to which this great care was, by public assent, referred: you straight suspect "a design to gain upon the parliament, and, by a pretended shadow of alteration, to prevent a real and total reformation."

Take heed, brethren, lest you heedlessly wrong them whom you profess to honour, and we with you. Is the parliament, think you, so easy to be gained upon by pretended shadows? Will those solid judgments be likely to be swayed by colours?

Why do you cast that aspersion upon them, to whom ye say you have presented these considerations, and to whose grave wisdoms we do no less humbly submit? That God who sits in the assembly of the judges of the earth, will, we hope, so guide the hearts of those great and prudent peers and commons, that they shall determine what may conduce most to peace and godly uniformity.

But sure, brethren, you could not imagine that by those 'wiser heads' we should mean our own, when you compare your own designs and success with our plain credulity and late unthriving proceedings. Enjoy your winnings without our envy, not without our pity of the poor church of England, which will, I fear, too late rue your prevalence.

The "alteration of the liturgy sent into Scotland" is a business utterly unconcerning us. Whatever unhappy hands were in it, would God they had been prevented by some seasonable gout or palsy!

In the report of the alteration made of the liturgy in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, I fear you do not well agree either with truth or with yourselves, if we compare this passage with your first entry into this large section. Let the scanning of it be left to the reader's better leisure, as not worthy to retard our way.

Doctor Taylor, whom you are pleased seriously to honour with the titles of my irony, hath made good amends, belike, for the praise he gave to our liturgy, which he helped to compose, in his censure of a "bishop's license," and the "priestly robes:" the one whereof you say he called the "mark of the beast;" the other a "fool's coat." But what if the strange variety of popish vestments seemed to that holy martyr ridiculous? What if to take a license to preach from the hands of a popish bishop seemed to him no better than to receive the mark of the beast? what is that to us? what to the cause? Were these tenets erroneous, is this sufficient to enervate his testimony for the allowance of that litany which he made his last prayer at his parting with his dear consort? and for the free use whereof he blessed that God to whom he was sending up his soul? Were it a good ground of judgment, that he who once errs can never say true? But, for this censure of the good martyr, let those that feel the smart of it complain.

Let us descend, since you will have it so, to the re-examination of those your "reasons," which enforce your desired alteration.

First, "It symbolizeth with the popish mass." I say, 'neither as mass, nor as popish:' you disprove me in neither; neither indeed can do. Could you instance, "this prayer is superstitious; that idolatrous: this heretical; that erroneous;" you might have just reason to except at any touch of our symbolizing with them. But if the prayer be good and holy, why should I more refuse it as coming from a papist's mouth, than I would make use of a vicious prayer coming from the best protestant? Where I said, "If the devil confess Christ to be the Son of God, shall I disclaim the truth because it passed through a damned mouth?' you answer, "But you know, sir, that Christ would not receive such a confession from the devil's mouth; nor Paul neither, Acts xvi:" True, in respect of the person confessing; not of the truth confessed. As it came from an evil spirit, our Saviour and St. Paul had reason to refuse it; but neither of them would disclaim the matter of that truth which was so averred. There is great difference betwixt the words of a foul spirit and a faulty man; but, if you will needs make a parallel, it must be personal. Christ would not allow a devil to confess him: we will not allow a popish sacrificer to usurp our good prayers: but, if my Saviour would not disallow that I should make use of the good confession of an evil spirit, much less would he dislike that I should make use of that good prayer, which was once the expression of an evil man. And yet these were not such, being taken from the composures of holy men, and ill places; so as this is no other, than to take up gold mislaid in a channel, which could not impure it: you may well ask why it was laid there; you have no reason to ask why a wise man should take it up. Your question, therefore, "What need we go to the Roman Portuise for a prayer, when we can have one more free from jealousies in another place?" might have been moved to those worthies which gathered this pile of devotion; who would easily have answered you, that your jealousy is causeless, while the prayers themselves are past exception; but can with no colour of reason be charged upon us, who take holy prayers from good hands, not needing to inquire whence they had them.

Your second reason is as forceless as your first. Our liturgy "was composed," you say, "into this form on purpose to bring the papists to our churches;" that failing, there is no reason to retain it. The argument fails in every part: first, our liturgy was thus composed, on purpose that all Christians might have

a form of holy devotion, wherein they might safely and comfortably join together, both publicly and privately, in an acceptable service to their God; and this end, I am sure, fails not in respect of the intention of the composers, however it speed in the practice of the users of it. Secondly, there is no reason that, where the issue of things faileth, the good intention of the agent should be held frustrate, or his act void: our end in preaching the gospel is to win souls to God; if we prevail not, shall we surcease, and condemn our errand as vain? But here, I say, the project sped; for, 'till the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth there was no recusant.' You tell me, "It was not the converting power of the liturgy, but the constraining power of the law," that effected this: but, brethren, what "constraining power" was of any use, where there was no recusant? Every constraint implies a reluctation: here was none: if then our liturgy had no power of converting to our churches, yet it had no operation of averting from them. What the pope's negotiations were with queen Elizabeth at this time imports nothing: I am sure I have those manuscript decisions of the Jesuitish casuists, which first determined it unlawful to join with our assemblies; till which our liturgy had so good effect, that those who differed from us in opinion were not separated in our devotion. But how am I mistaken! That which I boasted of as the praise, is objected to me as the reproach, of our divine service. "What credit is this to our church," you say, "to have such a form of public worship, as papists may without offence join with us in, &c?" Or, "How shall that reclaim an erring soul, that brings their bodies to church, and leaves their hearts still in error?" I beseech you, brethren, what think you of the Lord's Prayer? Is that a perfect platform of our devotion, or is it not? Tell me, then, what Christian is there in the world, of what nation, language, sect soever, (except the separatist only,) will refuse to join with their fellow Christians in that form of prayer? And, what credit is it to our Christian profession to have such a form of public prayer, as papists, Grecians, Moscovites, Armenians, Jacobites, Abassines, may without offence join with us in? I had thought you would have looked for the reclamation of erring souls by the power of preaching? Here is no unteaching or confutation of errors; no confirmations of either doctrines or uses in the forms of our prayers: and, if I should ask you how many you have reclaimed by your 'conceived prayers,' you would not, I fear, need to

spend too much breath in the answer. When I therefore impute the rare gain of souls 'to the want or weakness in preaching,' you think to choke me by an exprobration of the fault of our governors: "Let the bishops see how they will clear their souls of this sin, who, having the sole power of admitting ministers into the church, have admitted so many weak ones; and have rejected so many faithful, able preachers, for not conforming to their beggarly rudiments:" let those whose guiltiness finds themselves galled with this crimination fly out in an angry answer; but, if there be those who have been conscionably careful not to admit them that are not competently διδάκτικοι, not to eject any peaceable and conscionable divine for mere matter of ceremony, how injuriously have you fastened upon them other men's delinquencies! although it is not unpossible that men may be able preachers, and yet turbulent; and there may be ceremonial rites, neither "theirs" nor "beggarly." You are deceived, brethren: it is not our liturgy that hath "lost" any: too many have lost themselves by a mistaught prejudice against our liturgy. As for the miscatholic part, tell me, I pray you, whether is it more likely, that a staggering papist will rather join with a church that useth a liturgy, or one that hath none; with a church that allows some of their wholesome prayers, or that which rejects and defies all, though never so holy, because theirs. And for our own, surely, if our "acute Jesuits" had no keener "arguments" than this you bring, we should be in small fear to lose proselytes: for what weak protestant could not easily reply, "The church of Rome was ancient; but yours is new: that was orthodox; this, false: the service was not yours, but borrowed and usurped from better hands: we make use of it, as we may, in the right of Christianity; not in any relation to you and your errors?" So much for you and your Jesuit, in the second reason.

Your third reason is grounded upon "stumblingblocks:" it is no marvel if it fall. Those, you say, are laid by the liturgy; and I say, 'removed by many.' So, ye know, they are by Hooker, Abbot, Hutton, Morton, Burges, Covel, and I know not how many others. Amongst the rest, I stumbled upon 'a blind man,' whose inward sight abundantly supplied the want of his bodily eyes; who hath in many of those points given, in my opinion, very clear satisfaction: but sure you could not suppose me so weak as to imagine that his lack of eyes could exempt

him from error; although divers of your exceptions are, if they were worth our insisting upon, more groundless than his tenets. But, while I allowed many of his passages, I never meant to justify all. It is far from me to excuse or patronize other men's paradoxes. We know the old distinction of scandals, taken and given: if there be any danger of the latter, 'it is,' I say, 'under careful hands to remove it;' and, however it pleases you to fall into choleric comparisons, perhaps those hands which you slight may not be the least active.

To the fourth, which is the idolizing of the liturgy, I say truly, 'Separatists' abhor it for such; never true 'protestant' adored it for such. Show us the man that ever worshipped the service-book, that we may wonder at that uncouth idolatry. Show us the man that holds it "the only worship of God in England," as you unjustly pretend. I tell you of some others, that stick not to say, 'Too many do injuriously make an idol of preaching:' (why should you "hope" I am "not serious" in affirming so undoubted a truth?) yet we may not think of abandoning it. Even "in cold blood" the argument holds firm, without equalizing one with the other. Some have made an idol of their silver and gold: must I therefore cast away this metal? You needed not fear that I would speak aught to the derogation from my own profession: but if I compare God's ordinance of prayer with his ordinance of preaching; and this individual liturgy with that individual sermon; I hope there is no danger in that collation.

To the fifth, "the great distaste" which these public prayers meet withal, is truly lamentable; and the effect of that distaste, "separation." Yet more? Let those miszealous men, who have infused these thoughts into well-meaning souls, see how they will answer it in that great day, to the Judge of the quick and dead. Surely, if the case were mine, I should fear it would fall heavy upon my soul: for if it be granted that there are divers passages in our liturgy faulty, and worthy of correction; yet no wise enemy can say they are so heinous that they bar all communion. Did they contain heresy or blasphemy, we could but separate from their use: now, their separation can no more be without our pity than without their own sin. Your argument hence inferred, that the partition wall of our offensive liturgy should be removed, because some "brainsick" men (for that title is here merely your own, not mine) are scandalized thereby, will no less hold, if this our liturgy were either altered or abolished: for, are there not

thousands that profess to be no less scandalized with any set forms whatsoever? So then, if we have any prescribed or stinted devotions at all, the partition wall stands still: and if that should be demolished, how many more, and more considerable thousands do you think would be scandalized with the want of those holy forms, whereto they have been so long and so beneficially inured? Here is therefore a scandal on both parts unavoidable; and it will be our wisdom and piety to fall upon the least. You say, ye "think, nay," you "know," that some few prelates, by their over-rigorous pressing of the service-book and ceremonies, have made more separatists than all the preachers disaffected to the ceremonies in England: I examine not the truth of your confident assertion; but will you to distinguish betwixt causes and occasions. The rigour of those few prelates might be the occasion, but the mispersuasions of those disaffected preachers were the causes, of this woful separation. Both might unhappily concur to this mischief; but those more, who are the direct and immediate agents in so bad a service.

Your last reason is so slightly enforced, that it merits rather pity than refutation. I do justly aver, that there is no reason why difference in liturgies should breed disunion between churches; or why union in religion should bind us to the same liturgies; distinguishing, as I ought, betwixt essential points and mere outward formalities. How faintly you reply, that "It is true, every difference in liturgies doth not necessitate a disunion of churches: but here the difference is too large to be covered with a few fig-leaves!" Grant it to be larger than it is, is it yet essential? The question is not, what may cover our differences, but what may disunite our churches? It is not forms of liturgies, but matter of obstinate and fundamental error, that can draw on such an effect. Tell not me, therefore, or your reader, of some "ceremonies" of ours that "will not down with other reformed churches;" when ye may as good cheap hear of some fashions of theirs which will not down with us. It is good reason, that as we give, so we should take, liberty in things indifferent, without any reciprocal dislike. As for precedency of time in our liturgy, and of dignity in our church, they may well have this operation with us, that our liturgy could not conform to that which had no being; and that other churches should rather conform to ours, which was ever noted for 'more noble' and eminent. You "desire not to eclipse the glory of this church," as you profess: yet you are

willing to overshadow it somewhat darkly; while you can say, "Our first reformation was only in doctrine; theirs, in doctrine and discipline too." Wherein you are double faulty: first, in imputing a defect to our church, most unjustly, in the extent of our reformation: what! was there no reformation but in matter of doctrine? none in matter of practice? none in idolatrous or superstitious rites? none in offensive customs? none in corruption of government? none in laws ecclesiastical? what call you eclipsing, if this be none? Secondly, in imputing that to the reformed churches as their perfection, which is indeed their unwilling and forced defect. Reformation implies the renewing of a form that once was: now show us if you can where ever in the world that form of discipline, whose erection you applaud to some neighbour churches, found place, before it was in this last age provisionally taken up by those who could not be allowed, with the liberty of true religion, to enjoy their former government. As for the comparison you are pleased to mention, betwixt the liturgies of the reformed churches and those of other Christians, Grecians, Armenians, &c. wherein you say, if you "should set down what" you "have read in the liturgies of those churches," you "believe the Remonstrant would blush for intimating there is as much reason to conform to their liturgies as those of the reformed churches:" I must tell you it is of your own making, neither did ever fall from my pen. I do "blush" indeed; but it is to see your bold mistakings and confident obtrusions of things never spoken, never meant. I do not mention a conformity to their liturgies as equally good; but only ask why we should be tied to the forms of one church more than another; as those who are entire within ourselves, and equally free from obligations to any. So as you shut up your first query with a mere cavil; and the reasons whereby you endeavoured to back it are utterly reasonless.

Your second query is to seek of so much as any good pretence of reason; yea, of sound authority: "Whether the first reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a liturgy, farther than to be a help in the want and to the weakness of the ministers."

For, first, have they ever professed their whole and sole intentions, or have they not? If not, how come you to know what they never expressed? If they have, why have you suppressed it?

Secondly, it is obvious to every common understanding, that there were other reasons besides this, of framing set forms of public

liturgies: as, the uniformity of divine services in every national church; the opportunity of the better joining together of all hearts in common devotions; the better convenience of fixing the thoughts upon the matter of a foreknown expression.

So as this, which you have so groundlessly intimated, cannot be imagined to be the only reason of prescribed liturgies. Tell me, I beseech you, what think you of our Saviour's epitome of a liturgy, the Lord's Prayer? for certainly it was no other: a form of prayer enjoined by divine authority: was that ONLY intended "to be an help in the want and to the weakness of the ministers?" Was it not prescribed for the help of the devotion of all disciples?

Your instances are, if it might be, poorer than your assertion.

The 23d canon of the fourth council of Carthage ordains, *Ut nemo Patrem nominet pro Filio, &c.* In a care to prevent the dangerous misprisions of some ignorant priests in Africa, in misnaming the sacred Persons in the Trinity, it charged them not to misapply the terms: therefore, all prescribed forms of prayer are only intended to supply wants or weaknesses of ministers: a stout inference, and irresistible!

"The composers of the liturgy for the French church at Frankfort" tell us, *Hæ formulæ inserviunt tantum rudioribus: nullius libertati præscribitur:* "These forms serve only for the ignorant sort, not prescribing to any man's liberty." What mean you, brethren, to urge so improbable a proof? First, this was but a particular congregation, and therefore of no use or validity for the practice of the whole church. Secondly, these prayers, which they set forth, were only for the private use of Christians: for I hope you will not imagine, that when they say *rudioribus tantum inserviunt,* "they serve only for the more rude and ignorant sort of people," that they herein meant to point out the ministers. So as your very allegation confutes yourself and seconds me.

Your following enforcement in this paragraph fails of sense, much more of reason; and doth but beg what it cannot evince. You tell me of "thousands who desire to worship God with devout hearts," that cannot be easily persuaded that these set forms, though never so free from just exception, "will prove so great an help to their devotion:" I tell you of many more thousands than they, and no less devoutly affected, that bless God to have found this happy and comfortable effect, in the fore-set prayers of the church.

Neither doth this plead at all against the use of present con-

ception, whether in praying or preaching; or derogate anything from that reverend and pious esteem of conceived prayer, which I have formerly professed. Surely I do from my soul honour both: I gladly make use of both, and praise God for them, as the gracious exercises of Christian piety, and the effectual furtherances of salvation. There is place enough for them both: they need not justle each other.

And if experience had not made good this truth of mine to many, the most eminent divines of these later times (eminent I mean, not more for learning than strict piety), why would they in their prayers, both after, and especially before, their sermons, have confined themselves to a set form of their own making, without the variation of any one clause, as I can abundantly instance? Certainly they wanted not that freedom of either spirit or tongue, which is challenged by meaner persons; but did purposely hold themselves to the usual conceptions, wherewith their thoughts and the people's ears were better acquainted.

As for the difference which is pretended in the use of liturgies in "other reformed churches," which you say do "use liturgies, but do not bind their ministers to the use of them," it will prove no better than a mere logomachy. In this point, if we be understood, we shall not differ. If, as you explicate yourselves in the sequel, out of the canons and rubric both of the Dutch and Genevan churches, you mean only that the ministers were not so tied up to those prescribed forms that they might not, at some times and upon some occasions, make use of their own conceptions, you have herein no adversary. Doubtless all Christian divines have ever had that liberty, in all the churches that have professed the name of Christ: neither ought it, neither can it, be denied to any, either of theirs or ours. All allegations to this sense might well have been spared: we shall willingly concur with you, both in opinion and practice. But if by this not binding to the use of a liturgy, you understand either an arbitrary power not in use in any liturgy at all, or an absolute release from any whatsoever usage of their publicly-prescribed forms, and a wilful rejection of them, as either unfit or unlawful because set and stinted; none of your cited authorities, no practice of any well governed church, will countenance so strange a paradox. In this Calvin fights directly against you, while he orders[z], *ut certa illa extet, a qua pastoribus discedere*

[z] Calvin. Epist. to the Protector, &c. prius citat. [Valde probo ut certa, &c. Calv. Epist. Genev. 1575. p. 69.]

non liceat: "that there should be a certain form, from which it may not be lawful for ministers to depart:" the contradiction whereunto, alleged out of your nameless liturgy, of *formulæ pro arbitrio*, I leave to your own reconciling.

As for the Lutheran churches, though they have more superfluity than want, yet why they should be excluded out of the list of the "reformed" I know no reason: since, if all "protestant churches" (which is the usual contradistinction from popish) come under that style, these are wont to challenge the deepest share in that denomination. Neither is it out of any disrespect to the churches reformed, as your charity would fain suggest, that I say they are but 'a poor handful' in comparison of 'the world of Christians abroad;' (I have ever honoured them, no less than yourselves;) but in regard of the paucity of their professors. Their value is no whit the less because their number is so. One spark of a diamond may be worth large piles of marble. But I might well argue, that in a point wherein no judicious man can place an error, there can be no just reason that we should abandon the received practice of all the Christian churches upon earth, for the late institution of a few. If herein I misjudge, I am willing to be convinced.

THE rubric of king Edward the Sixth, agreeing with the liberty given by divers ordinances at this day, of omitting, upon some great occasions, part of the liturgy enjoined, makes nothing for the proof of the proposition supposed in your query, that "the reformers of religion did never intend the use of a liturgy farther than to be a help in the want or to the weakness of a minister." It will be a hard task to make these two other than inconsequent.

You tell me of the practice of some stiff ordinaries that "have denied" this liberty; and plead, that what some ordinaries have voluntarily yielded, you cannot be blamed to desire as a favour from the high court of parliament. It is not for me to return the answer of my superiors: but I cannot but put you in mind that there is a vast difference betwixt an act of occasional indulgence and a constant claim; betwixt a particular dispensation and an universal rule. Farther than this I prescribe not, but obey.

However the state of homilies and liturgies be much different; these latter having been, even from the primitive times, prescribed

to the common usage of the church, which the former offers not to challenge: yet I granted that, 'If we did utterly abridge all ministers of the public use of any conceived prayer, on what occasion soever, the argument might hold force against us.' You tell me of "some men" that "have sacrilegiously" done so: I send you to those "some men" for your answer. The commands and practices of the church of England are within the task of my 'Defence:' let private men speak for themselves.

From the desk you leap into the pulpit, and tell us that your "argument is as strong against limiting in prayer as limiting in preaching:" wherein you are unwilling to know, that our church allows equal freedom in both. Who, that hath sat within the report of our pulpits, can but say that our ministers do there ordinarily pray as freely as they preach? I pray God they may do it holily and discreetly in both. While they are allowed this freedom in their pulpits, what inconvenience can it be to be limited to solemn, public, but sacred forms in their desk? We allow both: you would rob us of one: where is the sacrilege?

So then in all this eager passage your reader sees what fearful venies you give to your own shadow; for certainly you have here no visibly real adversary. If by a set liturgy we went about to infringe all liberty of conceived prayer, you might pretend some ground of a quarrel; but when we allow, and commend, and practise both, in their due places, where can you fasten?

The reason is lamentable which you urge in the fifth place, that "many deny their presence at our church-meeting, in regard of those imposed prayers."

Our eyes can witness, not without tears, the too much truth of this sad assertion. We have seen, and pitied to see, many poor misguided mechanics waiting abroad in the churchyards for the good hour; who, so soon as ever the long-expected psalm calls in to the ensuing sermon, have thronged into the congregation, as now only worthy of their presence. Alas, poor souls! were their knowledge, which they overween, but equal to their zeal, they would see and hate their own misjudgment. In the meantime, shift it how you please, woe, woe be to those teachers that have misled well-meaning people to this dangerous and ungodly prejudice! It had been better for them never to have been born, than to have lived to be authors of so pernicious a schism in the church of God.

I have no reason to accuse you, whom I know not: although I must tell you, your cold put-off doth little less than accuse yourselves. For your parts, you say, you profess that you "are not against a free use of a liturgy." We thank you for this favour. What is this but to say, "If a liturgy be not left free, we profess ourselves to be against it; we animate all others in that profession?"

You are yet more courteous, and tell us ye do not "count a liturgy a sufficient ground of separation from the church." Mark, reader; there is fraud in the words. They say, they do not "count a liturgy a sufficient ground of separation:" they do not say "This liturgy." Such a liturgy as they could devise, and upon such terms, might perhaps be no sufficient ground of a separation; but this liturgy of our church, as it now stands, they do not undertake for. Speak out, brethren, and do not smother your thoughts: declare freely to your auditors whether the liturgy established in this church be such as wherewith they ought to join, and whether that come within St. Augustin's rule of *non-scindendas ecclesias*. Were you less reserved the church would perhaps be more happy.

"The Remonstrant's dilemma" may peradventure come too late, when you have forestalled the minds of ignorant men with strong resolutions against all imposed liturgies, but especially our own. Now you can confidently say, "the persons" concerned "will deny" that either "the liturgy is good," or "lawfully imposed if it were good:" and here, for aught I see, they and you are resolved to rest. In vain shall we go about to make good the premises, while you have taught them to hold fast the conclusions. Disputes will not do it. You have found a way that will work the feat; "by loosing the bond of imposition, and taking away the cause of disputes" and troubles "of many thousand consciences."

Why now, brethren, I like you well. Plain dealing is a jewel. The way not to be troubled with liturgies, is to have no liturgies at all; and the way to have no use of liturgies at all, is not to enjoin them: as if you said, "The way to loose the Gordian knot is to cut it in pieces: the way to prevent the danger of violating laws is to let them loose, or make them arbitrary: the way to remedy the discontent of popish recusants is to retract the oath: the way not to be barred by the gate is to throw open the hedge."

Truly, brethren, if this be the only means of redress, you have

reduced us unto a good condition. It is the established, and as hath hitherto been thought the wholesome, law of this kingdom, that this (and this only) liturgy should be used and frequented by ministers and people; and this hath hitherto been obediently and peaceably observed: now, upon some new exotic scruples, good people are taught to place piety in the disobedience of those acknowledged laws; and nothing will quiet their "many thousand consciences" but an abrogation of the good laws they were wont to live under. What must the indifferent reader needs think of this? The law is the same it was under which our religious forefathers went happily to heaven: the change is in us. O miserable men, whom some few tempestuous blasts from New England and Amsterdam have thus turned about, and made insensible of our former blessings!

Meanwhile, that which pincheth you in my reply you are willing to pass over in silence. Were the imposition amiss, what were this to the people? The imposition, if faulty, is upon the minister: how can that more concern the people than their joining with him in an usual prayer, whereto he ties himself, of his own making? If the case be equal, why do you not labour to convince your people of so unjust a partiality, and to reclaim them from so palpable an error? the end whereof, without a speedy remedy, can be no other than that I have most unwillingly forespoken, perfect deformity and confusion.

I MAY not omit to proclaim to the reader your eminent charity to me; of whom you say, "Yea, so resolute he is not to yield to a liberty in what is established, &c. that we evidently see by his answer, that, had the reading of homilies been as strictly enjoined as the book of Common Prayer, the ablest minister in England, were the law in the Remonstrant's hands, must be held as strictly to them as to this."

How now, brethren? What! in so angry a confidence! On what ground, I beseech you? The Remonstrant is well known to have been as diligent a preacher as any in your alphabet; and to be still (as not yet defective in that duty, so) as great an encourager of preaching as the best of your patrons: why will ye thus unjustly raise so envious a suggestion against him?

"He is so resolute not to yield a liberty:" Alas! what power hath he to either yield or deny a liberty, who professeth, as he ought, nothing but humble obedience?

But, when a question is stated concerning the injunction or freedom of a liturgy, you may be pleased to give me leave to defend that part which my conscience, and I think upon sure grounds, dictates to me for a certain truth. *Non eadem sentire bonis, &c.* had wont to be a received rule.

But as to this challenge itself, might the reader's leisure serve him to cast back his eye upon this passage of my 'Defence,' he shall no less marvel at the injustice than the uncharitableness of it. He shall there see with what inoffensive caution I marshal homilies and liturgy in the same rank; so making our obedience the rule of the use of both, as that I profess a just liberty yielded in both; showing that, if homilies were enjoined to be read, and yet a free use of preaching allowed, there were no more cause to refuse them, than we have now to refuse the liturgy, having withal a freedom to our conceived prayers: in which position I would fain see what malice itself can find to carp at.

As for that strange project of yours, of imposing the use of "set forms as a punishment" to unsufficient ministers, ye might well give me leave to smile a little at so uncouth a 'penance,' and so unheard of a 'mulct;' whereat others perhaps will laugh out.

You answer me with a retortion of my own words, and seem to please yourselves much in the conceit, calling the ingenious reader to record of your own gross mistaking.

Be this once pleased, readers, since you are called up, to examine these men's confident fidelity. I had, as I well might, taxed this rare 'project' of theirs. "Yet himself," say they, "comes out with a project about preaching, never a whit better; and doth as good as confirm our saying in the latter end." View the place, I beseech you. See if you can find any the least intimation of either "preaching" or "project." All that passage is only concerning prayer, the gift whereof, I say, every forward artisan will be unjustly challenging: 'Away then,' say I, 'with the book, while it may be supplied with his more profitable nonsense;' and conclude, how fit it is, 'where is nothing but an empty overweening and proud ignorance,' there should be 'a just restraint;' a restraint, I say, in a limitation of the forms of prayer; for what should artisans have to do with preaching? Or what such absurd project is there in this just restraint? Tell me now, reader, whether this be not as like "Bellarmine" as the man in the moon. Truly, how either the cardinal came into the line, or the "noble peer" into

the margin, he were wise that could tell. What was professed "in the hearing of some" of you, and some of your superiors, of a willing condescent to "part with that which is indifferent to themselves, if they might be informed it is offensive to others," must be supposed to import, as a true information, so a just offence: wherein they should be sure of the concurrence of some, whom you are pleased to censure as less merciful; than whom, none can be more ready to make good that of Gregory, in putting to their hand for the removing of customs truly burdensome to the church.

"THUS" you have very poorly "vindicated the first part of" your "Answer concerning Liturgy:" having made good nothing which you have undertaken; disproved nothing which I affirmed. And if, as you "profess," your desire was a sincere pursuit of truth, you are the more to be pitied that you missed it. It is not yet too late for you to recover it. Be but ingenuous in confessing what you cannot but see, and we cannot differ.

And if you do heartily join with me in lamenting the breaches and miserable distractions of the church, why should you not join with me in the effectual endeavours to make them up? Why do you suffer your hands to widen that which your tongues would seem to close? If peace be the thing you desire, who is it that hath broken it? We are where we were: the change is on your parts. And if there have been some particular encroachments and innovations in some few hands, what is that to the whole church of England? what is that to those whose proceedings have been square and innocent?

We hope then that "the worthies" of that high court, "the great patrons of peace and truth," will soon see and seriously consider where the grief of the church lies; and by their wisdoms put a seasonable end to these miserable and dangerous distempers.

SECT. III.

Your third section is nothing but a mere jangle of words: wherewith it was too much for the reader to be once troubled: for whose sake I shall cut you up short; making it apparent that my "affection to" my "cause," however you are pleased to scandalise my discourse, hath no whit "transported" me to any "overreaching expressions, in lifting up the antiquity and extolling the universality of episcopal government beyond truth."

That which I spake of the libellers abroad, your charity would fain have extended to foreign churches: now, as ashamed of the misprision, you would fain salve it up with a pretended probability of your mistaken sense: for my part, now that my innocence is cleared, if you can put any honest colour upon your misunderstanding, I shall willingly connive at it; although I must tell you there is enough dissimilitude in your instance.

In what sense you meant the "self-confoundedness" you impute to me, what matters it to the reader? Such a one you confess it was, that "makes men speak they know not what." It is a fair livery, and well beseeming the bounty of such munificent hands! I justly professed myself so "self-confounded" as to say confidently, that 'he is no peaceable and well-affected son of the church of England, that doth not hate libels, and wish well to liturgy and episcopacy.'

Your charity, presuming upon advantages, dares to choke me with the name of a "parliament:" wherein how you will answer your injurious imputation to that high court, I appeal to their bar. To make the matter altogether envious, you guiltily leave out the first clause concerning libels, and aggravate the second; and that which I professedly spake of complainants, you spitefully draw home to the judges: whom I must still suppose you do heinously wrong, in fastening upon them this bold imputation of ill-affectedness to a well established liturgy, and a well regulated episcopacy. I believe those honourable peers and noble commons will give you small thanks for this insolent assertion.

What I said concerning the derivation of episcopal government 'from the times of the apostles, without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian world,' I am ready to make good against all your frivolous clamours. Purposely to lay the ground of a quarrel, you intersert "diocesan;" which came not within the terms of my proposition: and, to confute your own addition, tell us how late dioceses came into the church; and now will needs enforce me to maintain what your so magisterial power will put upon me.

Pardon me, brethren: I undertake to defend my own words, not yours.

But, you say, "as good to have said nothing at all" as not this; and, "we know what kind of" government it is that "the Remonstrant pleads for:" I grant you have reason to guess it; but what is that to my proposition? Whether they were bishops of cities,

or dioceses, or parishes, or provinces, that is not essential to the question: neither do we speak of them *qua diocesani*, but *qua episcopi*. If they were such as were placed in an imparity of degree above presbyters, and were endued with an eminent power of jurisdiction and ordination, whatever the limits of their government were, my assertion holds good.

On this ground well might "Bishop Hall say that Timothy was a diocesan bishop;" that is, sustained that place and did those offices, which his successors, being formal diocesans, held and performed. This kind of bishops I defend to have continued in the Christian world unto this age, without the contradiction of any one congregation.

You tell me of Scotland: as if I had affirmed that there had been bishops always, everywhere. It is no small wonder to me, how you can with such sober vehemence press upon me so impossible an absurdity; when you plainly see that all I contend for is this, that there hath been no time, no age from the apostles' days, wherein this form of episcopal government hath not been, without contradiction, continued. Yet your importunity will force a tenet upon me, *mal-grè:* and tells me you "are sure it is the assertion of episcopal men."

Amongst whom, you cite Dr. Hall's 'Irrefragable Proposition;' 'No man living, no history, can show any well-allowed and settled national church in the whole Christian world, that hath been governed otherwise than by bishops, in a meet and moderate imparity, ever since the times of Christ and his apostles, until this present age;' and the like passage you bring out of his 'Episcopacy by Divine Right:' part ii. p. 110[a].

What can you make of these allegations? There is no one line in them which I am not ready to justify. What one word is here liable to exception? Will it follow from hence, that I affirm bishops to have been always, everywhere? You see first, it is limited to the 'Christian world,' not the Pagan: and in that, not to every parochial church, but 'national:' and not to every national church, which is *in fieri* and *inchoate*, (such as that of Scotland in those first times was,) but a 'settled national church.' And, to make yet more sure, lest any schismatical company might put in for a share, it is superadded, a 'well-allowed, settled, national church.' I should have acknowledged you brave vindicators indeed, if now, in the height of your learned valour, you could

[a] [See part ii. sect. 4.]

have choked me with direct and particular instances of any 'well-allowed, settled, national churches' in Christendom before this present age, that were otherwise governed.

INSTEAD of this, you tell me a tale of a sorry quarrel, taken up against the bishop of Pampelona by some barbarous Biscayners; whose rudeness when I proved to you by their savage deportment to their king, you give a very civil and charitable construction of my marginal, as intimating it "no less crime to offer an affront to a prelate than to a king." Thus love creeps where it cannot go!

But, to mend the matter, you instance in the reformed churches. They have made contradiction to episcopal government:—true; but not till 'this present age.'

That period was set before in my assertion: whence now arises your sudden passion? "Sir, bethink you: take up your Remonstrance: read your own words: mark the parenthesis." Sirs, I have done all this; and wonder what it is that you would have me to see or to say. The words are plain, without either welt or guard: say what you would infer upon them.

"The limitation of time here," you say, "hath reference to the continuance of episcopacy, not the contradiction of episcopacy: certainly, in any indifferent reader's eye, to both. Neither doth the very scope of the place evince any less: for, could you suppose any man so utterly insensate as to say, "By the joint confession of reformed divines the reformed churches of this age have never contradicted episcopacy? "This were indeed a paradox, fit for none but a "self-confounded man:" fasten it upon those that are fit for dark rooms and hellebore.

"Just such another is the next," you say: such another indeed: as truly affirmed, and as unjustly excepted to: that episcopal government 'hath continued in this island since the first plantation of the gospel to this present day, without contradiction.' What talk you of "taking in the manner," and "salving of credit," as if you had your adversary at a great advantage? Πάντα μία κόνις, as the Greek proverb is; and, as we are wont to say, "Here is great cry and little wool:" for, whereas the proposition may bear this double sense, "the continuance of episcopacy in this island hath had no contradiction," or, "there hath been no contradiction to the right of the continuance of it in this island," at the choice of the propounder; I am ready to make it good in both senses: neither are you able justly to oppose it in either.

I am sure those instances which you bring out of Wickliffe, Lambert, Richardus de Mediavilla, Occam, Walter Mapes, Robert Langland, in your next section, will shrink in the wetting, and come far short of your undertaking.

But, brethren, I must sadly tell you, that in your next and last exception you have exceeded yourselves in malice. What loud and hideous outcries have you made against me, both in your "Answer" and "Vindication," for a safe and innocent passage in my 'Remonstrance!'

Speaking of the continuance and derivation of episcopacy from the primitive times, I had said, 'Certainly, except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this truth.' Now comes your charitable veracity, and in your "Answer," seconded now again by your "Vindication," reports the words thus: "Except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more certain than this truth;" and thereupon cry out "*Os durum!*" and descant fearfully upon the word, "Nothing more certain! What, is it not more certain that there is a God? Is it not more certain that Christ is God and man? Must this be an article of our creed, &c? Nothing more certain! Oh that men should not only forget themselves, but God also; and in their zeal for their own honour utter words bordering upon blasphemy."

Thus you: whether like sober and honest men, let the reader judge; who, casting back his eye upon that passage of my 'Remonstrance[b],' shall well find that I have used no such word at all as you have thus insolently and injuriously played upon. My phrase was only, 'nothing can be more plain:' you falsify it, "nothing more certain;" and run strange and uncharitable descant upon it, such as whereof I think your friends will be ashamed.

And when I, not urging the great difference of this expression, was willing to pass it over with intimating only the 'ordinary' use of this manner of speech 'in our hourly discourse,' wherein we would be loath 'to be called to an account of our creed;' yet still, as eager and unsatisfied, in this your "Vindication" you redouble the charge upon me: "We cry out," you say, "of such a shamelessness, as dares equal this opinion of his of episcopal government to an article of our creed:" whenas here was no mention, no

[b] P. 21.

thought either of "certainty" or of "creed," but only a harmless affirmation of the clear evidence of this truth.

But I will not stir this puddle any more; only beseeching my reader by this one passage to judge of the spirit of these men, so set upon detraction and contradiction, that rather than they will want colours of exception, they will devise them out of their own brains, and fasten them where they would disgrace.

Lest this place should not yield you sufficient ground of so foul a crimination, you fly back to 'Episcopacy by Divine Right[c],' and thence will fetch a clearer conviction: where the author saith, he, for his part, is 'so confident of the divine institution of the majority of bishops above presbyters, that' he 'dare boldly say, there are weighty points of faith which have not so strong evidence in scripture.' He said it; and made it good by instances in the same place. Why do you snarl at the speech, and not confute the proofs? Try your skill in that one particular. The baptization of infants: which I am deceived if the church holds not a weighty point of faith. Let us, if you please, enter into serious contestation. Show me more clear evidence of scripture for this holy and universally received position and practice of baptizing infants than I can produce for the majority of bishops above presbyters. Till then, give me leave to return your own prayer; "God give the men less confidence or more truth:" and, let me add, more charity; for truly, in whether of these two latter you are more defective it is not easy to judge. In the meantime you have as much failed in clearing yourselves from those just imputations which are laid upon you, as you have overreached in the unjust bespattering of your staunch and innocent adversary.

AND now forbear, if you can, readers, to smile in the parting at the grave counsel of our wise Smectymnuus; who, after he hath tired his reader with a tedious volume in answer to my short 'Defence,' adviseth me very sadly that my "words" may be "less in number."

Yet, howsoever his weary loquacity may, in this causeless exprobration, deserve to move your mirth, I shall resolve to make good use of his counsel. *Est olitor sæpe opportuna locutus.* In the sequel, my words, which were never yet taxed for an offensive superfluity, shall be very few; and such as, to your greater wonder, I shall be beholden for to my kind adversaries.

[c] Episc. by D. R. Part. II. p. 47.

The rearward of my late 'Defence' was backed by the sound testimony of Dr. Abraham Scultetus, the famous professor of Heidelberg, and the great oracle in his time of the Palatinate; who in both the tenets, of episcopacy by divine right, and the unwarrantableness of lay presbytery, agrees so fully with me as I do with myself; the grounds whereof I dare confidently say are such as no wit of man can overthrow or weaken.

Now what say my Smectymnuans to this? "For brevity's sake we will content ourselves with what that learned Rivet spake, when these two treatises of Scultetus were showed to him by a great prelate amongst us, and his judgment required: *Hæc omnia jamdudum sunt protrita et profligata;* all these have been long since overworn, and beaten out, and baffled."

In good time, brethren! And why should not I take leave to return the same answer to you in this your tedious velitation of episcopacy? There is not one new point in this your overswoln and unwieldy bulk. No haycock hath been oftener shaken abroad, and tossed up and down in the wind, than every argument of yours hath been agitated by more able pens than mine: *Hæc omnia jamdudum sunt protrita et profligata.* Why should I abuse my good hours, and spend my last age, devoted to better thoughts, in an unprofitable babbling?

You may perhaps expect to meet with fitter matches that have more leisure. The cause is not mine alone, but common to this whole church, to the whole hierarchy, to all the fathers of the church throughout the world, to all the dutiful sons of those fathers wheresoever. You may not hope that so many learned and eminent divines, who find themselves equally interested in this quarrel, can suffer either so just a cause unseconded, or so high insolence unchastised.

For myself, I remember the story that Plutarch tells of the contestation between Crassus and Deiotarus[d]; men well stricken in age, and yet attempting several exploits not so proper for their grey hairs. "What," said Crassus to Deiotarus, "dost thou begin to build a city now in the latter end of the day?" "And truly," said Deiotarus to him again, "I think it somewhat with the latest for you to think of conquering the Parthians." Some witty lookers-on will perhaps apply both these to me. It is the city of God, the evangelical Jerusalem, which some factious hands

[d] Plutarch. in Vita Crassi. [δωδεκάτης ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχῇ. Opp. Francof. 1620. p. 553.]

have miserably demolished: is it for shaking and wrinkled hands to build up again, now in the very setting and shutting in of the day? They are dangerous and not inexpert Parthians who shoot out their arrows, even bitter invectives, against the sacred and apostolical government of the church; and such as know how to fight fleeing: are these fit for the vanquishing of a decrepit leader?

Shortly, then, since I see that our Smectymnuans have vowed, like as some impetuous scolds are wont to do, to have the last word; and have set up a resolution, by taking advantage of their multitude, to tire out their better employed adversary with mere length of discourse, and to do that by bulk of body which by clean strength they cannot; I have determined to take off my hand from this remaining controversy of episcopacy (wherein I have said enough already without the return of answer, and indeed anticipated all those thread-bare objections which are here again regested to the weary reader), and to turn off my combined opposites to matches more meet for their age and quality: with this profession notwithstanding, that if I shall find, which I hope I never shall, this just and holy cause, whether out of insensibleness or cautious reservedness, neglected by more able defenders, I shall borrow so much time from my better thoughts as to bestow some strictures where I may not afford a large confutation. I have ever held *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν*: which, as it holds in whatsoever matter of discourse, so especially in this so beaten subject of episcopacy, wherein, since I find it impossible for my adversaries to fall upon any but former notions, oft urged, oft answered, "For brevity's sake we will content ourselves with what that learned Rivet spake of the two treatises of Scultetus, *Hæc omnia jamdudum sunt protrita et profligata:*" with this yet for a conclusion, that if in this their wordy and wearisome volume they shall meet with any one argument which they dare avow for new, they shall expect their answer by the next post.

A MODEST OFFER

OF

SOME MEET CONSIDERATIONS,

TENDERED TO THE

LEARNED PROLOCUTOR,[a]

AND TO

THE REST OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES MET AT WESTMINSTER.

BY A TRUE LOVER OF TRUTH AND PEACE.

LEARNED AND REVEREND BRETHREN:

If you be now, as is supposed, upon the advice of a form of church government, I beseech you, in the fear of God, setting aside all prejudice, to take into your sad thoughts these considerations following.

It is, I perceive, an usual prayer of many preachers well-affected to your assembly, that God would now, after sixteen hundred years' universal practice of the whole church of Christ upon earth, show you *the pattern in the mount:* as if, after so long and perfect inquisitions, there could be any new discoveries of the form that was or should be.

Wherein I suppose their well-meaning is not a little injurious both to the known truth and to you: for what revelations can we expect thus late? or what monuments, of either scripture or history, can now be hoped to be brought to light, which your eyes have not seen, and former ages have not inquired into?

Surely ye well know there can be but these three forms of church government possibly devised: either by bishops, or by prebyters, or by the multitude of several and select congregations;

[a] [Dr. Twiss was the first Prolocutor; and upon his death Mr. Charles Herle succeeded him.]

every of which have both their abettors and their adversaries. The first hath all times and places, since the days of the blessed apostles till this age, to stand for it. The second hath the late persecuted reformed church of France, (which never desired nor meant to make their necessitated form a pattern for others,) the Netherlands, and Scotland, for precedents of it. The third hath the ministers of New England and their associates, commonly styled by the name of Independents, vehemently contending for it. The adversaries of every of these are as well known as their friends; and the pleas which every of them makes for itself are as well known as either.

I suppose it is yet *res integra;* else I should lay my finger upon my lips. Both the houses of parliament, your assembly, and the whole kingdom, stand yet free and unengaged to any part. For the national covenant, as it is interpreted by some of yourselves, and those other divines whose allowed sermons have commented upon it, intends not to abjure and disclaim episcopacy, as such; but only bends against the whole present fabric of government, as it is built on these arches, these pedestals: so as if it be taken asunder from those, some of them not necessary, appendances, you are no way forestalled in your judgment against it; nor any other that hath lift up his hand in this solemn covenant.

That I may not urge the Latin translation of the same covenant, printed and sent abroad to the Low Countries, and France, and other churches, which ran only upon *tyrannicum regimen episcoporum;* that only "the tyrannical government of the prelates," not their fatherly and brotherly pre-eminence, is there abjured.

Your wisdoms know well how to distinguish betwixt a calling and the abuses of the execution thereof; betwixt the main substance of a calling, and the circumstantial and separable appurtenances thereunto, from which it may be divested and yet stand entire.

I should be a flatterer of the times past, which is not often seen, if I should take upon me to justify or approve of all the carriages of some that have been entrusted with the keys of ecclesiastical government, or to blanch over the corruptions of consistorial officers: in both these there was fault enough to ground both a complaint and reformation: and may that man never prosper that desires not an happy reformation of whatever hath been or is amiss in the church of God!

But this I offer to your serious consideration, whether episcopacy, stripped of all circumstances that may be justly excepted against, and reduced to the primitive estate, may not be thought a form, both better in itself, and more fit for this kingdom and church, than either of the other.

How ancient it is, I need not appeal to any but yourselves; who do well know that there was never yet any history of the church wherein there was not full mention made of bishops as the only governors thereof: neither can any learned adversary deny, that they have continued, with the general allowance of God's church, from the very apostolic times until this present age. And whether it can be safe, and lie not open to much scandal, to exchange so ancient an institution, hitherto perpetuated to the church, for a new, where no necessity enforces us, judge ye.

How universal it is, being the only received government of all the Christian churches over the face of the whole earth, excepting only this small spot of our neighbourhood, ye know as well as the undoubted relation of the "Christianography" can tell you. And how unsafe it may be to depart from the form of all the churches that profess the name of Christ, who do all submit themselves to bishops or superintendents, except the fore-excepted, I leave to your grave judgment.

Besides, how episcopacy is and hath long been settled in this kingdom, and as it were incorporated into it, and inwoven into the municipal laws of this land, so as that it cannot be utterly removed without much alteration in the whole body of our laws; is a matter well worthy of not the least consideration.

But all these would yet seem light upon the balance, if there were not an intrinsical worth in the institution itself that might sway with you.

The covenant binds to the endeavour of such a government as is according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches.

And now, let me appeal to your own hearts, and the hearts of all judicious and unprejudicate readers, whether the rules of church government, laid forth in the epistles to Timothy and Titus, do not suppose and import that very proper jurisdiction which is claimed by episcopacy at this day: which if it were not intended to be left as a perfect pattern to succession, the whole church of Christ should have been left in the dark, without any direction

for the succeeding administration thereof. Those charges are plainly given, not to many, but to one; and do most manifestly imply, not a parity, but pre-eminence and power.

And if the example of the best churches must carry it, what church could be more pure, and more fit for our imitation, than the primitive; and that part of it which immediately followed the apostles of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ? And do not you full well know, that our histories and unquestionable authors name the men, whom those apostles by imposition of hands ordained to this function? Do not Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Polycrates, Hegesippus, Clemens, Eusebius, Jerome, instance in those persons who succeeded each other in those first sees?

If you tell me of the difference betwixt the episcopacy of those first ages of the church and that of the present times, I do willingly yield it: but withal I must add, that it is not in anything essential to the calling, but in matters outward and merely adventitious; the abatement whereof, if it shall be found needful, diminisheth nothing from the substance of that holy institution. What can be more express than, in the ancientest of them, the blessed martyr Ignatius, the mention of the three distinct degrees of bishops, presbyters, deacons, encharged with their several duties, which were yet never intermitted and let fall to this present day? How frequently and vehemently doth he, in his genuine epistles, twice in that to the Ephesians, call for due subjection to the bishop and presbytery! How distinctly doth he, in his epistle to the Magnesians, name their bishop, Dama; and their presbyters, Bassus, Apollonius, Stephanus[a]? How doth he, in his epistle *Ad Trallianos*[b], set forth the bishop, ὡς τύπον τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων; and the presbytery, ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, &c? And if any man shall be so unjustly scrupulous, as to call into question the credit of this gracious author, (reserved no doubt by a special providence, for the conviction of the schisms of these last times,) therein outdoing Vedelius himself, who stoutly asserteth some of

[a] Stephanus does not appear to be named in this epistle. The passage to which our author refers is, however, much more to his purpose than it might seem to be from his representation of it, as it distinguishes the three orders, and names the parties. The genuine text is as follows:—Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν Ἐπισκόπου καὶ Πρεσβυτέρων ἀξίων Βάσσου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου Διακόνου Σωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι Θεοῦ, καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—PRATT. [Jacobs. Patr. Apost. 1847. p. 316.]

[b] [Ὡς τύπον &c. does not occur in this Epistle, see Patr. Apost. ut sup. t. ii. p. 346.]

these epistles, while he rejects others as supposititious, let him cast his eyes upon the no less famous and holy martyr and bishop, Polycarpus: who (as Irenæus, an unquestionable author, tells us[c], one whose eyes beheld that saint) did not only converse with those that had seen Christ, but also was by the apostles constituted in Asia bishop of the church of Smyrna. Let him, if he can, deny Cyprian, the holy martyr and bishop of Carthage, writing familiarly to the presbyters and deacons there; sometimes gravely reproving them, sometimes fatherly admonishing them of their duties, in divers of his epistles. Let him deny that his contemporary, Cornelius bishop of Rome, acknowledgeth forty-six presbyters committed by the catholic church to his charge. Shortly, let him, if he stick at this truth, deny that there was any Christian church of old; any history.

All which duly considered, I would fain know what reason can be showed why that ancient, yea, first government, by the bishop and his presbytery, received, and with all good approbation and success used in the primitive church, and derived, though not without some faulty omissions and intertextures which may easily be remedied, until this present day, should not rather take place, than a government lately and occasionally raised up in the church, for the necessity or convenience of some special places and persons, without any intention of an universal rule and prescription.

If you shall say that this government by bishops hath been found by sad experience hitherto a block in the way of perfect reformation, destructive to the power of godliness and pure administration of the ordinances of Christ; give me leave to answer, that,

First, I fear the Independent part will be apt to say no less of the Presbyterian, boldly pressing their defects both in constitution and practice, and publicly averring the exquisitely reformed way to lie betwixt the Calvinian and separation[d], which they have had the happiness to light upon. Neither want there those who, upon challenge of further illumination, tax those semi-separatists as coming far too short of that perfection of reformation which themselves have attained.

Secondly, I must, in the fear of God, beseech you here to make use of that necessary distinction betwixt callings and persons: for

[c] Iren. advers. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. [§ 4. Paris. 1710. p. 176.]

[d] The words are, "betwixt the episcopal and Calvinian." ["The Shaking of the Olive-tree." Lond. 1660. p. 340.]

it oftentimes falls out that the calling unjustly suffers for that whereof only the person is guilty. Let the calling be never so holy, and the rules of administration never so wise and perfect; yet, if the person in whose trust they are be either negligent or corrupt, or impotent in ordering his passions and carriage, it cannot be but all things must go amiss, and much disorder and confusion must needs follow to the church of God. And if such hath been the case in some late times, why should the blame be laid upon the calling, which both is innocent, and might have been better improved? Give me a bishop (such there have been, and such there are, let Dr. Potter, the late bishop of Carlisle, for instance, be one) that is truly conscionable, pious, painful, zealous in promoting the glory of God, ready to encourage all faithful preachers, and to censure and correct the lazy and scandalous, careful of the due imposition of his hands, meek and unblamable in all his carriage: and now tell me how the government of such an one, regulated by the holy and wholesome laws of our church, can be said to be obstructive to the success of the gospel, or to destroy the power of godliness. Certainly, if all be not such, the fault is in the men: their calling doth not only admit of, but incites them to, all virtue and goodness; whereof if they be defective, let the person take off the blame from the function.

Neither doubt I to affirm that it may well be made good, that the perfectest reformation which the church of God can be capable of here upon earth may consist with episcopacy, so regulated, as it may be if it please the high court of parliament to pitch upon that course. And indeed, how can it be conceived that the careful inspection of one constant, prudent, and vigilant overseer, superadded to a grave and judicious presbytery, should be any hinderance to the progress of godliness? especially when he is so limited by the bounds of good laws and constitutions that he cannot run out without the danger of a just censure. There are already many excellent rules of government, if they were awaked, and actuated by full authority; and where there is any deficiency more might be easily added, to make the body of church laws complete.

To give a taste of what may be effected, with very little or no alteration of one form of government to another:—

I remember one of our brethren of Scotland, in a discourse tending to the advancing of the presbyterian way, tells us that Dr. Montague, the late worthy bishop of Winchester, asked king

James, of blessed memory, whose sweet affability the world well knew, how it came about that there were so few heresies and errors of doctrine broached and prosecuted, to the public disturbance of the church of Scotland. Unto which the wise and learned king is said to have returned this answer: That every parish hath their pastor ever present with them, and watching over them: that the pastor hath his elders and deacons sorted with him: that he with them, once a week, meets at a set time and place, for the censure of manners, or whatever disorder falls out in the parish; so as he by this means perfectly knows his flock, and every aberration of them, either in matter of opinion or practice. And, lest any error or heresy may seize upon the pastor, they have their presbyteries, consisting of several shrievalties, which meet together in the chief town or city next to them, every week also once, and have there their exercise of prophesying: after which the moderator of the said meeting asks and gathers the judgments of all the said pastors, concerning the doctrine then delivered, or of any other doubtful point that is then and there propounded; and if the said presbyters be divided in their opinions, then the question is, under an enjoined silence, put over to the next synod, which is held twice a year. Unto that all the pastors of that quarter or province duly resort, accompanied with their elders: the moderator of the former synod begins the action: then a new moderator is chosen for the present; or, as it seldom falls out, the last moderator by voices continued. Any question of doubt being proposed is either decided by that meeting; or, if it cannot be so done, is with charge of silence reserved till the national synod or general assembly, which they hold every year once; whither come, not the pastors only, but the king himself, or his commissioners; and some of all orders and degrees, sufficiently authorized for the determining of any controversy that shall arise amongst them. Thus he. And certainly this bears the face of a very fair and laudable course, and such as deserves the approbation of all the well willers to that discipline.

But let me add, that we either have or may have, in this very same state of things, with some small variation, in effect, the same government with us; only there wants some care and life in their execution, which might without much difficulty be redressed.

Every parish hath, or by law ought to have, their minister ever present with them, and carefully watching over them. Instead

then of their pastor, elders, and deacons, we have in every parish the minister, whether a rector or vicar, churchwardens, questmen, sidemen, and overseers for the poor; and, in places of any eminence, a curate or assistant to the rector, who is a deacon at least. These may and ought, and in some places do, duly meet together every week, on a set day, in their vestry, and decide such differences as happen amongst them; and may well be enjoined to take notice of such abuses and misdemeanors as are incident into their parish, for their speedy reformation, within the verge of their own power.

Instead of their presbyteries, consisting of several pastors, we have our number and combination of ministers, in the divisions of our several deaneries; under which are ranged all the ministers within that circuit: over whom the rural dean, as he is called, is every year chosen by the said ministers of that division, as their moderator for the year ensuing; whose office, if it were carefully looked unto and reduced to the original institution, might be of singular use to God's church. This deanery or presbytery, consisting of several pastors, may be enjoined to meet together every month, or oftener if it seem fit, in some city or town next unto them; and may there have their exercise of prophesying, as I have known it practised in some parts of this kingdom; and as it is earnestly wished and recommended by that excellently learned lord Verulam, late lord chancellor of England, in his prudent Considerations; and then and there may endeavour to decide any doubt that may arise in their several parishes, either concerning the doctrine of their minister, or scruple in cases of conscience; and may transact any public business that may concern their whole division. But if any such matter or question should arise as their divided opinions cannot fully determine, it may, under charge of silence, be put over to a more public meeting; which is the synodal assembly of the clergy, held twice a year, under the moderation hitherto of the archdeacon. And if there the question fail of a full determination, it is or may be referred, with like silence and peace, to a diocesan synod; which may be held every year once, under the presidency of the bishop. And if yet the decision come not home, it may be referred to the determining of a provincial synod; or, yet higher, to a national. So as, in these cases of doubts or errors, if men would not be wanting to themselves, nothing needs to be wanting, in the state we now stand in, to the safety and happiness of our church.

For matter of ordination of ministers, the former constitutions of our church have deeply enjoined the presence and assistance of those who, by their original institution, are the presbytery of the bishop, at and in the examination and allowance of the persons to be ordained: requiring also the joint imposition of those hands which attested the sufficiency of the said examinates; not without a severe sanction of two years' suspension of the act of ordaining, to pass upon any bishop or suffragan that shall be found failing in any of the particulars. The qualification of those that are to be ordained is in our canons already set forth with much caution; for their age, their degrees, their abilities, the testimony of their holy conversation: neither need I doubt to affirm, that he who, besides all other circumstances of education, is able to give a good account of his faith in Latin, according to the received articles of the church of England, and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the holy scripture, may be thought competently fit, for matter of knowledge, to enter upon the first step of deaconship: which the wisdom of the church hath, according to the apostle's rule, appointed, not without a sufficient distance of time, in way of probation, to the higher order of ministry; forbidding to give both orders at once, and requiring that he who is ordained deacon shall continue a whole year at least in that station, except, upon some weighty reasons, it shall seem fit to the bishop to contract the time limited. And, lest there should be any subreption in this sacred business, it is ordered that those ordinations should be no other than solemn, both in respect of time and place; neither ought they to be, nor in some places are, without a public precognization of lawful warning affixed upon the cathedral church door where the said ordination shall be celebrated. And, over and besides the charge, that none shall be admitted to be a candidate of holy orders but he who brings sufficient testimonials of his good life and conversation, under the seal of some college in Cambridge or Oxford, or of three or four grave ministers; together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons who have known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before; it is well known to you that, before the act of ordination, there is public proclamation made to the whole assembly, that if any man knows any crime or impediment in any of the persons presented, for which he ought not to be ordained, that he should come forth and declare it before any hand be laid upon his head for his full admission.

Notwithstanding all which care of our dear mother, the church of England, if it shall be thought meet that any further act of trial shall pass upon those which are suitors for ordination, how easily may it be ordered that, at the monthly (or, if need be, more frequent) meeting of the ministers within the same presbytery or deanery, they may be appointed to make trial of their gifts, and undergo such further examination of their abilities as shall be thought requisite, ere they shall be presented and admitted by the bishop and his presbytery to that holy function.

And whereas it is much stood upon that it is meet the people, whose souls must have right in him to whose trust they are committed, should have some hand in their consent to that pastor by whom they must be fed; it must be said, that besides their devolution of their right to the patron, who as their trustee presents a minister for them, it may be no prejudice at all to the power which by law and inheritance is settled upon the patron, that the person whom his choice pitches upon be appointed beforehand to preach, for a trial, to that congregation to which he is so designed: and if, either for his voice or other just exceptions, he be found unmeet for them, that another more fit may be recommended by the said patron to the place: but if, through faction or self-will or partiality, the multitude shall prove peevish and fastidious, they may, in such a case, be overruled by just authority.

As for matter of censure, it may not be denied that there hath been great abuse in the managing of them, both upon ecclesiastical persons and others. Suspension of ministers upon slight and insufficient causes, both *ab officio* and *beneficio*, hath been too rife in some places of latter times; and the dreadful sentence of excommunication hath too frequently and familiarly passed upon light and trivial matters. How happy were it if a speedy course may be taken for the prevention of this evil! In the conference at Hampton Court a motion was strongly made to this purpose, but without effect. If the wisdom of the present parliament shall settle some other way for the curbing of contumacious offences against church authority, it will be an act worthy of their care and justice. In the meantime, as for this and all other ecclesiastical proceedings, it may with much facility and willing consent of all parts be ordered, that the bishop shall not take upon him to inflict either this or any other important censure without the concurrence of his presbytery; which shall be a means, in all likeli-

hood, to prevent any inconvenience that may arise from the wonted way of judicature.

As for the co-assession of a lay presbytery in swaying these affairs of church government, ye well know how new it is; some of you might have been acquainted with the man that brought it first into any part of this island: and what ground there is for it, either in scripture or antiquity, I appeal to your judgment. Surely the late learned author of the "Counsel for the Reforming the Church of England," although otherwise a vehement assertor of the French discipline, ingenuously confesseth that, "However those protestants which live under popish governors have done wisely in deputing some choice men selected out of their congregations, whom they call elders, to share with their pastors in the care and management of ecclesiastical affairs; yet those protestant churches which live under the government of protestant princes may, with the safety of those respects which mutually intercede betwixt pastors and people, forbear any such deputation; forasmuch as the supreme magistrate transfers, for the most part, to himself, that which is the wonted charge of those deputed elders:" concluding that "those men do merely lose their labour who so busily endeavour, on the one side, to disprove the antiquity of the lay eldership; and on the other, by weak proofs to maintain, clean contrary to the mind of the apostle, that the text of St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 17.) is to be understood of pastors and lay elders." Thus he: with what fair probability I leave to your judgment.

Neither is it any intention of mine to meddle with any piece of that government which obtaineth in other the churches of God, but only contribute my opinion concerning the now-to-be-settled affairs of our own.

What shall I need to suggest unto you the dangerous underworkings of other sects? secretly endeavouring to spring their hidden mines, to the overthrow both of the one government and the other; whereof, without speedy remedy, perhaps it will be too late to complain. No doubt the wisdom and authority of that great senate, whom ye also serve to advise, will forthwith interpose itself to the prevention of those mischiefs which the variety of these heresies and sects, though some of them cloaked with the fairest pretences, threaten to this poor church. It is no boot for me to tell you, that the less disunion there is, the more ground of safety; and that where the holy purposes of reforma-

tion may be effected with the least change, there must needs be the most hope of accordance.

The rest, to the wise application of the powerful and judicious. It is enough for me to have thus boldly shot my bolt amongst you, and to have thus freely discovered my honest and well meant thoughts to so able judgments. What I want in my poor endeavours shall be supplied with my prayers, that God would be pleased to compose all our miserable distractions, and to put an happy issue to the long and perilous agitations of this wofully tottering and bleeding church and kingdom. Which the good God of heaven vouchsafe to grant, for his great mercy's sake, and for the sake of the dear Son of his love, Jesus Christ, the just! Amen.

PHILALETHIRENÆUS.

September 12, 1644.

ΧΕΙΡΟΘΕΣΙΑ:

OR,

THE APOSTOLIC INSTITUTION OF IMPOSITION OF HANDS FOR CONFIRMATION REVIVED.

TO ALL GOD'S FAITHFUL PEOPLE EVERYWHERE,

GRACE AND PEACE.

Not out of any light affectation, or out of a cross humour of vainly striving against the stream (my witness is in heaven), but out of a care to approve my faithfulness to God's church, have I undertaken this subject. Mine eyes tell me too plainly that an apostolical institution is palpably neglected; and my heart tells me both how infinitely advantageous and beneficial the practice of it, if duly revived, might be to the church of Christ; and how extreme losers God's people are by the want of it. I durst not therefore but impart these thoughts to the world before I leave it: humbly recommending them to the serious consideration of all well-affected Christians; who shall soon find, upon these poor suggestions, how happy it were if in this case we could walk with an even foot in the midway betwixt Romish superstition and profane neglect. The God of heaven make us *wise to salvation*, and *guide our feet into the way of peace!* Amen.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

Sect. I.

It is no small wonder to me, that amongst all those great wits of the later times that have so curiously pryed into all the corners of apostolical institutions and practices, I could meet with no one that hath so much as taken notice of this, of the imposition of hands: which yet all the while lay so broad open before them, as that the doctrine thereof is by the apostle reckoned amongst the first *principles* of Christian religion.

Is it for that men are unwilling to know some truths, whose unpleasing consequences they would be loath to own? or is it that they are carried away with so high a prejudice against this practice, by reason of the extreme abuse of it, as that they are afraid to entertain any thoughts concerning it?

However it be, certainly the Spirit of God hath not doubted to place this amidst the rank of the clearest and most concerning verities, and amongst such as are essentially fundamental to our Christian profession: joining it together with those main principles of faith, repentance, baptism, resurrection, and judgment[a].

What shall we say then? Dare any Christian presume to say that the apostle, the great and *wise master-builder* of the church[b], mistook the foundation whereon he built? Or dare any presumptuous soul single this one article from the rest, as merely temporary, when all the rest are granted to be of eternal use? Can there be any time wherein *faith* and *repentance from dead works* shall not be necessary both for knowledge and practice? Can it be that *baptism* should be ever out of date? Can the *doctrine of the resurrection from the dead*, and of the *last judgment*, be ever unseasonable and superannuated? How or why then should that of *Imposition of hands*, which is indivisibly marshalled with all these by the blessed apostle, be shuffled out from the rest, as arbitrary and altogether unnecessary?

[a] Heb. vi. 2. [b] 1 Cor. iii. 10.

Sect. II.

Taking it then for granted that the apostle accounts the doctrine and practice of the imposition of hands to be both of excellet use, and, as then, of great importance and necessity in the church of God, let us inquire, in the next place, what is meant by this so requisite imposition, and of what kind it is.

Besides that extraordinary act of laying on the hand for curing of diseases and infirmities, practised by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, and for conveying the Holy Ghost in a miraculous way; in the primitive times there were three occasions and usages of imposition of hands: in cases of, 1. confirmation: 2. of ordination: 3. of absolution and re-admission of penitents.

That the first of these is here intended, not only all antiquity, but all late interpreters (except some few stragglers), do unanimously agree.

Neither indeed can it, with any probability, be taken of either of the other.

Not of ordination. What should novices have to do with that business now in the primer of their Christianity? Their teachers were only concerned therein: not the puisnes in that school of Christ.

Not of re-admission of penitents; the ceremony whereof (for aught we can find) began not till after the apostles.

Doubtless therefore of confirmation. For which cause also, as Calvin well noteth[c], it is paired together with baptism as an ordinary subsequent thereof: so as this practice, thus hinted by the apostle, and made good (as we shall hereafter show) by the constant tradition of all following times, is plainly derived, even by Mr. Calvin's own confession, from no less than apostolical institution.

Sect. III.

It hath been the lot of this sacred rite to fall into ill hands, and to be foully wronged by a double extreme; the one of excess, the other of defect. The excess, in a superstitious overdoing and overvaluing it; the defect, in a neglective disestimation: both which must be clearly evicted and quit, ere we can present this holy ordinance to the beholder in its native beauty and perfection.

[c] Calv. in loc. [Comment. in Epist. Genev. 1600. p. 581.]

First then, it is an injurious excess of respect that is given to confirmation by them who have advanced it into the rank of sacraments, forcing upon it that honour which it never originally affected; and which it utterly, with due modesty, refuseth to undergo.

To make up a Christian sacrament, cardinal Bellarmine himself sticks not to profess three things to be necessarily required[d]. First, a promise of grace; secondly, a sensible sign, together with a word, whereby that promise is applied; thirdly, a command from God, enjoining the ministration of it. Now, after all his confident undertaking, where are all, where are any, of these to be found in this business of confirmation?

For the promise, he tells us of the Comforter, whom our Lord Jesus pre-engaged himself to send; and of that gracious word, at his last farewell, *Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you;* Acts i. 8. But what is this to the particular act of confirmation? All this might well have been, and yet no hands imposed, no confirmation implied. Well might this promise confirm the apostles in a confident expectation of some miraculous work to be wrought upon them, but could give no intimation of a new sacrament to be erected, no specialty of their hands to be employed in an imposition. That distinction therefore of Alphonsus Vivaldus[e], that Christ instituted this sacrament, though not *exhibendo*, yet *promittendo*, is no better than frivolous: unless he can show that our Saviour applied that general promise to this special institution; which he shall never be able to perform.

For the sensible sign; here were hands indeed laid on, but not with any intention of acting or constituting a sacrament. And where is the solemn word, whereby that promise is applied and that sign actuated? Surely here God is silent: men may speak: for that set form which they bind their tongues unto, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," whose is it? They dare not father it upon Christ, who is the sole author of sacraments: it is a device of their own,

[d] Bellarm. de Sacram. l. ii. Confirm. c. 2. sect. 2. Tria requiruntur. [Opp. vol. iii. col. 397.]

[e] Vivald. Candelab. [Aureum] de Sacr. Conf. tit. iii. ["Non——illud exhibendo, instituit tamen promittendo illud," &c. Venet. 1602. p. 45.]

and thereupon subject to much variation of expression, as their casuists stick not to confess.

As for any command, it is as far to seek as either of the other. What scripture can be pretended to carry the least colour of a mandate? It is a poor shift of the cardinal, instead of a word of injunction to flap us off with the execution of the act[f]. It is true hands were laid on by the apostles: the Holy Ghost was given: but was this done with either purpose or charge to make this a perpetual sacrament unto the church? Or, if this were anywhere to be found, yet what were all this to the warrant of the rites used in the church of Rome in the administration of this pretended sacrament? wherein, as if the apostles' act were quite forgotten, there is no imposition of hands at all; only some strange and uncouth rites are foisted in, which the apostles were never guilty of thinking of. For in what scripture shall we look for the chrism, compounded (as it needs must be) of oil and balsam? Where shall we look for the consignation with the cross in the forehead? for the box on the ear, given to the confirmed? with the rest of the complements of that pretendedly sacramental action?

So as now the cardinal may spread before us the testimony of "ten popes, nine councils, nine Greek fathers, ten Latin[g]," besides middle-aged authors and schoolmen, for the avowing of this their sacrament, and the antiquity of the holy appendances of it; but all these fall too short for the proof of a true and genuine sacrament of the Christian church. A truth that was well seen by the quick and piercing eyes of our Alexander of Hales, the father of the schoolmen, whom they styled the "irrefragable doctor," and the "fountain of life[h]:" as also by his acute disciple, cardinal Bonaventure, whom they have honoured with the title of a saint: both which flatly deny any such sacrament instituted by Christ, or so much as by his apostles; sending us, for the first rise of it, to a French council held at Melde, which was not till the year of grace 845[i]. So

[f] Pro mandato, damus illis mandati executionem. De Sacr. Confirm. c. 2. [col. 398]

[g] Bellarm. ubi supra. [c. iii–vi.]

[h] ["Sui tempore Fons vitæ appellari meruerit." Sixtus Senensis, Bibliothece sancte, lib. iv. *sub nomine.* Neap. 1742. vol. i. p. 307.]

[i] Alex. Halens. part iv. [qu. ix. membr. 1. "Institutum fuit hoc sacramentum Spiritus Sancti instinctu, in concilio Meldensi quantum ad formam verborum et materiam elementarem, cui etiam Spiritus Sanctus contulit virtutem sanctificandi" Col. Agr. 1622. p. 198.] [Bonaventura, in Sent. lib. iv. Dist. vii. qu. 1. Opp. vol. v. p. 93.]

as the Roman catechism, which from the counterfeit authority of their Fabian would cast their holy chrism upon Christ himself[k], and Scotus, who yet suffers for stooping so low as to fetch it from the apostles, are quite beside the cushion.

SECT. IV.

Yet a far more injurious degree of excess it is, that confirmation is not only ranged together with the holy sacraments, but also equalled, and (not without a high and intolerable affront) preferred to baptism itself[l].

Not so much in respect of the dignity of the person, whose hand was wont to be employed in this action; (held commonly and of old in a key above presbytery, or as *primus presbyterorum* in the lowest style:) as of the virtue and efficacy of the act itself; without which, the eminence of the agent could avail little to the dignifying of the work. We know the very angels are content to condescend to mean offices for the good of us wretched men: yet those acts to which they have stooped have been never the more ennobled in themselves. And if an emperor shall be designed to hold a pope's stirrup[m], the act is never the less servile because the agent is royal.

It is not for us in this case to stand upon the person: to whom, if it were appropriated of old, as Jerome speaks, *propter honorem sacerdotii*, I fear it is now by some denied *propter invidiam sacerdotii*. The case is herein much altered: once men could have been content, with the Galatians, to have pulled out their own eyes and to have given them to us: but in these last times, too many could be content to lose one of their own eyes that we might lose both ours. However it were great pity and sin that so holy an act should lie still, as dead, while we strain courtesy who should take it up.

But it is not, as I said, so much the dignity of the agent that is insisted upon, as the power and energy of the act of confirmation; which is by our Romish doctors set up proudly to contest with and overtop the acknowledged sacrament of baptism. "If baptism be yielded to begin our Christendom, confirmation," they

[k] [Catech. Conc. Trid. pars ii. de Confirm. § 5. Lugd. 1669. p. 166.]

[l] Confirmatio sacramentum est novæ legis æque sacrosanctum [*ut Augustinus inquit,*] ac ipse baptismus. Catechis. Austriac. [i. e. P. Canisii opus catechisticum de summa doctrinæ Christianæ. Col. 1586. p. 197.]

[m] Lib. Sacrarum Cerem. [Ven. 1582. p. 27.]

say[n], "perfects it:" and all the praises which they, from their Urban, Melchiades, Clemens, Fabian, and others, yield unto their confirmation, are understood (as Chemnitius well construes them[o]) as antithetical; so many derogations from the power of baptism. "In baptism," say they, "we are regenerated to life: in confirmation we are armed to fight[p]. In baptism there is only preparation made for God's indwelling in our hearts: in confirmation he actually takes up the house room for himself." Yea, in flat terms they dare say, "He shall never be a Christian that is not anointed by episcopal confirmation[q]:" and it is the title of one of the chapters of their Decretum, *Manus impositionis sacr. &c.*[r] "The sacrament of the imposition of hands is more worthy than the sacrament of baptism."

These, and whatever other excesses of titles and prerogatives have been cast upon this holy institution, to the disparagement of other more noble ordinances, have not a little blemished the face of it in some undistinguishing eyes.

To which may be added the over eager and tumultuous affectation wherewith it was wont, not very long since, to be prosecuted in some parts (the western especially[s]) of this church. It cannot be spoken with what fervour and violence of desire that people were wont to sue for this sacred ceremony. What fair-like confluences have we there seen of zealous ambients! How have we been tired with the importunity of suitors, impatient of either denial or delay! How have we been oppressed with the throngs of the multitude, striving for the first admission! Insomuch as we have been forced to call for the help of officers to our rescue from that well-meant impetuousness. Yea, so hath that people been formerly devoted to this religious institution, that the want of it was one of the causes of their insurrection in the days of king Edward the Sixth; falling out, as then, by reason of the absence, or willing forbearance, of Miles Coverdale, their elected bishop.

[n] Ut pleni Christiani inveniantur. Decret. [pars iii.] de Consec. dist. v. cap. 1. Omnes Fideles. [Par. 1612. col. 2221.]

[o] Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. cap. de Confirmat. ["pontificiam illam antithesin." Genev. 1634. p. 255.]

[p] ["In baptismo regeneramur ad vitam; post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam." De Consecr. dist. v. cap. 2. Spiritus, *ut supra.*]

[q] Quia nunquam erit Christianus, nisi confirmatione episcopali fuerit chrismatus. Decret. de Consecr. cap. vi. ut jejuni. [Ibid. col. 2223.]

[r] Manus impositionis sacramentum dignius est sacr. baptismi. cap. 3. De his. ibid. [col. 2221.] Majori veneratione venerandum, &c. ibid.

[s] Viz. Cornwall and Devon.

Now I must be pardoned, if I impute some part of this height of zeal in those our modern clients, to an ungrounded overweening of opinion, which they have conceived of this godly ordinance traduced unto them by their forefathers; whereof, if need were, I could give too sufficient an account to the reader: an error which by good counsel might in good time be redressed.

SECT. V.

But leaving the consideration of an excessive over-valuation, whereof, I dare undertake, the greatest part of this nation at this day are far enough from being guilty; we descend to that other extreme, of defect; whereof I fear there are not too many free.

What an universal neglect is there of this holy duty in all the churches that profess reformation! What a willing forgetfulness of it! as if there had never been any such matter practised in the church of God, never any such ceremony so much as intimated by any apostle, never any mention or memory of it in the succeeding ages: lastly, as if there never had been, never could be, any profitable or godly use of it amongst Christians.

Yea rather, on the contrary, how odious is the very name of it grown to the ears of those who profess the strictest godliness! How is the practice of it cried down and hooted at, as merely superstitious and antichristian!

Who can but wonder at this strange partiality? that men who profess so awful an observance and so strict and punctual imitation of all the apostolical ordinations and actions, should willingly abandon and carelessly slight one of their prime and most apparent institutions! Fain would I know what they can say to this irrefragable text. Was there not such a thing, in the apostolic times, as the imposition of hands? Was not the doctrine and practice of it held so useful, as that it was singled out for one of the principles of Christian religion? Is there not as much occasion and need of the use of it as ever? Was this only a temporary institution, soon after to be abrogated? What need was there then to trouble the heads and to clog the catechism of Christian novices[t] with a vanishing and now already gasping ceremony? And why is it ranked in the style of faith, repentance, baptism, &c. whose use and practice must be perpetual?

[t] Hic respexit ad usitatam catechismi formulam. Calv. in Heb. vi. 1. [Genev. 1600. p. 581.]

Surely to coop up *the doctrine of baptism* and *imposition of* hands in a parenthesis, as some have poorly devised, is both very unreasonable, and injurious to the Spirit of God; which would have this scripture to run freely, in all equal relations, to the foregoing and following clauses. What God will have laid open, it is high presumption in any man to inclose.

Sect. VI.

That the apostles laid their hand on persons formerly baptized, and hereby conveyed unto them the Holy Ghost, is so clear a truth as none durst ever deny.

But did not this privilege rest only in them, and die with them? As it could not be bought and sold, according to the profane and sacrilegious offer of the wicked sorcerer, so could it be bequeathed unto and feoffed upon their holy successors?

Surely we hear our blessed Saviour at his parting say, *Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world;* Matt. xxviii. 20. Those blessed men to whom these cordial words were spoken were not to stay long in the world: not to their persons therefore, but to their succession, was this promise both made and verified. Not in respect to those miraculous gifts, which as persons extraordinary they both had and conferred (in this singular qualification they neither had nor could have any successors in the following times), but in respect to those better graces, which as predecessors to the ordinary pastors and overseers of the church their ministry should convey to the souls of God's people.

Hereupon it is that their successors do justly claim a true right to this divine privilege, and find a just warrant for their imposition of hands. For the effectual performance whereof yet, they challenge not any power, by an inherent virtue in themselves, or by any authoritative bequest from or to others; but only in an humble way of impetration, by their faithful prayers, which are the life of that holy ceremony, according to the practice of the apostles themselves: who, though miraculously gifted, yet aided still their hand with their tongue, devoutly suing for what they intended to give.

Let no man therefore pretend, that because the miraculous effects of the apostolical imposition of hands are long since ceased, therefore the act is now idle and useless[u]. Divine institutions

[u] Grotius. Vindicat. Heb. vi. et Act. viii. 3. Pezelii Jesuiticorum Catechismorum Refutatio, cap. de Confirmat. [1599. p. 323.]

are ill measured by sensible operations. There are spiritual and indivisible fruits of holy ordinances, which (as being most proper for them) shall be perpetually produced by them, through the blessing of the Almighty, even when there is no appearance of any outward efficiency.

Such are they which proceed from the imposition of sacred and authorized hands, if the judgment of a learned father and eminent saint may find place with us. "It is not now," saith he[x], "as it was, that by the testimony of temporal and sensible miracles the Holy Ghost is by the imposition of hands given, as formerly it was for the commendation and better setting forth of the then new-moulded faith, and for the enlargement of the new-begun church. For who doth now expect that those, upon whom hands are imposed for the receiving of the Holy Ghost, should suddenly begin to speak with tongues? but invisibly and secretly, by the bond of peace is the love of God conceived to be thus inspired into their hearts."

The instance that Bellarmine himself gives to this purpose is beyond exception[y]. "In the beginnings of the church those that believed wrought miracles," as our Saviour foretold his apostles: "now that effect hath long ceased: shall we therefore say that faith is vain and forceless?" far be it from us so to slander that divine grace, which still and ever exercises a more excellent power in the believer, in that it quickeneth him to a new life; according to that of the prophet, *The just shall live by faith.*

Although then we presume not to affect the working of wonders by the imposing of our hands upon the heads of the baptized, yet why should we not dare to hope that the solemn laying on of approved hands, seconded by our fervent prayers, shall help to work an increase of grace in the hearts of capable receivers?

Now if any man shall think fit to match this imposition of hands upon the baptized, with the anointing of the sick with oil, mentioned by the apostle James, v. 14; which being both used and required in the primitive times had doubtless a sovereign effect, but now, the power of healing being lost, is no better than a purposeless and vain ceremony: let him know there is a great difference to be put betwixt both these. That oil was professedly intended and used for a bodily cure only, receiving its virtue from a power above that of nature; and therefore justly ranged

[x] August. lib. iii. de Baptismo. c. 16. [Opp. vol. ix. col. 116.]
[y] Bellarm. Confirmat. c. 2. [col. 402.]

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amongst those primitive miracles which continued not ages in the church: whereas the imposition of hands was directed to spiritual ends, and such as were of eternal use and benefit. To which may be added, that the doctrine of anointing with oil had never the honour to be numbered amongst Christian *principles*, which yet is yielded to the imposition of hands by the great herald of the church.

Sect. VII.

Had the apostle only by the way so let fall the mention of imposition of hands, that no further noise had been afterwards made of it in the church of Christ, it might perhaps have been supposed some occasional ceremony not intended for perpetuity: but now, when we find the continuation of both the precept and practice in the immediately succeeding times, deducing itself through all the ages of the church, (though lateward not without some taint of superstitious interspersions, which are easily wiped away,) we have reason to think it was never destined to an abrogation.

Clemens, the fellow labourer to the apostles, in that epistle which he writes to his disciples, Julius and Julianus, makes an honourable commendation of it to all Christians, charging them to hasten both their baptism and confirmation, by reason of the great uncertainty of the time of their dissolution; attributing to it the conveyance of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit to the receiver[a]. I may not conceal that the credit of this epistle amongst the rest hath undergone question, (which indeed none of his letters have escaped, as is confessed by Eusebius, save only that to the Corinthians now lately published:) but, not to stand upon Turrianus his terms of apology, I must needs say, this one carries simplicity in the face of it; passing under no other style than of "Clemens, bishop of the city of Rome[b]; and that if the authority of it be suspected, yet the age cannot: so as if not authentical, yet it is not denied to be exceeding ancient.

That story is famous which is reported by Eusebius[c] from Clemens of Alexandria, concerning the young man whom St. John the apostle, after his return from Patmos, delivered and doubly recommended to the careful custody of a grave bishop, under a

[a] Clem. Ep. iv. Julio et Juliano [septiformem gratiam Spiritus Sancti percipere quia incertus est uniuscujusque exitus vitæ. Opp. Col. Agr. 1570. p. 374.]

[b] Clemens, Romanæ urbis episcopus.

[c] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. 23.

vehement adjuration. The bishop, saith that ancient and unquestionable author, received the young man to his charge, trained him up in his house, and at last christened him[d]; and after that proceeded yet to such height of diligent observance of him, as that, for a singular preservative, he added moreover to him the obsignation with the seal of the Lord, (to wit, his confirmation:) who yet proving afterward miserably debauched, was by the apostle graciously reclaimed.

Not to take in our way the full testimonies of Denys the Areopagite and Origen[e], that of Tertullian[f] is most clear: "The flesh is overshadowed with the imposition of the hand, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit." And elsewhere: "Then is the hand laid on, by that benediction calling in and inviting the Holy Ghost."

How frequent his scholar, the blessed martyr Cyprian, is in the report of this practice, no man that hath turned over his epistles can be ignorant.

And that no man may say these, if hundreds more such, are but single witnesses, the council of Arles, in the time of Constantine the Great, consisting, as Binius numbers them[g], of two hundred, or as Ado[h] in his Chronicle, of six hundred bishops, ordains, that if any shall return to the church from their former heresy, they shall be examined concerning the articles of their creed: and if it be found that they have been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, hands shall be only laid upon them, that they may receive the Holy Ghost[i].

But to what purpose should I press my reader with throngs of witnesses, when all those testimonies which are misalleged by Romish authors, whether of councils, or fathers, or doctors, to prove their confirmation a sacrament, yet cannot be denied thus

[d] Ἐφώτισε.

[e] Dionys. Eccl. Hierar. c. 2. [Antv. 1634. vol. i. p. 254. Dionysius however, and Origen, only mention the *anointing*, not the imposition of hands.] Orig. Hom. viii. in Levit. [Opp. Par. 1733. vol. ii. p. 236.]

[f] ["Caro manus impositione adumbratur ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur."] Tert. de Resur. Carnis, cap. 8. [Opp. Halæ-Magd. 1829. vol. iii. p. 176. "Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum."] De Baptismo, cap. 8. [ib. vol. iv. p. 164.]

[g] ["Non, ut scribit Ado in Chronico, sexcenti, sed ducenti."—Concilia, 1618. vol. i. p. 221.]

[h] [Bibl. Patrum. Par. 1610. vol. vii. col. 365.]

[i] Concil. Arel. I. sub Sylvest. can. 8. ["Si ad ecclesiam aliqui de hac hæresi [sc. Arianismo] venerint, interrogent eos nostræ fidei sacerdotes symbolum. Et si perviderint in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto eos baptizatos, manus eis tantum imponatur, ut accipiant Spiritum Sanctum."—Binius, *ut supra.*]

much validity, as to prove there hath ever been a confirmation? If they have unjustly contended to impose a wrong title upon the imposition of hands, yet it is no less clear that there was imposition, than that there were hands to be imposed: and if they have palpably corrupted that wholesome institution with the intermixtures of their own misbecoming devices, this can be no more prejudice to the true original purity of it, than it can derogate from a beautiful face that it was once besmeared with a foul liniment: wipe off the filth and the face is still itself.

It is true that some of their additional ceremonies came in betimes; but late enough to disprove their pedigree from any apostolic authority. Others of them (as clapping on the cheek the cross of the thumb, treading on the toe, filleting the forehead for seven days, and the like) may justly seem to be no less vain than new, and to serve only to confirm us in the lightness and indiscretion of their founders.

Casting aside therefore all those fopperies wherewith time and weak superstition have clogged this holy ordinance, let us look at it in that native (and thereupon most comely) simplicity wherein it passed from the hands of the blessed apostles, and in that plain and holy dress wherein they, by the guidance of the good Spirit of God (wherewith they were inspired), left it to the entertainment of the ensuing world.

Sect. VIII.

That our Saviour laid his sacred hands on the children that were brought unto him, in way of benediction, and that his apostles laid their hands on persons that had been baptized, for conferring on them the Holy Ghost[k], it is most evident: neither can it be doubted but that their successors in the pastoral charge of the church laid their hands likewise upon the formerly baptized; otherwise (had not this been familiarly known both in the practice and use of it,) imposition of hands had never been recorded for a point of the ancient catechism of Christ's church[l].

The succeeding hands then were also imposed: but to what purpose? Surely no man can think the end of this act could in

[k] Acts viii. 17; Acts xix. 6.

[l] Neophytorum prima στοιχεῖα, &c. Aretius, in locum. [Comment. in Nov. Test. Genev. 1618. part. ii. col. 747.] Tradebantur ergo ista catechismi initia brevibus et paucis, tanquam præcipua religionis nostræ capita.—Beza in Heb. vi. 2. [Annot. in Nov. Test. 1594. p. 509.]

them be other than holy and spiritual. As they in their calling succeeded those prime founders of the church, so this act also succeeded theirs; though not in giving the visible graces of the Spirit (which in them was miraculous), yet in obtaining an increase of invisible grace to the receiver, as theirs also more effectually did.

For certainly we shall grossly mistake this whole act, if we shall conceive it to have been only a dumb or dead ceremony, completed in the motion of an hand and touch of an head. There was withal a life and vigour put into it by the zealous prayer of the godly pastor and congregation, which might not return to him without a blessing.

Neither was it otherwise of old. When the patriarch Jacob laid his hands upon Ephraim and Manasses' head, it was not without a fervent apprecation: *God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads!* Gen. xlviii. 15, 16, 17. It was not the bare hand of Moses laid upon Joshua that could replenish him with *the spirit of wisdom* without his prayers; Deut. xxxiv. 9. Yea, our blessed Saviour himself, to whom *all power* was *given in heaven and in earth*, when he touched the dumb man, and said *Ephphatha*, he looked up into heaven, as thence fetching his cure; Mark vii. 34. The apostles, when the seven elected deacons were presented unto them, did not without solemn prayer lay their hands upon them; Acts vi. 6. When Barnabas and Saul were separated by the charge of the Holy Ghost to the great work of God to which they were designed, hands were laid on them, but withal prayers were made for them; Acts xiii. 3. So in this very case, when the baptized Samaritans should be confirmed by Peter and John, their hands were laid on with prayers; Acts viii. 15. These, these are they which gave virtue to the hands; which certainly without these, being but flesh, could have no spiritual operation upon the soul; but being thus seconded, could not but be available to the furtherance of grace in the receiver.

This is the practice which holy Cyprian tells us was successively continued in the church: who, speaking of the Samaritans baptized by Philip, and confirmed afterwards by the prayers and imposition of the hands of the forementioned apostles, adds, *Quod nunc quoque, &c:* "Which is still," saith he[m], "practised amongst

[m] Cypr. de Hæreticis Baptizandis, ad Jubaianum, [ed. Fell. Ep. 73. p. 202.]

us, that those which are baptized in the church are by the governors of the church presented unto us, and by our prayers and laying on of our hands receive the Holy Ghost, &c."

It is utterly needless to cite any further proof of this point, or any particular attestation to the act of confirmation done with great consent and allowance in the primitive times; when St. Jerome, in his Dialogue against the Luciferians, having said that by the imposition of authorized hands the Holy Ghost was still conveyed to the baptized, adds[n], "Dost thou ask me where this is written? In the Acts of the Apostles. But if there were no authority of scripture at all for it, the consent of the whole world to this point might well challenge the force of a precept." Thus he.

Since therefore it is undeniably certain, that after the miraculous gifts were ceased, yet still this practice of imposition of hands was with the general approbation of the Christian church continued to succeeding ages, I ask when and why it ceased. Have we any warrant for banishing it out of the church of God? Have we any just ground of reason to forbear and discontinue the use of it? Have we less need of grace, or confirmation, than our forefathers? Or is the power of God's ordinance abated, and now languisheth with age? Or are we less qualified to perform this gracious act than our predecessors?

Surely the church of England, which (to her eternal praise and honour be it spoken) hath ever been studiously careful to maintain all apostolical constitutions and practices above all her reformed sisters, hath not failed to hold out this holy ordinance, and to recommend it in the most ancient, simple, and inoffensive form, to all her obedient children. Neither do we find that the present times (though too full of distraction and quarrel) have ever declared any opposition to or dislike of that never interrupted, never disallowed institution: so as we have just reason to think that it both should and doth continue in its full right and vigour.

Sect. IX.

But, lest the discontinuance of the act, together with some prejudice of the otherwise affected, should have worn out of the

[n] Hieron. Dialog. adversus Lucifer. [Opp. vol. iv. par. ii. col 294. The words are however put by Jerome in the mouth of his adversary, the Luciferian.] Cited also by Bellarm. de Confirm. cap. vi. [col. 409.]

minds of men the memory of that laudable and godly practice, it will not be amiss to recall unto our thoughts the wise and exemplary order wherein that holy rite was enjoined to be administered.

First therefore, having removed away all the trash of superstitious and frivolous appendances, as the cross, the chrism, the stripe, the fillet, and the rest; as aiming only at the original simplicity of that religious ceremony: secondly, having removed away all opinion of a sacrament (for which the church of Rome hath unjustly struggled), and therewith disclaimed all derogation from the power and virtue of baptism: and thirdly, having solemnly professed against the misconceit of an absolute necessity of this rite to salvation in them which die after baptism before hands can be laid upon them:—the church of England hath piously ordered the imposition of hands so to be administered as may be to the greater edification of those that are to receive it: and therefore hath ordained, that none should be confirmed but such as can give account of having learned the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and that initiatory catechism which is purposely appointed for their preparation.

Wherein this church hath judicially, and not without good ground both of reason and religion, reformed that common error and abuse of the church of Rome, which commonly casts away their confirmation upon babes in the cradle of their first infancy. For, though some of their doctors are willing to limit this act unto the age of their puberty[n], which is the twelfth year, others to the seventh; that so the child may at least remember, though yet he understand not, what was done to him: yet the most are of opinion that there is no cause to defer their confirmation till they come to the use of reason, and do practise accordingly: so as Alphonsus Vivaldus[o] tells us that commonly in Spain all children of two or three years old are wont to be confirmed; and Petrus à Soto[p], and Cassander[q], professes it to have been the ancient order of the church, that forthwith after their baptism children should also receive their confirmation. In which point

[n] Concil. Aurelian, cap. 3.

[o] Vivald. ubi supra. ["——in Hispania, omnes enim pueri duorum, trium, &c. annorum confirmantur, et bene quidem." p. 49.]

[p] [Petri de Soto, Lect. de Instit. Sacerd. Lugd. 1587, fol. 49.]

[q] Cassand. Consultat. [art. ix.] de Confirm. [Colon. 1577, p. 63.]

I cannot but allow the moderate determination of cardinal Bellarmine[r], who tells us that, when persons of ripe age come to be baptized, the same day, together with baptism, they receive both confirmation and eucharist; but when they are baptized being infants, the other two are justly deferred till the receiver attains to the use of reason; since, as he truly resolves, neither of them are necessary for infants, and both of them are received with more fruit and greater reverence by those which are come to a mature age. But though he come home to us in matter of time, yet the church of England goes beyond him in the qualification of the persons; in whom he (as holding grace given by the very work wrought) professes not to require that measure of knowledge and preparation which we call for, and presuppose in those who shall be admitted to the imposition of our hands; upon this ground, that the ancients stood not upon catechisms and examinations in the laying on of their hands in the primitive times, but conferred their confirmation upon infants: whereat no man can wonder, that knows they were also wont of old (upon a weak misprision) to cram the blessed eucharist into the mouths of infants; to the due participation whereof notwithstanding we know a competent measure of knowledge and self-examination ought to be required. Doubtless, if a meet time be fit to be stood upon, much more a meet ability of understanding: so as in this point I may safely appeal to any well-informed conscience, whether the church of England have not chosen the better part, and with great judgment reformed a palpable defect in the Roman profession.

Sect. X.

And certainly the considerations whereupon this church professeth to be led into this just and pious resolution, are such as may well become the gravity and godly care of our gracious mother: which the rubric[s] thus expresseth:—

First, because that when children come to the years of discretion, and have learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in baptism, they may then themselves, with their own mouth and with their own consent, openly before the church, ratify and confirm the same; and also promise that by the grace of God they will evermore endeavour themselves faith-

[r] Bellarm. l. ii. de Confirm. c. 7. sect. ult. [col. 416.]

[s] Liturgy of the Church of England. Rubric before Confirmation.

fully to observe and keep such things as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto.

Secondly, forasmuch as confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that by imposition of hands and prayer they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil; it is most meet to be administered when children come to that age that, partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.

Thirdly, for that it agreeth with the usage of the church in times past; whereby it was ordained that confirmation should be ministered to them that were of perfect age, that they, being instructed in Christ's religion, should openly profess their own faith, and promise to be obedient to the will of God[t].

Now let any reader, let any adversary, say whether any determination could be more holily rational, or more evidently conducing to the furthering of the welfare and salvation of Christian souls in this case, than this which our mother the church of England hath upon sad and serious deliberation fixed upon: which, if it had been accordingly executed with that constant care and fidelity as it ought, would certainly have prevented many foul and monstrous exorbitances in matter of doctrine, and many horrible enormities in the practice of men's lives; with both which we are now miserably pestered and overrun.

When the party then is upon due examination found fit both for age and knowledge, he is to be in due season presented to the imposition of hands; which is ordained to be performed with such holy comeliness and such vigour of devotion as (be it spoken without envy) the church of England may be herein well proposed as a pattern to all the Christian churches in the world. Doubtless if there be any church under heaven that hath continued the apostolical institution and practice of the imposition of hands in the native simplicity and purity thereof, it is the church of England[u].

[t] Non nisi adultiore ætate [pueros admitti ....] nil prohibet; [vel hanc certe] ob causam ut parentibus, susceptoribus, et ecclesiarum præfectis occasio detur pueros de fide quam in baptismo professi sunt diligentius instituendi et admonendi. Cassand. Consult. c. de Confirmat. [p. 64.]

[u] "Imposition of hands with prayer, which was the old and pure ceremony of confirmation." Fulke in Rhem. Acts viii. [Fulke's Annot. on the Rhemish version of N. T. Lond. 1630. p. 364.]

SECT. XI.

But that we may not think the church of England, though more eminent in this point than her other sisters, goes alone in her judgment and practice of confirmation by imposition of hands, let us see the free and full astipulation of other famous divines and churches to her in both these.

Philip Melancthon, as in behalf of the churches of Saxony, hath thus[x]: *In ritu confirmationis, fiebat, &c:* "In the rite of confirmation there was of old an explication of doctrine; wherein every one was to recite the sum of Christian doctrine, and openly to profess his detestation of all, both heathen and heretical frenzies; and that he will be, and ever remain, a true member of the church, and not depart from the true belief which he then professed. This custom was profitable, both for the instruction of men, and for the retaining of them in the true acknowledgment of God and his truth."

Flac. Illyricus thus[y]: *Porro, autem, impositionem manuum, &c:* "But farther also, they had wont of old in the beginnings of the church to use imposition of hands after a more accurate instruction in the catechism, with public and fervent prayer that they might obtain for them the grace of the Holy Ghost; as we read it was done to the Samaritans; Acts viii. And I believe that so they were wont in the primitive church to remove those which were novices from the *catechumeni*, to the rank of those auditors which were allowed to be of greater maturity; that so now it might be lawful for them (as those that were judged worthy) to partake of the holy communion."

Learned Chemnitius, as for the protestant churches in general, thus[z]: *Nostri sæpe ostenderunt, &c:* "Our doctors have often showed that the rite of confirmation might very well (setting aside those unprofitable and superstitious traditions, and indeed such as are contrary to the scriptures,) be thus made use of; even according to the consent of the holy scripture; viz. that those which are baptized in their infancy (for such is now the estate of the church), when they come to the years of discretion, should be diligently instructed in a certain and simple catechism of the doc-

[x] Melancth. Confess. Saxonic. Eccles. cap. de Confirmat. et Unctione. [Opp. Witeb. 1601. vol. i. fol. 129b.]

[y] Mat. Flac. Illyr. Gloss. in Heb. vi. [Glossa in Nov. Test. Basil. 1570. p. 1136.]

[z] Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. de Confirmat. [Genev. 1634, pp. 258-9.]

trine of the church: and when they shall be thought to have in some good sort attained to the understanding of those principles, that then they should be presented to the bishop and the church; and there the child, which was baptized in his infancy, should first by a short and plain admonition be put in mind of his baptism; wherewith, how, why, and into what, he was baptized; what in that baptism the whole Trinity conferred upon him and sealed unto him, namely, the covenant of peace and the compact of grace; how that there he made a public renouncing of Satan, a profession of his faith, and a promise of holy obedience: secondly, that the child himself should before the congregation make a proper and public profession of this doctrine and faith: thirdly, that being interrogated of the chief points of Christian religion, he should give answer unto them all, and if he fail in his understanding of any of them he should be better instructed in them: fourthly, he should be admonished, and by this profession should declare, that he utterly dissents from all heathen, heretical, fanatical, and profane opinions: fifthly, that there should be added a grave and serious exhortation out of the word of God, that he persevere in that covenant which he hath made in baptism, and in that faith and doctrine which he hath there professed: sixthly, that public prayer be made for those children, that God by his Holy Spirit would vouchsafe to govern, conserve, and confirm them in this profession: at which prayer, without all superstition, imposition of hands may be used: neither would such a prayer be in vain; for it is grounded upon the promises made of the gift of perseverance and the grace of confirmation. Such a fashion of confirmation would yield much profit to the edification both of the younger sort and of the whole church, and would be agreeable both to the scripture and to purer antiquity: for in the apostolical imposition of hands, that there was an exploration of doctrine and a profession of faith, the history doth manifestly witness, Acts xix. 1–6. Of the exhortation to perseverance, and confirmation by the word in the doctrine and faith once professed, there are examples of the apostolic church, Acts xiv. [22;] xv. [32;] xviii. [23.] And that public prayer was used, the history testifies, Acts viii. [15.] So also of the examination and profession of faith and doctrine in confirmation, the seventh canon of the council of Laodicea and the eighth canon of the council of Arles do sufficiently speak." Thus he.

Reader, I have thus at large transcribed the testimony of this

worthy author; for that it gives both so full an attestation to the solemn confirmation hitherto used in the church of England, and withal lays forth the grounds of this holy practice, fetched from the blessed apostles and from scripture itself. Judge now, whether there could be a better commentary upon that form which our godly forefathers have transmitted unto us, and our church hath lately both prescribed and recommended her dutiful children.

Hemingius, that great light of Denmark, for his own judgment and the Danish church's, hath thus[z]: *Purior ecclesia, secuta apost. tempora, &c:* "The purer churches following the apostles' times, when the children of Christians began to be baptized, had this fashion: that the children, being instructed in the catechism, should be publicly brought forth into the sight of the bishops, and there be interrogated concerning the articles of their faith; and should there with their own voice confirm the vow that was in their name made in their baptism: and that action, from a part of it, was termed confirmation; and that whole action consisted of an examination, a solemn confirmation of the vow made in baptism, the prayer of the bishop, and the imposition of hands. This custom was exceeding profitable, and conduced much to the retaining of their former confession and concord: for neither was it easily found that any man would depart from that doctrine which he had by his solemn vow ratified and confirmed. And soon after, "In our churches," saith he, "the substance of the ancient confirmation is retained, all popish superstitions being abolished: for our bishops in their visitations do publicly examine the younger sort in the articles of their faith, and in the doctrine of the sacraments; and do then confirm them in the same by instruction and exhortations."

For the judgment of the French church, both concerning the ancient use of confirmation and of the laudable practice of it for the present, we need no other witnesses than he who is the just glory of it, Mr. Calvin; who tells us[a], *Hic mos olim fuit, &c:* "This was the manner of old, that the children of Christians, after they were grown up to some good age, were presented before the bishop, that they might fulfil that duty which was required of those who at a riper age offered themselves to baptism:

[z] Dr. Nich. Hemmingius Syntagma Instit. Christ. c. 22. v. *Votum.* [Opuscula. 1586. coll. 751.]

[a] Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 19. [Genev. 1592, p. 297.]

for they sat amongst those that were appointed to be catechized, till they, being rightly instructed in the mysteries of faith, could be able before the bishop and the people to render a confession of their belief. Upon the ending of their childhood, or in the entering of their youth, they were again by their parents brought to the bishop, and were examined by the bishop according to that form of catechism which they then had, which was both certain and common. And that this action, which ought otherwise in itself worthily to be held grave and holy, might carry in it so much the more reverence and dignity, there was also therein used the ceremony of the imposition of hands. So the child, after the approbation of his belief professed, was dismissed with a solemn blessing." Thus he. And could that eminent author, if he had been retained advocate for the church of England, better have set forth her fashion of confirming, and her perfect conformity herein to the ancient apostolical practice? Justly may I call it so, by warrant of the same author; who, commenting upon this text of the Hebrews, hath thus[b]: *Transacta infantia, &c:* "Their infancy past over, being instructed in their belief, they offered themselves to catechizing: but then another symbol or sign was used, which was the imposition of hands. This one place," saith he, "abundantly testifies that the original of this ceremony was derived from the apostles." Lastly, that it may appear how well he approved this practice: *Nos quoque, &c*[c]*:* "We also could well and worthily wish that this rite were restored to the church everywhere; whereby children, after the public confession of their faith made, might be offered up to God: and this would be a well beseeming approbation of their catechizing." And yet more fully in his "Institutions," thus[d]: *Utinam, vero, morem, &c:* "Would to God we might retain that fashion which I admonished you formerly was used amongst the ancient Christians, before this abortive counterfeit of a sacrament sprang up; that there should be a catechism of all the heads of religion which without all controversy are agreed upon, &c. That the child at ten years of age should tender himself to give a public confession of his faith, &c. This discipline, if it were at this day in force, there would be amongst Christian people a greater agreement in matter of faith; neither would there be so great

[b] Calv. Com. in Heb. vi. 2. [ut supra.] Amst. 1667. vol. viii. p. 285.]

[c] Calv. Vera Christianæ pacificationis et ecclesiæ reformandæ ratio. [Opp. pp. 299, 300.]

[d] Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 19. [*ut supra,*

ignorance and rudeness as is amongst many; neither would some be so readily carried away with new and strange doctrines." Thus he.

Tell me now, reader, whether in the judgment of this eminent divine (whose authority is justly wont to sway so much with all reformed churches) we have not great reason to plead for the continuance and enforcement of holy confirmation, and to bless God for the guiding of our wise predecessors into those safe ways which others complain to have missed; and earnestly to desire that this religious and beneficial action might be so reverently and zealously performed as may most conduce to the edification of God's church.

Sect. XII.

To the careful endeavour whereof, though I might urge many motives, yet I shall take up with these following; not more few in number than considerable in weight.

The first shall be the agreement and contesseration, both in judgment and practice, with the primitive church; to whose example, doubtless, the nearer we draw, the more we shall approach towards purity and perfection.

Now by the confession of all divines, both Romish and reformed, there was a confirmation by imposition of hands in all the first ages of the church: and that the manner of performing it was the true pattern of ours, I appeal to the witness of those protestant authors which I have formerly cited; and am ready, if need were, to second it with many more.

And why, my dear brethren, should we think it fit or safe to leave so gracious an example, and to walk alone in our own ways, untracked, untrodden with the holy feet of our first and surest guides? Where the practice began sensibly to degenerate, in adulterating the ordinance with superstitious additions both of rites and opinions, there we have justly declined it; and do with the zealousest professors cry down the gross abuse of that godly institution to the pit of hell, whence certainly it came: but shall we upon this pretence cast off that gracious act of religion which was sent us from heaven by the hands of the apostles? What if we cannot second our imposition of hands with sensible wonders, as the apostles did? (else, as Œcumenius well observes, Simon Magus could not have seen that the Holy Ghost was given by them:) though we cannot work miracles, yet we can pray; and

our prayers have the same spiritual effects with theirs: neither did the ordinary pastors that succeeded those blessed apostles expect any other issue of their hands imposed, yet still imposed their hands: and whether should we affect to be like them, in acting and approving the laying on of hands, or to some hesternal teachers that refuse and disallow of it?

The common plea of those gainsayers is, the cessation of those miraculous gifts which were in the apostolic times by their only hands bestowed; (others in great numbers had the Holy Ghost; none gave it but they;) whereupon they argue, as they think strongly, that, the effect ceasing, the cause is useless. Whom I send to our learned Fulke for satisfaction. "There is," saith he[e], "another kind of imposition of hands," besides that miraculous one "mentioned Heb. vi. 2, whereof there may be perpetual use in the church; which is the same which St. Austin calls nothing else but prayer over a man; and whereof he speaks Tract vi. on the first Epistle of John, &c.[f]" And soon after: "We acknowledge imposition of hands, with prayer that they which were so taught and instructed might receive strength of God's Spirit so to continue." So he. This is that only which we profess and glory to imitate; as being well assured that the faithful prayers of godly pastors and Christian congregations can never either be out of date or acceptation.

SECT. XIII.

The second motive shall be, the great benefit which accrues to the church of God by the use of this ordinance.

Which I had rather to express in the elegant and solid terms of learned Hooker than in my own. "By this means," saith he[g], "it came to pass that children, in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds: a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole lives: the seed of the church of God was preserved sincere and sound: the prelates and fathers of God's family, to whom the care of their souls belonged, saw by trial and examination of them a part of their own heavy burden discharged; reaped comfort by beholding

[e] [Fulke, *ut supra*, p. 365.]

[f] [August. Opp. vol. iii. par. ii. col. 868. In this place Aug. only speaks of the giving of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. He does not say anything of its being "prayer over a man."]

[g] Hooker, Eccles. Pol. b. v. c. 66. [§ 7.]

the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years; glorified him whose praise they found in the mouths of infants; and neglected not so fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation; whereunto imposition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which patriarchs, prophets, priests, apostles, fathers, and men of God, have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man I suppose professing truth and religion will easily think to have been without fruit." Thus he. And surely these are so excellent fruits of this work of confirmation that we shall not need to seek out for more.

Yet I may not pass over a serious and important passage of a late writer[h], who in a profitable and well-laboured discourse of the doctrine and practice of pædobaptism, taking an hint from Calvin (as he well might), to prove the high antiquity of baptizing of infants, by the primitive practice of their confirmation, which is, under the name of imposition of hands, coupled together therewith[i]; and, having well made out his argument by the received distinction of *Catechumeni*, takes occasion to set forth that ordinance in the primitive institution of it; recommending it, with those grave authors forementioned, to be of singular use if it were restored to the original purity; and, recounting the benefits that might arise therefrom, instanceth in these following: by this means the neglected exercise of catechizing would be brought in life and credit: secondly, the unity of faith would be maintained: thirdly, parents would be quickened up to a further care of the religious education of their children: fourthly, children themselves would be put on to seek after knowledge; whereto he addeth two others not hinted formerly by any author: fifthly, that by this means persons ignorant or scandalous might be kept out from communion with the church in the sacred ordinance of the Lord's supper, and so the stumblingblock of mixed communion removed: sixthly, that by this means the difference of the times about the formality of a church covenant, in receiving in of members (as they call them) might be compromised and taken up; there being here the substance of what is there contended for, and that better bottomed, as he conceives, than the former. All which, as they are exceeding

[h] Mr. John Brinsley, preacher at Yarmouth.—Doctr. and Practice of Pædobaptism, pp. 76–84. [Lond. 1645.]

[i] So Deodati on the place, [Heb. vi. 2. "A ceremony joined to baptism.—This passage then doth mainly show the baptism of children."—Annotations upon the Bible. Lond. 1664.]

weighty and worthy of sad consideration, so methinks this last should be held fit to be listened unto by our brethren of the church way; who may easily see how, by but the admission of a truly apostolical institution, they may effect that which, not without greater difficulty to be achieved, they project and desire.

SECT. XIV.

The third motive shall be, the mischiefs and inconveniences which follow upon the neglect and want of this holy ordinance; which do plainly appear (as the right serves to set forth both itself and the wrong) both in the privation of those benefits which we have fore specified, and in the seizure of those manifold evils which have sensibly ensued.

1. For, while this institution is let fall, we see catechizing of children (than which nothing can be conceived more profitable and necessary in God's church) is grown utterly out of fashion.

2. And what woful distractions of opinions, what horrible paradoxes of contradiction to the articles of Christian faith, have been and are daily broached to the world, what good heart can but tremble to consider? Certainly it was not without great reason that our wise and learned king James, of blessed memory, when complaint was made to him of the growth of popery in his time, returned answer, that all this was for the want of catechizing: for surely, if the younger sort were soundly seasoned with true knowledge of the grounds of religion, they could not be so easily *carried away with every wind of doctrine.*

3. How cold and careless are parents generally grown of breeding their children in a religious way; for that they know they neither are nor shall be ever called to any account of their knowledge or proficiency!

4. How utterly regardless are the children themselves of so much as a verbal learning the principles of religion, which shall never be required of them to the shame of their ignorance or unperfectness; being in the meantime wholly taken up with vain toys and idle impertinencies!

5. With what bold and sinful ignorance do too many of the promiscuous multitude thrust themselves upon God's table! Which might be clearly avoided, if the prudent and godly order of our church were duly observed; that none should be admitted to the communion but those that have been confirmed[k]; none confirmed

[k] Rubric after the Order of Confirmation.

but those who are able to give account of the catechism set forth by the church, containing the main grounds of Christian doctrine, viz. the belief, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the sacraments.

6. Lastly, how lawlessly vicious are the lives of too many, which might have been in all likelihood somewhat restrained, if in the entering of their youth they had publicly engaged themselves to God and the congregation, to renew their baptismal covenant, in renouncing the world, the devil, and the flesh; and solemnly promising to do their utmost endeavour to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of their life!

In the account of most of these great inconveniences, I am seconded by master Calvin himself; who plainly imputes to the want of this discipline so much quarrel in matter of belief, so much ignorance and rudeness in too many, and so fearful distractions with new and wild opinions set abroach everywhere in the world[l].

So as, whether we consider the convenience and honour of our conformation to the primitive church of Christ, or the great profit that ariseth from the due observation of this ordinance, or the no small inconveniences and mischiefs which ensue upon the neglect of it, we have great reason to wish that it may be happily in the purity of it restored to the church of God.

Sect. XV.

In the meantime let no man think to choke me with the objection of the disorder and utter inefficacy of this ordinance as it was lately wont to be practised in our church.

I may not deny that in too many places there was fault enough, even on both parts, both of the giver and receiver.

For the one, Mr. Hooker gives a grave and modest touch of reproof. "No," saith he[m], "there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit: but surely great cause to make great complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian duty, almost with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the same belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part: the thing is true: their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the church of God." Thus he.

[l] Calv. ubi supra. Instit. l. iv. c. 19. [p. 300.]
[m] Hooker, Eccles. Pol. b. v. c. 66. [§ 8.]

Neither can I but justify his gentle reprehension. The fathers of the church generally failed in the zealous prosecution of this so beneficial a work: being I suppose discouraged with either the coldness or adverseness of too many of their charge, into whose thoughts some otherwise-affected teachers had instilled a strong prejudice against this institution. Hereupon, having eye enough to their own peace, they were content silently to let fall the frequent and regular performance of that which their hearts allowed.

Afterwards, in the beginning of king James his reign, they were quickened with this synodical constitution[n]:—"Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the church of God, continued from the apostles' times, that all bishops should lay their hands upon children baptized and instructed in the catechism of Christian religion, praying over them and blessing them; which we commonly call confirmation; and that this holy action hath been accustomed in the church in former ages to be performed in the bishop's visitation every third year; We will and appoint that every bishop, or his suffragan, in his accustomed visitation, do in his own person carefully observe the said custom, &c."

Upon this canon, the bishops generally were not indiligent in performing this part of their charge; insomuch as had there been a correspondent forwardness both in the people and in their brethren of the ministry (who are by the canon[o] charged with the care of preparing and procuring the presentation of such persons as are meet to be admitted to confirmation) this service had certainly been accomplished with good effect, and was by divers of them done accordingly.

But soon after divisions grew on: the authority of ecclesiastical superiors began to abate in the minds of men; and there wanted not who suggest it to be a piece of piety to dislike and decry this (which they termed a superstitious) ceremony; so as now there wanted heads on which hands should be imposed: whiles yet, in some places of the remoter dioceses, this episcopal benediction was, in the other extreme, sought with so too much heat, as that it was not possible to be given otherwise than in a breathless and tumultuary way; as I formerly intimated.

It is not then for us to say how a holy service is performed,

[n] Can. et Const. Eccl. can. 60. [o] Can. et Const. can. 61.

but how it should be. What errors pass in any godly administrations ought not so much to disgrace the act as to invite an amendment. And let me be bold to say that, were this institution carefully and punctually acted on all parts, according to the rules prescribed by the church of England, there could be no doubt of a plentiful blessing from heaven to be poured down upon that so sacred and religious ordinance.

Wherefore, dear brethren, laying aside all unjust prejudice that may arise, either from the persons interested, or from the abuse of the thing or discontinuance of the practice, let us resolve both reverently to esteem and humbly to submit to an institution no less than apostolical; and expect the heavenly benediction of Him who is the great *Bishop of our souls*, 1 Pet. ii. 25. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, honour, and glory, for evermore. AMEN.

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FOR

EPISCOPACY AND LITURGY.

We cannot be too wary of or too opposite to popery and antichristianism: but let me admonish you in the fear of God, to take heed that we do not dilate the name and imputation of these too far.

For, I speak it with just sorrow and compassion, there are some wellmeaning and seduced souls, that are by erroneous teachers brought into the opinion, that the sacred form of the government of the church, and the holy forms of the public devotions and prayers of the church, and all the favourers of them, are worthy to be branded with the title of popery and antichristianism.

For the first, my heart bleeds in me to think that that calling which was instituted by the apostles themselves, and hath ever since continued in the universal church of Christ without interruption to this day, should now come under the name of popery. I speak of the calling: if the persons of any in this station have been faulty, let them bear their own burden; but that the calling itself should receive this construction in the opinion of well-minded and conscionable Christians, is justly most lamentable. I beseech you look back upon the histories of former times: look but upon your acts and monuments, and see whether any have been more expensive, either of their ink or their blood, against the tyranny of popery and superstition, than the bishops of this church of England: insomuch as the reverend Dr. Du Moulin, in his public epistle, professes that the bishops of England were they to whom this church is beholden for the liberty and maintenance of the protestant religion in this kingdom. And in this present age, how many of us have written and are content and ready to bleed for the sincerity of the gospel! If there be any therefore in this holy order, whose lips have hanged towards the onions and garlick and fleshpots of Egypt, let them undergo just censure: but let the calling, and the zealous and faithful managers of it, be acquitted before God and men.

For the latter, I see, and mourn to see, that many good souls are brought into a dislike and detestation of the common prayers

of the church of England, as mere mass and popery. Woe is me, that error should prevail so far with good hearts! I beseech you, for God's sake, and your souls' sake, be rightly informed in this so material and important a point.

I see there is herein a double offence: one, of them which dislike the prayers because they are set forms; the other, that dislike them because they are such set forms.

For the former: I beseech them to consider seriously whether they ought to think themselves wiser and perfecter than all the churches of God that have ever been upon the earth. This I dare confidently say, that since God had an established church in the world there were set forms of devotion. In the Jewish church before and since Christ; in the Christian church of all ages; and at this very day, all those varieties of Christians in the large circle of "Christianography," that have their set forms of prayers, which they do and must use; and in the reformed churches, both of the Lutherans, and France, and Scotland, it is no otherwise: yea, reverend Mr. Calvin himself, whose judgment had wont to sway with the forwardest Christians, writing to the Protector of England anno 1548, hath these words: *Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo, ut certa illa extet a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat, &c.*[a] And, adding three grave and solid reasons for it, concludes thus: "So then there ought to be a set form of catechism, a set form of administration of sacraments and of public prayers." And why will we cast off the judgment both of him and all the divines of the whole Christian world, till Barrow and Browne in our age and remembrance contradicted it, and run after a conceit that never had any being in the world till within our own memory?

For the latter: there are those who could allow some form of set prayers, but dislike this of ours as savouring of the pope and the mass, whence they say it is derived. Now I beseech you, brethren, as you would avoid the danger of that woe of calling good evil and evil good, inform yourselves thoroughly of the true state of this business. Know therefore that the whole church of God, both eastern and western, as it was divided; both the Greek and Latin church, under which this island was wont to be ranged, had their forms of prayer from the beginning, which were then holy and heavenly, compiled by the holy fathers of those first times. Afterwards the abuses and errors of popery came in by degrees; as

[a] [Opp. vol. ix. Epist. p. 41.]

transubstantiation, sacrifice of the mass, prayers for the dead, prayers to saints: these poisoned the church, and vitiated these holy forms while they continued; but when reformation came in, divers worthy protestant divines, whereof some were noble martyrs for religion, were appointed to revise that form of service, to purge out all that popish leaven that had soured them, to restore them to their former purity; leaving nothing in that book, but that which they found consonant to godliness and pure religion.

If any man will now say that our Prayer-book is taken out of the mass, let him know rather that the mass was cast out of our Prayer-book, into which it was injuriously and impiously intruded: the good of those prayers are ours in the right of Christians; the evil that was in them let them take as their own. And if it should have been as they imagine, let them know that we have departed from the church of Rome but in those things wherein they have departed from Christ: what good thing they have is ours still: that scripture which they have, that creed which they profess, is ours; neither will we part with it for their abuse. If a piece of gold be offered us, will we not take it because it was taken out of the channel? If the devil have given a confession of Christ, and said, *I know who thou art, even Jesus, the Son of the living God;* shall not I make this confession, because it came out of the devil's mouth? Alas! we shall be herein very injurious, both to ourselves and to God, whose every holy truth is.

This then is the form, which hath been compiled by learned and holy divines, by blessed martyrs themselves, who used it comfortably, and blessed God for it. But if the quicker eyes of later times have found anything which displeases them in the phrases and manners of expression, or in some rites prescribed in it, let them in God's name await for the reforming sentence of that public authority whereby it was framed and enacted; and let not private persons presume to put their hand to the work; which would introduce nothing but palpable confusion. *Let all things be done decently and in order.*

Shortly, my brethren, let us hate popery to the death: but let us not involve within that odious name those holy forms, both of administration and devotion, which are both pleasing unto God, and agreeable to all Christianity and godliness.

VIA MEDIA:

THE WAY OF PEACE.

IN THE

FIVE BUSY ARTICLES,

COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF ARMINIUS.

TOUCHING

1. PREDESTINATION.
2. THE EXTENT OF CHRIST'S DEATH.
3. MAN'S FREE WILL AND CORRUPTION.
4. THE MANNER OF OUR CONVERSION TO GOD.
5. PERSEVERANCE.

WHEREIN IS LAID FORTH SO FAIR AN ACCOMMODATION OF THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS AS MAY CONTENT BOTH PARTS AND PROCURE HAPPY ACCORD.

BY J. H. D. OF WORCESTER.

["This excellent Tractate was published in the reign of K. James, and probably previous to his majesty's injunctions set forth in Aug. 1622."—Jones's Life of Bishop Hall, Lond. 1826. p. 108.]

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

THERE needs no prophetical spirit to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming towards our church: such a one as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest, which the late example of our neighbours bids us fear[a].

It boots not to persuade your majesty to betake yourself to your chariot, to outride the shower; since your gracious compassion would not be willing to put off the sense of a common evil.

Rather let me take boldness to implore your majesty's seasonable prevention. Only the powerful breath of your sovereign authority can dispel these clouds, and clear our heaven, and reduce an happy calm.

In the meantime, give leave to your wellmeaning servants to contribute their best wishes to the common tranquillity. I see every man ready to rank himself unto a side, and to draw in the quarrel he affecteth: I see no man thrusting himself between them, and either holding or joining their hands for peace.

This good, however thankless, office, I have here boldly undertaken; showing how unjustly we are divided, and by what means we may be made and kept entire: a project which, if it may receive life and light from your gracious eyes, and shall by your royal command be drawn into speedy practice, promiseth to free this noble and flourishing church from a perilous inconvenience.

Let it be no disparagement to so important a motion that it falls from so mean a hand; than which yet none can be more sincerely consecrated to the service of your majesty and this church, the mutual happiness of both which is dearer than life to

Your Majesty's most humble
and faithful devoted subject and servant,

JOS. HALL.

[a] [Alluding to the troubles and wars in France on the subject of religion, during the reigns of Henry III. and IV.]

VIA MEDIA:

THE WAY OF PEACE.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.

OF GOD'S PREDESTINATION.

1. WHATSOEVER God, who is the God of truth, hath engaged himself by promise to do, the same he undoubtedly hath willed, and will accordingly perform[a].

2. There is no son of Adam to whom God hath not promised that, if he shall believe in Christ, repent, and persevere, he shall be saved[b].

3. This general and undoubted will of God must be equally proclaimed to all men through the world, without exception, and ought to be so received and believed as it is by him published and revealed[c].

4. All men, within the pale of the church especially, have from the mercy of God such common helps towards this belief and salvation, as that the neglect thereof makes any of them justly guilty of their own condemnation[d].

[a] "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy scriptures; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God." Article of the Church xvii.

[b] Est generalis et conditionata voluntas, seu generalis promissio evangelica, docens promissiones divinas sic amplectendas esse, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt. D. Overal. de v Artic. in Belgio Controversis. art. 1. [This work, which appears never to have been printed, or even noticed in biographies of Overal, exists in a MS. in Corp. Chr. coll. Oxf. (311 : B. 2. 17), transcribed by W. Fulman from a copy belonging to Sanderson, with various readings from other MSS. The quotations in the text embody, in most cases, these various readings.]

[c] Est quidem decretum hoc annuntiativum salutis omnibus ex æquo, et indiscriminatim promulgandum. Theol. Britan. Dordrac. in Actis Synodi in Thesibus Heterodox. Art. i. thes. 1. [Acta Synodi Dordrechti; Lugd. Bat. 1620, Theol. Brit. p. 6.]

[d] Gratiam communem et sufficientem in mediis divinitus ordinatis, si homines verbo Dei Spirituique Sancto deesse noluerint, &c. D. Overal. Artic. i. [Ibid. fol. 74[b].]

In ecclesia, ubi, juxta promissum hoc evangelii, salus omnibus offertur, ea est administratio gratiæ, quæ sufficit ad convincendos omnes impœnitentes et

5. Besides the general will of God, he hath eternally willed and decreed to give a special and effectual grace to those that are predestinate according to the good pleasure of his will; whereby they do actually believe, obey, and persevere, that they may be saved: so as the same God, that would have all men to be saved if they believe and be not wanting to his Spirit, hath decreed to work powerfully in some whom he hath particularly chosen, that they shall believe, and not be wanting to his Spirit in whatsoever shall be necessary for their salvation[e].

6. It is not the prevision of faith, or any other grace or act of man, whereupon this decree of God is grounded; but the mere and gracious good will and pleasure of God, from all eternity appointing to save those whom he hath chosen in Christ, as the head and foundation of the elect[f].

7. This decree of God's election is absolute, and unchangeable, and from everlasting[g].

8. God doth not either actually damn or appoint any soul to damnation, without the consideration and respect of sin[h].

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

1. God, pitying the woful condition of man, fallen by his free

incredulos, quod sua culpa voluntaria et vel neglectu vel contemptu evangelii perierint, et oblatum beneficium amiserint. Theol. Britan. Dordrac. de Art. ii. thes. 5. [*ut supra*, p. 79.]

Deinde, secundo loco, ut succurreret humanæ infirmitati, &c. voluisse addere specialem gratiam magis efficacem et abundantem, quibus placuerit communicandam, per quam non solum possint [credere aut obedire si velint] sed etiam actu velint, credant, obediant, et perseverent. D. Overal. Art. i. [Ibid.]

[e] "He hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour: wherefore they which be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in them in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity." Art. xvii.

[f] Non ex præscientia humanæ fidei aut voluntatis, sed ex proposito divinæ voluntatis et gratiæ, de his, quos Deus elegit in Christo liberandis et salvandis. D. Overal. Art. i. [Ibid.]

[g] Particulare decretum absolutum. D. Overal. ibid.

"Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed, &c." Art. xvii.

[h] Deus neminem damnat, aut damnationi destinat, nisi ex consideratione peccati. Theol. Britan. Dordr. Artic. i. de Reprob. thes. 5. [*ut supra*, p. 13.]

will into sin and perdition, sent his own Son, that he should give himself as a ransom for the sins of the whole world: so as there is no living soul that may not be truly and seriously invited, by his faith to take hold of the forgiveness of his sins and everlasting life, by the virtue of this death of Christ, with certain assurance of obtaining both[i].

2. Upon this infinite merit of Christ's death is grounded that universal promise and covenant of the gospel, offering remission and salvation to all men through the whole world, if they be not wanting to the receipt thereof[k].

3. Notwithstanding this infinite merit of Christ's death, the fruit and benefit thereof doth not accrue to all men; but to those only who do apply the virtue of his death by faith[l].

4. Those, within the church especially, that do not reap this benefit by the death of Christ, perish manifestly by their own default; forasmuch as God hath ordained that, whersoever the gracious promise of the gospel shall be preached, there shall be and is withal ordinarily so much supernatural grace offered together with the outward means, as may justly convince the impenitent and unbelieving of a wilful neglect, if not a contemptuous rejection[m].

5. Besides this general promise of the gospel, God hath decreed to give a special, more abundant, and effectual grace unto his elect; whereby they may be enabled certainly and infallibly to apply unto themselves the benefit of Christ's death; and do accordingly believe, and persevere, and attain salvation[n].

[i] Deus, lapsi generis humani miseratus, misit Filium suum, qui seipsum dedit pretium redemptionis, pro peccatis totius mundi.

Nemo mortalium est, qui non possit vere et serio per ministros evangelii vocari ad participationem remissionis peccatorum et vitæ æternæ, per hanc mortem Christi. Theol. Brit. Dordr. de Art. ii. thes. 3. [Ibid. p. 78.]

[k] In hoc merito Christi fundatur universale promissum evangelicum, juxta quod omnes in Christum credentes remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam re ipsa consequantur. Theol. Britan. Dordrac. ibid. thes. 4. [p. 79.]

[l] Illud pretium, quod solutum est pro omnibus, et quod omnibus credentibus certo proficiet ad vitam æternam, non proficit tamen omnibus, &c. Theol. Brit. Dordrac. de Art. ii. Explic. thes. 3. [Ibid.]

[m] Constat Christum proponendo evangelium, etiam illam gratiam internam administrasse, quæ hactenus sufficiebat; ut ex eo quod non acceptarent vel rejicerent evangelium juste coargui possint infidelitatis [positivæ]. Theol. Britan. Dordr. ibid. in explicat. thes. 5. [p. 80.]

In ecclesia, &c. [cited Art. i.]

[n] Supposita morte Christi pro omnibus hominibus, et intentione Dei conditionata de gratia promissionis evangelicæ generali, addit intentionem Dei specialem, de applicando beneficio mortis Christi per gratiam magis abundan-

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ARTICLES.

OF MAN'S CORRUPTION, HIS FREE WILL, HIS CONVERSION TO GOD AND THE MANNER OF IT.

1. Man's will, since the fall, hath of itself no ability to any spiritual act: every good motion of it must come from the grace of God preventing, accompanying, following it: yea, naturally it is inclinable to all evil[o].

2. There is not therefore in the will of the natural man any active power to work his own conversion. In the regeneration God infuseth a new life: He quickeneth the will by making it good[p].

3. There are yet certain foregoing acts that are prerequired to the conversion of a man; and they are both inward and outward[q].

4. Outward; as, to go to the church, to sit reverently, to hearken to the word spoken: in these we have freedom of will either way[r].

5. Inward; as, the knowledge of God's will, the feeling of our sin, the fear of hell, the thought of deliverance, some hope of pardon: for the grace of God doth not use to work upon a man immediately by sudden raptures, but by meet preparations; informing the judgment of his danger, wounding the conscience by the terrors of the law, suppling it by the promises of the gospel. These inward acts tending towards conversion, are, by the power of the word and Spirit of God, wrought in the heart of a man not yet justified[s].

tem et efficacem absolute, certo et infallibiliter solis electis sine præjudicio reliquorum. D. Overal. Art. ii. ibid. [fol. 75.]

o Omnes consentiunt liberum arbitrium nihil boni posse sine gratia præveniente, comitante, subsequente; ita ut gratia teneat principium, medium, et finem, in conversione, fide, et omni opere bono. D. Overal. Art. iii. ibid.

p In voluntate scilicet lapsa est potentia passiva, ad esse hoc supernaturale extrinsecus advenions recipiendum; non autem activa, ad idem, vel per se vel cum alio, producendum. Theol. Brit. de Artic. iii. et iv. Thes. de Conversione 2. [p. 131.]

Ipsam voluntatem bonam faciendo vivificat. Epist. Synod. Episc. Afric. cit. ibid.

q Sunt quædam opera externa ab hominibus ordinarie requisita, priusquam ad statum regenerationis aut conversionis perducantur. [Ibid. De Antecedaneis ad Conv. thes. 1. [p. 128.]

r Quæ ab iisdem quandoque libere fieri, quandoque libere omitti solent; ut adire ecclesiam, audire verbi præconium, et id genus alia. Ibid.

s Sunt quædam effecta interna ad conversionem sive regenerationem prævia, quæ, virtute verbi Spiritusque, in nondum justificatorum cordibus excitantur: qualia sunt, notitia voluntatis divinæ, sensus peccati, timor pœnæ, cogitatio de

6. Those whom God thus affects by his word and Spirit, he doth truly and seriously call and invite to faith and conversion[t].

7. Those whom he hath thus affected and called he forsakes not, neither ceaseth to further in the way to their conversion; till, through their willing neglect or repulse of this initial grace, he be forsaken of them[u].

8. These foregoing inward acts, wrought by the word and Spirit, both may be and are many times, through the fault of the rebellious will, choked and quenched in the hearts of men; so as, after some knowledge of divine truth, some sorrow for sin, and desire and care of deliverance, they fall off to the contrary, and give themselves over to their own lusts[x].

9. Yea, the very elect of God do not so carry themselves in these foregoing acts but that they do ofttimes justly deserve, for their neglect and resistance, to be forsaken of God: but such is his special grace and mercy to them, that he notwithstanding follows them effectually with powerful helps, till he hath wrought out his good work in them[y].

10. When the hearts of his elect are thus excited and prepared by the foregoing acts of grace, God doth by his secret and wonderful work regenerate and renew them; infusing into them

liberatione, spes aliqua venise. Ibid. thes. 2.

Non solet gratia divina homines perducere per subitum enthusiasmum; sed, multis prævis actionibus, ministerio verbi subactos et præparatos. Ibid. in explic. thes. 2.

[t] Quos Deus, mediante verbo, per Spiritum suum hunc in modum afficit, eos ad fidem conversionemque vere et serio vocat et invitat. Ibid. thes. 3.

[u] Quos ita affecit, Deus non deserit, nec desistit in vera ad conversionem via promovere, priusquam ab illis, per neglectionem voluntariam aut hujus gratiæ initialis repulsam, deseratur. [Ibid. thes. 4. p. 129.]

[x] Hi præcedanei effectus virtute verbi Spiritusque, rebellis voluntatis vitio suffocari ac penitus extingui possunt, et in multis solent; adeo ut nonnulli, in quorum mentibus virtute verbi Spiritusque impressa fuit aliqualis notitia veritatis divinæ, [aliqualis] dolor de peccatis suis, aliquod desiderium, et aliqua cura liberationis, mutentur plane in contrarium, veritatem rejiciant et odio habeant, concupiscentiis suis se tradant, in peccatis occalleant. Ibid. thes. 5.

[y] Ne electi quidem ipsi in his præcedaneis ad regenerationem actibus ita se gerunt unquam, quin propter negligentiam et resistentiam suam, possint juste a Deo deseri et derelinqui: sed ea est erga eos specialis Dei misericordia, ut, quamvis &c.—eos tamen iterum iterumque urgeat Deus, nec desistat promovere, donec eosdem gratiæ suæ prorsus subjugaverit, ac in statu filiorum regeneratorum collocaverit. Ibid. thes. 6. [p. 130.]

Gratiam specialem et efficacem, ad salutem certo perducentem, his, quos Deus [in Christo] ex beneplacito suo gratioso, elegerit, propriam profiteantur. D. Overal. in Art. iii. sent. 3. [fol. 75[b].]

his quickening Spirit, and enduing all the powers of their soul with new qualities of grace and holiness[z].

11. Upon this conversion which God works in the heart, follows instantly our actual conversion to God; while from our new changed will God fetches the act of our believing and turning to him: He gives that power which the will exercises: so as it is at once both ours and God's: ours, in that we do work; God's, in that he works it in us[a].

12. In working upon the will, God doth not overthrow the nature of the will; but causeth it to work after its own native manner, freely and willingly: neither doth he pull up by the roots that sinful possibility which is in our nature to resist good motions; but doth sweetly and effectually work in man a firm and ready will to obey him: his grace is so powerful that it is not violent. It is true that, while our natural concupiscence reigns in us, we have not only a possibility but a proneness to resistance; which yet is, by the gracious and effectual motion of God's Spirit, so overruled, that it breaks not forth into a present act; for God works in us to will, that is, not to resist: yea, the very will to resist is for the time taken away by the power of grace[b].

13. God doth not always so work in the regenerate that he doth ever take from them this will to resist; but sometimes suffers them, through their own fault, to give way to their own sinful desires: for, howsoever in those principal acts which are absolutely necessary to salvation, the grace of God works powerfully in the elect both the will and the deed, in his own good

[z] Deus animos electorum suorum, prædictis gratiæ suæ actibus excitatos et præparatos, intima quadam et mirabili operatione regenerat, et quasi de novo creat, infundendo Spiritum vivificantem, et omnes animæ facultates novis qualitatibus imbuendo. Theol. Br. de Convers. thes. 1. [p. 130.]

[a] Prædictam conversionem sequitur hæc nostra conversio actualis; Deo proliciente ipsum actum credendi et convertendi ex mutata voluntate, quæ acta a Deo agit et ipsa, convertendo se ad Deum et credendo, hoc est, actum suum vitalem simul eliciendo. Ibid. [de Convers. part. ii. thes. 1. p. 131.]

[b] Divina hæc actio non lædit voluntatis libertatem, sed roborat: neque tamen extirpat radicitus vitiosam resistendi possibilitatem ——— sed et pronitatem ad resistendum motibus Spiritus Sancti;—sed hæc resistibilitas, propter efficacissimam et suavissimam motionem gratiæ, nequit in actum [secundum] hic et nunc erumpere———. Huic gratiæ resisti nequit, quia primum operatur velle, id est, non resistere &c. Ibid. et in explic. [pp. 132, 133.] thes. 2. Deum cum voluerit et quibus voluerit gratiam tam abundantem, tam potentem, aut congruam, aut alio modo efficacem concedere, ut quamvis possit voluntas ratione suæ libertatis resistere, non tamen resistat, sed certo et infallibiliter obsequatur. D. Overal. in Artic. iv. [fol. 75b.]

time; yet in some particular acts he thinks good, for his own holy purposes, to leave the best men sometimes to themselves; who do thereupon grieve his good Spirit by a recoverable resistance[c].

THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

OF PERSEVERANCE.

1. Even among those which belong not to the election of God, there are some that are enlightened by supernatural knowledge, and give their assent to the truth of the gospel, receiving the same with some joy; and from that knowledge and faith find some change in their affections and lives: who yet, howsoever they may pass in the judgment of charity, never attained to that hearty renovation which is joined with justification, nor yet to the immediate disposition thereunto; and therefore were never in the true state of the adoption of sons: these may utterly fall away from that grace which they have professed[d].

2. The true believer and regenerate hath no immunity or privilege, whereby he is secured from falling into those horrible sins which are committed by others[e].

3. While he continues in those sins he runs into the displeasure of God, and is in the guilt of damnation; so as he neither can nor ought to persuade himself other than that, abiding in this state impenitent, he is obnoxious to eternal death[f].

[c] Deus hominem conversum et fidelem non ita semper movet ad bonos actus subsequentes ut tollat ipsam voluntatem resistendi, sed quandoque permittit illum vitio suo deficere a ductu gratiæ, et in particularibus multis actibus concupiscentiæ suæ parere. Theol. Br. ibid. thes. 3. [p. 133.] Oportet semper discrimen statuere, inter illos actus principales sine quibus salus electorum non constat, et particulares subsequentes actus &c. Ibid. in explic.

[d] Quibusdam non electis conceditur quædam illuminatio supernaturalis, cujus virtute intelligant ea, quæ in verbo Dei annuntiantur, esse vera, iisdemque assensum præbent minime simulatum. In iisdem, ex hac cognitione et fide, oritur affectuum quædam mutatio, et morum aliqualis emendatio: non-electi, huc usque progressi, ad statum tamen adoptionis et justificationis nunquam perveniunt. Theol. Brit. de Art. v. thes. i. 2, 4. [pp. 188–190.] Unde constat, eos nunquam re ipsa pertingere ad illam mentis et affectuum mutationem et renovationem, quæ cum justificatione conjuncta est; imo nec ad illam quæ proxime præparat ac disponit ad justificationem. Ibid. in explic. Art. iv. [p. 190.]

[e] Iidem regeniti ac justificati quandoque suo vitio incidunt in atrocia peccata. Ibid. thes. 3. de Persever. [p. 192.]

[f] Indignationem Dei paternam incurrunt, [reatum] damnabilem contrahunt, &c. Ibid. Ita ut, dum in eo statu impœnitentes persistunt, nec debeant nec possint aliter sibi persuadere, quam se esse morti obnoxios. In explic. ejusd. Art. Stat talis peccator merito suo damnandus. Theol. Br. ibid. thes. 5. [p. 193.]

4. Howsoever such a one stands by his own desert in the state of damnation; yet those who are soundly rooted in a true and lively faith lose not all their right to the inheritance of heaven, neither can either totally or finally fall from grace and perish everlastingly: but, by the special and effectual favour and inoperation of God, are kept up, and enabled to persevere in a true and lively faith; so that at last they are brought to eternal life[s].

These are the articles of accord, which whosoever holdeth and resteth in, my soul betwixt him and his harms in the ignorance of further particulars. Let there be a thousand parcels and atoms of truth contained in these heads, there needs no more be known; perhaps not all these: let there be no fewer errors in misholding those other manifold shreds of opinion; yet these are no rubs in our way to heaven.

And if now, having consented in these chief specialties, we will needs fall out about immaterial inferences, we are like to quarrelous brethren, who having agreed upon the main division of their inheritance fall out about some heaps of rubbish. Away with this unquiet spirit from us that profess Christians. What should these mattocks and hammers sound in the living temple of the Holy Ghost?

Men, brethren, fathers, help. Who sees not a dangerous fire kindling in our church by these five fatal brands? which, if it be not speedily quenched, threatens a furious eruption, and shall too late die in our ashes. That crafty devil that envies our peace takes this perilous season to distract us, that so we might fall as a prey to a common enemy. It is not yet too late to redress this evil. A few pailsfull may yet seasonably extinguish this weak flame, which time will make headstrong and irremediable.

Let me boldly say, it is not disputation, it is not counterwriting, that can quench it. These courses are but the bellows, to diffuse and raise these flashes to more height and rage. We

[s] Jus ad regnum non tollitur, &c. Jure regni hæreditario excidere non potest. In explic. Art. vi. [p. 194.] Tertia sententia ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ponit, cum Augustino, credentes quidem communiter posse a gratia et fide, per carnis infirmitatem et tentationis, recedere et etiam deficere: sed addit, illos credentes qui secundum propositum vocati sunt quique in fide viva solide radicati fuerint non posse [aut] totaliter aut finaliter deficere et perire; sed, per gratiam Dei specialem et efficacem, ita in fide vera et viva perseverare, ut tandem ad vitam eternam perducantur. D. Overal. in Art. v. [fol. 76.]

saw it in the practice of our neighbours: never did that Belgic quarrel grow to extremity, till after the solemn conference before the States at the Hague, which was intended to appease it.

There is no possible redress but in a severe edict of restraint, to charm all tongues and pens upon the sharpest punishment from passing those moderate bounds which the church of England, guided by the scriptures, hath expressly set; or which on both sides are fully accorded on.

If any man herein complain of an usurpation upon the conscience, and an unjust servitude, let him be taught the difference betwixt matters of faith and scholastical disquisitions. Those have God for their author; these, the brain of men. Those are contained in scriptures, either in express terms or irrefragable consequences; these are only deduced thence by such crooked inferences as cannot command assent. Those do mainly import our salvation; these not at all. Those are for the pulpit; these for the schools. In those the heart is tied to believe, the tongue must be free to speak: in these, the heart may be free, the tongue may be bound. Of this latter sort are the points we have now in hand; besides and after the accorded particulars: which how unfit they are for popular ears, and how unworthy to break the peace of the church, shall appear in the difficulty of the questions, in the unimportance of the ill raised differences.

For the former, we need no other judge than St. Austin himself, who calls this question of predestination, whereon the rest depend, *Questionem difficillimam, et paucis intelligibilem:* "a question most difficult, and which but few can understand." What need we any other witness than the learnedest followers of Arminius; who in their epistle to foreign divines confess, that "it hath seemed good to the most wise God to involve these mysteries in obscurity, and in an ambiguity of places seemingly contradictory[h]." And some pages after they profess to subscribe to the judgment of all divines, both ancient and modern, that "these questions of predestination, being perplexed, thorny, and troublesome through their obscureness, may, without all detriment of salvation, be either unknown or discussed[i]." Neither was that comparison of Strigelius amiss, who likens the place of

h Visum sapientissimo numini obscuritate quadam, et [ἐναντιοφανῶν] locorum ambiguitate, involvere hæc mysteria. [Epistola ecclesiastarum quos in Belgio Remonstrantes vocant ad exterarum ecclesiarum reformatos doctores. Lugd. Bat. 1617, p. 11.]

i Hæc ipsa de Præd. [ἐρωτήματα] perplexa, spinosa, et obscuritate sua molestissima. Ibid. [p. 30.]

predestination in divinity to the Cossick[1] rule in arithmetic. But what an idleness were it to prove the danger of the passage through these sands and rocks, when we see the shipwrecks! Where ever did the great doctor of the Gentiles cry, *O altitudo*, but in this point? To fall upon these discourses then in popular auditories, what were it other than to teach algebra to those that yet know not their figures; or to turn them loose into a perilous sea who know neither coast, nor card, nor compass?

But, were the knowledge of these differences as necessary as it is hard, the difficulty should but whet our appetite and encourage our industry. What if it appear there is as little use as ease in the common canvasses of them; and that when the noise of passion is stilled on both sides, so as each will but hear other speak with just favour and moderation, our variance shall be proved less material than may be worthy of the war of brethren.

This shall be made good in our following discourse: which I intreat both parts, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to examine without prejudice, as that which proceeds from an heart sincerely devoted to truth and peace. The Judge of all hearts, before whom I stand, knows with what honest intentions to the welfare of this noble church, with what freedom from all partial affections, with what indignation at these unseasonable troubles, with what zeal of the common tranquillity, I put my hand to this too-necessary, if thankless, task. Who can tell whether God did not purposely send me to be a witness of these quarrels abroad, that I might be able to speak a word in season for their appeasing at home?

That we may distinguish the parts without any aspersion, I shall crave leave to call the followers of the tenet of the synod of Dort, Defendants: the other, which vary from these, following the steps either of acute Arminius or of our learned and judicious bishop Overal, Opponents.

The Netherlands are out of our way in this quarrel: yet for the nearness both of the place and cause, let us touch there in our passage.

Now then let us take a short survey of the particular differences, and call each part to the nearest verge of an accord.

The first is the point of Predestination: concerning which

[1] [Algebraic—from Regola di *Cosa*, the Italian designation of Algebra.]

three things are wont to be questioned. 1. The motive or ground. 2dly. The object. 3dly. The order of it.

For the first: both parts hold there is no other impulsive cause of God's decree of election or reprobation than the free will and pleasure of the Almighty.

Only, the one part holds that God's decree looks at faith and infidelity as conditions in those who are to be chosen or refused[k]: the other easily grants that no man is elect but the believer, no man reprobate but the rebellious and unbeliever; although they will not put these as fore-required conditions into the act of God's decree.

Why should the mere supposal of a condition be worth their quarrel; since it is yielded on all hands, that in God's decree of our justification he looks at our faith as a necessary condition required thereunto, without any derogation to the perfect freedom of that his gracious decree? If faith may be granted not to be in our own power, but that it is the gift of God, there can no main inconvenience follow upon this tenet, that God, in our election, had an eye to our qualification with that faith which he would give us[l].

Thus the Belgic defendants: "If they grant," say they[m], "that God works in us faith and perseverance, there is no cause why they should contend with us; for it follows, that God could not foresee more good in man than he decreed to work in him as his elect one."

Now hear how close the opponents profess to come. "The question is not," saith Corvinus[n], one of their learnedest authors, "whether God, when he chose man, considered him as who, by

[k] Neque fidem neque infidelitatem causam esse impulsivam decreti Dei. [Neque enim hujus decreti causa impulsiva est, vel fides proprie loquendo Petri, vel Judæ infidelitas sed] liberrima Dei voluntas, volentis talis personæ misereri, talis non misereri.——Damus tamen fidem infidelitatemque conditiones esse, sine quibus nec hunc salvare nec illum præterire ex puro puto beneplacito visum fuit Deo.—Epist. ad Ext. [*ut supra*] p. 41.

[l] An quisquam dicere audebit Deum non præscisse quibus esset daturus ut crederent, aut quos daturus esset Filio suo, ut ex eis non perderet quemquam. —Aug. de dono Persev. c. 14. Opp. vol. x. col. 839.

[m] Prius si dicant Deum fidem in nobis et perseverationem operari, nihil est cur nobiscum certent; sequitur enim, Deum in homine non potuisse plus boni præscire, quam ipse in eo, ut electo suo, efficere decrevit.—Contra-Remonstr. in Colloq. Hag. p. 26.

[n] Non enim quæritur an Deus, cum hominem [ad vitam] elegit, &c. sed, an eum consideraverit ut jam credentem dono et gratia Dei. [—Joan. Arn. Corvini Defens. Armin. adv. Tilen. Lugd. Bat. 1613, p. 32.]

the power of nature, without the help of grace, should believe; but whether God considered him as now believing by the gift and grace of God." "This is it," saith he[o], "which Arminius teaches; who acknowledges faith to be the pure pute gift of God."

Would we not now think both parts agreed? The defendants do but desire that faith may be granted to be the mere gift of God: the opponents profess to grant it. What do they now pretend to stick at a needless scruple?

Faith is considered, say the opponents, as "a gift of God:" but, whether procceding "from his election," or "from another will of his," this, saith Corvinus[p], is the question. But why should this question trouble their peace; or what can this subtlety afford, able to countervail a public unquietness; while it is agreed by them that God foresees nothing in us, but the faith of his own giving? Let the schools care for the rest.

Some will perhaps suspect a secret fraud in this so liberal grant of the Belgic opponents, that faith is the mere gift of God: and some will perhaps imagine, that it might be a word which dropped casually from their tongue, whereof they might after repent.

But for this latter, let Johannes Arnoldus[q], their best advocate, speak for all. "That faith is the gift of God, and is wrought in us by his power, we have," saith he[r], "a thousand times confessed in our conference at the Hague."

For the other, I take not upon me either their procuration or their patronage: this work were both busy and impertinent. Much perplexed traverse of consequences affirmed and denied goes to this task. Let it be their part to make good their protested sincerity in that assertion; which for peace sake I gladly report from them at the best: and this piece of the quarrel shall receive a fair mitigation. Only I must needs say, that in the contentions of brethren, it is far more equal to receive their own

[o] [Posterius asserit Arminius]; qui fidem agnoscit purum putum Dei donum. —Ibid.

[p] Equidem Arminius——agnoscit fidem Dei donum esse; sed donum in eligendo prærequisitum, et non ex electione, sed alia Dei voluntate datum.—Ibid. p. 52. How faith is granted to be a fruit of election to grace, see Remonstr. Scripta Dogmat. Declar. Sent. 1. p. 9. [Act. et Scrip. Synod. Dordrac. minist. Remonst. in Belgio; Hardervici, 1620.]

[q] [Jo. Arnoldus Corvinus.]

[r] Fidem esse Dei donum, et potentia ejus in nobis effici,——millies eadem Collatione——confessi sumus.—Jo. Arnol. [Corvini] Resp. ad Notas Bogerman[ni], part. ii. c. 7. [p. 204, Lugd. Bat. 1616.]

best constructions, than to urge and obtrude upon them disavowed implications.

Surely there is need both of wisdom and charity in the discerning of opinions concerning this point.

To hold that faith is so the gift of God, as that it is given to all them who, God foresaw, would dispose themselves by the good use of their free will to receive it, and who should improve the powers of nature to their utmost, is no better than Pelagian; whose exploded word was of old, that grace is given according to merit.

To hold that faith is so the gift of God, as that it is therefore only not given to all, because all will not receive it, for that God calleth all and gives unto all men sufficient helps to believe if they will, and goes no farther; and therefore that according to the prevision of our free co-working with this sufficient grace his decree determines of us, is but somewhat better than Pelagian.

To hold that faith is so the gift of God, as that he doth not only give common and sufficient helps to men whereby they are made able to believe if they will, but so works in them by his grace that they do by the power thereof actually believe and conceive true faith in their soul—this is fair and orthodox.

And even to this do the Belgic opponents profess to come up in their late dogmatical writings[s]; which how fitly it holds suit with their other tenets, let it be their care to approve unto the church of God. I am sure an ingenuous constancy to this position might be a fair advantage taken for peace.

For the second: the question is, upon what point of man's estate we should fasten the decree of predestination: while the one part holds man fallen, the object of this decree; the other, man believing or incredulous.

What reason is there this should raise so loud a strife, since we do willingly wink at the rest of the differences of like nature concerning this point? For there are six several opinions about the object of predestination: while some take it to be man, indefinitely and commonly considered; others hold it to be man, that was to be created; others, man, as he was creable, fallible, save-

[s] Electionis vero quæ ad gratiam est, fructus [dici potest hactenus] quod beneficio illorum mediorum, quæ per gratiam suppeditantur, homo non tantum potens redditur ad credendum, sed actu etiam credit et fidem concipit, &c. Beneficio illius solius (gratiæ) in omnibus qui credunt, ea ingeneretur et efficiatur.—Remonstr. Scripta Dogm. Declar. Sent. circa 1 Artic. [*ut supra,*] p. 9.

able; others, man created, but as in his pure naturals; others, man fallen, which is the most common tenet; lastly, others, man, as believing or disobeying the call of God. Why should these two last be brought upon the stage with so much profession of hostility, while the other four are passed over by a willing connivancy on all hands; and the authors of them, whose reputation so small a mote is not thought worthy to disfigure, go away with meet honour in the church of God? There is none of the four first, which upon some straining may not yield harsh and unpleasing consequences; and yet are let go without the mischief of a public division.

I must boldly say, reserving my judgment concerning this point to myself, that if this supposed faith may be yielded the mere gift of God, as formerly, I cannot discern any so dangerous inconvenience in this branch of the opinion as should warrant the breach of the common peace.

As for the order, what do we brawling about our own conceits? We all know there is but one most simple act of God in this his decree; wherein therefore there can be neither precedency nor posteriority.

If we now, for our understanding's sake, shall so express this one act of God, as that, while we vary in the explication we are confounded in our own senses, what do we but fight with our own shadows?

That God requires faith as necessary to salvation, is granted of all: but in what place it comes into his decree, there is the doubt.

One part makes four distinct acts of God's decree, wherein the general purpose of mercy to mankind through his Son Christ Jesus to save believers, and the gift of necessary means for the attaining of faith, comes before the special decree of saving those particulars who he foresaw would believe, repent, persevere: and contrarily, the other makes fewer decrees in a contrary order; placing the decrees of particular election to life before the ordination of the means tending thereunto; so as faith and perseverance issue from this special decree of choosing individual persons to life.

Why should we be distracted in the abstractions of our own making; and not rather rest, silent and wondering, in the acknowledgment of the simplicity of that one act of the infinitely wise God, who doth, *uno intuitu*, see man creable, created, fallen, redeemed, believing; which our shallow capacities shall

in vain labour to comprehend? Surely it were the better posture of our hands, to have one of them laid upon our lips, the other lifted up for admiration; than to employ them in buffeting each other for an invincible ignorance or misprision of that which our finite nature can never admit us to know. O God, what do we search or quarrel to miss those ways of thine which are past finding out?

That we may consider all these jointly together, that God hath set apart certain particular persons to save them by Christ and by faith in him, not because he foresaw they would believe, but of his mere grace only according to his good pleasure, and that this decree is eternal and unchangeable, is agreed on by both sides. This description the Belgic opponents grant to be so wide a shoe that it will serve their foot also[t].

And why then should either part seek or care for any other last? Surely a Christian needs not either search or know any more.

Now comes in a scholastical quirk, to trouble the peace of men's hearts and brains: whether God have set apart these certain singular persons, as persons singular without all respects to any other considerations; or whether his decree looked at them as invested with those qualities which he meant to give and foresees as given[u].

Doubtless, to make men capable of salvation, there is faith, repentance, good works, perseverance in good, actually required of God. But these necessary dispositions are ranged under the execution of God's decree. These he requires: these he gives: these he works: these he decrees to work in his. Why should we be scrupulous in what place they come into the holy purposes of God, which we grant cannot be missing in our way to heaven? Why do we not rather labour to be such as he requires, that we may enjoy what he hath promised and preordained for us?

What say the Belgic defendants? "Neither did we ever say, that those singular persons, whom God chose from all eternity,

[t] Quod aiunt Contra-Rem. Deum ab æterno certas quasdam personas segregasse ut eas per Christum perque fidem in ipsum salvaret, non quia prævideret illas crediturus, sed ex mera tantum gratia secundum beneplacitum suum. ——Decretum hoc Dei æternum esse et immutabile, &c. Descriptio [ista tam anceps tamque ambigua]—— ita laxa est, ut etiam nostrum pedem admittat. Coll. Hag. [ut supra] Vindicatio per Remonstr. pp. 81, 82.

[u] Cæterum si personas quasdem singulares intelligant tanquam singulares, hoc est, citra ullas omnino qualitates, ac proinde extra Christum et fidem [in ipsum] consideratas, id vero [nos] pernegamus. Rem. ibid. p. 83.

were to be considered without respect to Christ and faith in him; but have ever roundly professed that the merits of Christ and faith in him are considered of God in this election of individual persons, as means whereby he hath decreed to bring them to salvation[x]."

See then how narrow this difference is. God hath decreed by these means to bring men to salvation: yet these fall not into his decree of ordinary choice to salvation. They are in the execution of his decree, and in the decree of his execution: they are not in the decree of his election. Let these be undoubted truths, as they are; yet what need the souls of quiet Christians be racked with so subtle questions? It well befits the schools to examine these problems; but for common Christians, it doth not so much concern them to inquire, how the order of God's decree stands in our apprehension of that one simple act of the divine understanding or will, as how it is in respect of the execution. Here comes in our main interest in these eternal counsels of the Almighty, which draws from us a due care and endeavour to be capable of this promised salvation, and to avoid the ways of death. Could we be persuaded to take more from that speculation, and to add more to this practice, it would be much happier for us.

Neither is this election, according to the plea of the opponents, made ever the more uncertain by this pre-requisition of our faith: since they profess to teach it supposed in our election, not as a condition whose performance God expects, as uncertain; but as a gift, which God, according to his eternal prescience, foresees in man, present and certain: as the decree of sending Christ into the world did not depend upon a conditioned and uncertain expectation of what man would do, or would not do; but upon the infallible notice of God, who foresaw man as presently sinning or fallen: so as the election of God is not suspended upon the mutability of man's will; but upon the infallible certainty of the foreknowledge of God, to whose eyes our faith and perseverance is not more doubtful than future, and whose prescience hath no less infallibility than his decree. If therefore God may have the sole glory of this work in the gift of that faith which he foresees, and our election hazards no certainty,

[x] Contra Rem.—Neque nos unquam diximus, singulares illas personas, quas Deus ab æterno elegit, plane extra Christum et fidem esse considerandas; ut qui semper rotunde professi sumus, merita Christi et fidem in ipsum in electione ista singularium personarum a Deo spectari et haberi pro mediis quibus eos Deus statuit ad salutem perducere. Coll. Hag. [ut supra] p. 140.

as they profess to hold, what is there that should need to draw blood in this first quarrel?

But what need I labour to reconcile these opinions, which have no reason to concern us? The church of England, according to the explication of R[ev.] B[ishop] Overal, goes a midway betwixt both these. For, while the one side holds a general conditional decree of God to save all men if they believe, and a particular decree of saving those who he foresaw would believe; and the other side, not admitting of that general conditionate decree, only teaches a particular absolute decree to save some special persons, for whom only Christ was given, and to whom grace is given irresistibly, all others being by a no less absolute decree rejected: our church, saith he, with St. Austin, maintaineth an absolute and particular decree of God to save those whom he hath chosen in Christ, not out of the prescience of our faith and will, but out of the mere purpose of his own will and grace: and that thereupon God hath decreed to give, to whom he pleaseth, a more effectual and abundant grace, by which they not only may believe and obey if they will; but whereby they do actually will, believe, obey, and persevere, without prejudice to the rest, to whom he hath also given gracious offers and helps to the same purpose, though by their just fault neglected.

What can the synod of Dort in this case wish to be said more? Indeed, withal he addeth a general conditionate will of God, or a general evangelical promise of saving all if they do believe: since God doth will and command that all men should hear Christ and believe in him; and in so doing hath offered grace and salvation unto all: declaring how well these two may agree together, that, first, God hath propounded salvation in Christ to all if they believe, and hath offered them (within the church especially) a common and sufficient grace in the means that he hath mercifully ordained, if men would not be wanting to the word of God and his Holy Spirit; and that to ascertain the salvation of man, he hath decreed to add that especial, effectual, and saving grace unto some: neither of which truths can well and safely be denied of any Christian: only the sound of a general and conditionate will perhaps seems harsh to some ears; whereto yet they should do well to inure themselves, since it is the approved distinction of worthy, orthodox, and unquestionable divines.

Zanchius, in his book De Prædest. Sanct. hath it *in terminis*,

with a large exposition. "That God willeth some things absolutely," saith he[y], "it is manifest, and plainly confirmed by scriptures: so he absolutely willed the world should be created and governed: so he absolutely willed that Christ should come into the world and die for the salvation of his elect. He wills also absolutely that the elect shall be saved; and therefore performs to them all things that are necessary to their salvation." "That the same God willeth some things conditionally, the scriptures also teach us: for God would have all men to be saved, if they would keep the law, or believe in Christ: and therefore I call that first an absolute will, this latter a conditional[z]." And in the next leaf to the same purpose he saith[a], "It is also true that God would have all men to be saved in his revealed and conditionate will; scil. if they would believe in Christ and carefully keep his law: for by this will no man is excluded from salvation and knowledge of the truth." So Ambrose interprets that place of 1 Tim. ii. 4. "He *would have all to be saved*," saith he, "if themselves will: for he hath given his law to all; and excepts no man," in respect of his law and will revealed, "from salvation[b]." For the further allowing whereof, the same Zanchius cites the testimonies of Luther, Bucer, and others. Neither doth it much ablude from this, that our English divines at Dort call the decree of God, whereby he hath appointed in and by Christ to save those that repent, believe, and persevere, *Decretum annunciativum salutis omnibus ex æquo et indiscriminatim promulgandum*[c].

Surely it is easy to observe that we are too fearful of some distinctions, which carry in them a jealousy of former abuse; and yet both may well be admitted in a good sense, and serve

y Deum velle quædam absolute manifestum est, et sacræ literæ confirmant: etenim voluit [absolute] mundum creari, &c. [Zanch. de Præd. Sanct.; Explic. thes. ii. Opp. 1605, vol. vii. col. 281.]

z Eundem Deum quædam velle conditionaliter, docent itidem sacræ literæ: vult enim omnes servari, si velint legem implere, aut in Christum credere. Proinde illam priorem voco absolutam voluntatem, hanc vero posteriorem conditionalem. Ibid. col. 281.

a Cæterum illud tamen verum est, Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri, voluntate scil. revelata et conditionali; nimirum, si velint in Christum credere et ejus legi servandæ studere. Hac enim voluntate nemo a salute et a cognitione veritatis excluditur, &c. Ibid. Explic. thes. xii. col. 285.

b ["Vult enim Deus omnes homines salvos fieri——si et ipsi velint. Nam utique qui legem omnibus dedit, nullum excepit a salute." Comment. in Ep. i. ad Tim. inter Ambr. Opera Suppositita. Opp. vol. ii. Append. col. 292.]

c "The declarative decree of salvation to be equally and indifferently proclaimed unto all men." Act. Syno. in [Explic. Thes. Heterodox. i. *ut supra*, p. 6.]

for excellent purpose; as that if we labour, for our better understanding, to explicate the one will of God by several notions of the antecedent and consequent will of God; (which Paulus Ferrius, a reformed schoolman, approves by the suffrages of Zanchius, Polanus, and other orthodox divines[b];) to look at it a little running, as that which gives no small light to the business in hand.

As there is wont to be conceived a double knowledge of God: the one, of mere understanding, whereby he foreknows all things that may be; the other, of vision or approbation, whereby he foreknows that which undoubtedly shall be: so there is a double will to be conceived of God, answerable to this double knowledge; an antecedent will, which answers to the mere understanding, whereby God wills every possible good, without the consideration of the adjuncts appertaining to it; a consequent will, answering to the knowledge of approbation, whereby, all circumstances prepensed, God doth simply will this or that particular event as simply good to be, and which is thereupon impossible not to be. The one of these is a will of complacency; the other, of prosecution: the one is, as it were, an optative will; the other, an absolute. In the first of these, God would have all to be saved; because it is in a sort good in itself, in that the nature of man is ordainable to life, and man hath by God common helps seriously offered for the attaining thereof: neither can we think it other than pleasing to God, that his creatures should both do well and fare well. In the latter, he willeth some of all to be saved; as not finding it simply good, all circumstances considered, to extend this favour to all: this appears in the effect; for, if God absolutely willed it, it could not fail of being. Neither doth aught hinder but these two may stand well together; a complacence in the blessedness of his creature, and a will of his smart: for both that which we will in one regard we may not will in another; as we may wish a felon to live as a man, to die as a malefactor; and besides, the possibility of one opposite doth not hinder the act of another, as he that hath power to run perhaps doth sit or lie.

Learned Zanchius, methinks, gives at once a good satisfaction, as to this doubt so to the ordinary exception, whereat many have stumbled, of the pretended mockage of God's invitations, where he means not, as some have misconceived, a serious effect. "In

[b] [Ferrii "Scholastici Orthodoxi Specimen." Gotstadii 1616, p. 386.]

the parable of the gospel," saith he[c], "those which were first bidden to the marriage feast, and came not, were they therefore mocked by the king, because he only signified unto them what would be acceptable unto him, and what was their duty to perform? and yet he did not command them to be compelled, as he did the second guests, to come to the wedding. Surely no: yet in the meantime there was not the same will of the king in the inviting of the first, and of the second: for in these second, there was an absolute will of the king, that they should without fail come, and therefore he effectually caused them to come: in the former he only signified, and that fairly and ingenuously, what would be pleasing to him." Thus he. The entertainment of this one distinction, which hath the allowance of orthodox and learned authors, to be free from any danger or inconvenience, would mitigate this strife; since it is that which the opponents contend for, and which the defendants may yield without any sensible prejudice.

As for the envy of that irrespective and absolute decree of reprobation wherewith the defendants are charged, it is well taken off, if we distinguish, as we must, of a negative and positive reprobation; the latter whereof, which is a preordination to punishment, is never without a respect and prevision of sin: for, although by his absolute power God might cast any creature into everlasting torment, without any just exception to be taken on our parts; yet, according to that sweet providence of his, which disposeth all things in a fair order of proceeding, he cannot be said to inflict or adjudge punishment to any soul, but for sin, since this is an act of vindicative justice, which still supposeth an offence. If this be yielded by the defendants, as it is, wherein also they want not the voices even of the Romish school, what needs any further contention? especially while the defendants plead, even those that are most rigorous, that upon the non-election of some, damnation is "not causally but only consecutively[d]" inferred. Sure I am that by this, which is mutually yielded on both parts, all mouths are stopped from any pretence of calumniation against the justice of the Almighty; and we are sufficiently

[c] De Nat. Dei. l. iii. c. 4. [thes. in quæst. iii. § 6. Opp. 1605. vol. ii. col. 258.]

[d] Non causaliter sed consecutive [consequutive (ut loquuntur) non causaliter est a reprobatione damnatio. Perkinsius de Prædest. modo et ordine. Cantab. 1598. p. 65, marg. note. This marginal note is omitted in the folio edition of Perk. Opera Theologica.]

convinced of the necessity of our care to avoid those sins which shall otherwise be rewarded with just damnation.

Let this be enough for the first article. Less will serve of the rest.

Concerning the extent of Christ's death, the Belgic opponents profess to rest willingly in those words of Musculus: *Omnium peccata tulit, &c:* "He hath borne the sins of all men, if we consider his sacrifice according to the virtue of it in itself, and think that no man is excluded from this grace but he that refuses it. *So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;* John iii. 16. But if we respect those which do so believe and are saved; so he hath *borne* only *the sins of many.*" Thus he[e]. Neither will the opponents yield any less. What is this other than the explication of that usual distinction which we have, whether from St. Austin or his scholar Prosper, of the greatness of the price, and the propriety of the redemption[f]? that equal to all, this pertaining but to some. That common word seems enough to the Belgic opponents[g]: "The price of Christ's blood is sufficient to save all:" and if this may serve their turn, who can grudge it? Contrarily, while they do willingly grant, that in respect of the efficacy of power, Christ died not for all; and that Christ was given only with this intention of his Father, that the world should no otherwise be saved by his Son than through faith[h]; what need we urge more?

Both will grant that the apothecary's shop hath drugs enough for the cure of all diseases, which yet can profit none but those that are willing to make use of them. Both will accord in this position, which B. Overal commends, as in effect the words of worthy Mr. Calvin: So Christ died for all, that there is no man, if his incredulity did not hinder him, but were redeemed by his precious blood: neither is there, as is willingly confessed by the defendants, any man living to whom it may be singularly said,

[e] [Musculi Comment. in Esaiam. [liii. 15.] Basil. 1570. pp. 705, 6.]

[f] Magnitudinem pretii distinguit a proprietate redemptionis. ["Quod ergo ad magnitudinem et potentiam pretii, sanguis Christi est redemptio totius mundi, &c. Prosperi Resp. ad Object. Vincent. Opp. August. vol. x. App. col. 208.]

[g] [Passionem et mortem Christi tanti esse pretii, valoris et efficacis, ut in se sit sufficiens ad solvendum pro omnium et singulorum hominum peccatis.] Coll. Hag. [*ut supra*] p. 161.

[h] Christus pro multis duntaxat, et non pro omnibus mortuus, quoad efficaciam virtutis, &c. [Coll. Hag. *ut supra*] p. 171.

Christ died not for thee[1]. Seeing therefore whole mankind doth but result of singular and individual men, why should we fear to say unto all, that Christ died for them?

Now what should we stand upon a niggardly contestation of words, where so much real truth is mutually yielded? Who can think there can be any peril to that soul who believes thus much? The rest to the schools.

But whatever have been the nice scruples and explications of foreign divines, we have no such cause of strife, if we admit that which our learned bishop commends for the voice of the church of England! who, having laid down the two extreme opinions of the opposite parts, brings in the church of England as sweetly moderating betwixt both: that she, supposing the death of Christ for all men, and God's conditionate intention of the general grace of his evangelical promise, adds moreover the special intention of God to apply the benefit of Christ's death, by a more abundant and effectual grace, absolutely, certainly, and infallibly, to the elect alone, without any diminution of that his sufficient and common favour; which as we see so yields to both parts what they desire, as that in the meantime it puts upon both what they are not greatly forward to admit: yet that which it puts upon them may be admitted without any complaint, except perhaps of excess of charity; and that which is yielded is abundantly enough for peace.

These articles are like to links of a chain, whereof one is riveted within another. The order of God's decree would not be stiffly stood upon, if our faith and perseverance, foreseen by him, be clearly ascribed to God as his mere and only gift.

But now the defendants are jealous of some encroachments upon the glory of God's only act in our conversion; in that they apprehend it, according to the tenet of the adverse part, left in our power to entertain or reject the good motions of his Spirit tending thereunto.

Whereto the opponents answer, that they are studiously careful to ascribe unto God the sincere glory of our conversion: professing that they do not teach, as hath been usually objected to them, that God gives man only proffers of power to believe, which his own freedom may either accept or refuse; but teaching openly, if their words may carry belief, that God gives him the whole power

[1] Nulli hominum singulariter denunciatur, [neque ulli—denunciatur] Christum pro ipso mortuum non esse.—Ibid. p. 155.

of believing, by the illumination of his mind and vivification of his will; yet so as that in the meantime God, while he gives this new power to believe, doth not take away the natural liberty of the will, whereupon the man whose will is renewed both may work according to the power of that renovation, and may not work according to the radical freedom of his will; both may use his new power as a spiritual man, and not use it in part as a natural man: wherein they urge the distinction betwixt the power and the liberty of our free will; confessing that in this state of sin the will hath no power at all to that which is good; but that it hath meanwhile a natural liberty, whereby it can incline to evil: the new power that is given to man doth not make him cease, either to be a man, or a man in part.

Man hath it not therefore from any power of nature that he can believe: that is merely from the grace of God: but still he hath it from the remainders of himself that he can will not to believe. Neither do the opponents profess to say other concerning the first act of conversion, than the defendants themselves say concerning the progress thereof: wherein they teach, that a renewed man hath freedom of will both to good and evil; and yet stand for the mere and all only power of grace, not occasionally, but causally working the will to good.

And if this must be yielded in the proceedings of our regeneration, what so great importance is there either way in yielding it to the entrance? I do not inquire into the truth of this point: I inquire into the weight. Surely these questions of the concurrence of the Spirit of God with ours, so as neither the will is necessitated on the one side nor flattered with a wild liberty on the other; and how far necessity may stand with freedom; and what kind of necessity may be here admitted; are points fit to be ranged amongst the deepest problems of the schools, and not fit to torture the ears of popular auditories.

For the main point, it must needs be said, no man can speak more fully against the natural power of man's free will and abilities in spiritual things than the Belgic opponents: professing that "of himself and his own powers man can do nothing:" that "the beginnings, proceedings, endings of faith and conversion are owing to mere grace[k]:" that "no good can come from us, unless

[k] Ad nauseam usque inculcamus,—— nihil ex se aut suis viribus hominem posse, τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ μέσα, τὰ ὕστατα fidei et conversionis gratiæ deberi. [Rem. Epist. ad Ext. [*ut supra*] p. 62.]

we be enabled by the preventing, accompanying, subsequent grace of God[i]."

It is the word of Arminius, cited by our late learned bishop of Salisbury[k]: "Give what you will to grace, so you hold it not irresistible." Nothing is here stood upon but the manner of the working of grace upon the hearts: wherein, if both parts would hear and understand each other with favour, the controversy would be found little other than verbal. For the part that most constantly teaches the forcibleness of conversion holds "such a kind of actuating the will as doth no whit hurt or infringe the liberty thereof; yea, rather, which profits it[l]." And while they speak of an irresistible act in turning us, they mean not such an act as cannot be at all resisted if we would; but such a one as the will, through God's gracious inclination, would not wish to resist; for that their will to resist is so overcome by the sweet motions of God's Spirit, that now yieldance is made powerfully voluntary. In which sense the very Jesuits themselves confess an irresistibility: Bellarmine, Suarez, Valentia[m], and others, granting it as impossible there should not be a conversion where there is an effectual grace, as that there should not be a conversion where there is a conversion.

Now whether this irresistibleness be out of a consequent supposition, as the Jesuits, or out of an antecedent, as the Dominicans, with many of ours; or whether this powerful influence into the will be by way of a physical or moral motion; they are subtleties fit for schools, not meet to trouble the heads of ordinary Christians. It is enough for us to know, that we will to consent, because God works this will in us strongly, yet sweetly, and by an omnipotent facility: so as no free will of ours resists God's will to save us; as St. Austin, pithily.

To dispute then of the power of that will to resist which

[i] Nusquam hominem boni quicquam agere dicamus, nisi gratia præveniente, concomitante, subsequente adjutum instructumque.—Ibid.

[k] D. Abbot. Exerc. 2. ex Arm. Declar. ad Ord. Omnia gratiæ ascribantur licet, modo ne statuatur irresistibilis. [De Gratia Sanctorum. Lond. 1618. p. 19.]

[l] Quicquid sit, constanter docent omnes hunc modum actuandi liberum arbitrium ejus libertati nihil nocere; imo, maxime proficit illam. Paul. Fir. Spec. Schol. p. 487.

[m] Valent. Disp. 8. q. 3. p. 4. § 2. ["Ita est impossibile non poni conversionem posita gratia efficaci, atque est impossibile non poni conversionem posita ipsa conversione." Opera. Lugd. 1619. vol. ii. col. 916.]

God hath made willing to yield, what is it but to strive about the passage of those sheep, which neither are bought nor ever shall be?

"Man is in a marvellous manner drawn to will, by Him that knows to work inwardly in men's hearts: not that they should believe whether they will or no, which is impossible; but that of unwilling they should be made willing;" saith St. Austin [n].

True, God makes us willing of unwilling, and so we resist not: but how doth he make us willing? whether by an irresistible manner of working in us or not? This, say the opponents, is the main question. Surely so as that, to use Aquinas's word, the will is impelled though not compelled; so as that, though there is in the nature of the will a freedom and capacity of agreeing or dissenting, in respect of itself, yet, as it is for the present moved and actuated by the effectual inclination of the Almighty, now it so sways one way, as if it had for the time put off the power of refusing.

What need we then trouble ourselves with these upstart terms of resistible and irresistible? Let it content us that the gracious inoperation of God effectually draws the heart of man to will, to receive, to entertain, the happy motions of his good Spirit to our renovation. If we yield not this to God, we yield nothing; and if we give him this, he will not quarrel with us for more.

But what place soever these differences have found in foreign schools and pulpits, ours have reason to be free; if we shall listen to that wise and moderate voice of our church, which our forecited reverend author commends unto us; who, after the relation of the two extreme opinions, resteth in this *medio tutissimus*, that men are so stirred and moved by grace, that they may, if they attend thereunto, obey the grace which calleth and moveth them; and that they may, by their free will also resist it: but withal that God, when he will and to whom he will, gives such an abundant, such powerful, such congruous, otherwise effectual grace, that although the will may in respect of the liberty thereof resist, yet it resists not, but doth certainly and infallibly obey: and that thus God

[n] Trahitur ergo miris modis ut velit, ab illo qui novit intus in ipsis hominum cordibus operari, non ut homines quod fieri non potest nolentes credant, sed ut volentes ex nolentibus fiant. Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelag. [lib. i. cap. 19. Opp. vol. x. col. 428.]

deals with those whom he hath chosen in Christ, so far as shall be necessary to their salvation. Whoso cannot sit down quietly in this decision, methinks should be no friend to peace.

And if any man stumble at the first clause, as at the threshold of this sentence, let him know that our divines at Dort have in effect said no less[o]: while, having yielded to man's free will in those external works which are required of us before our conversion, and supposing certain effects in the way to our conversion which are wrought by the power of the word and Spirit in the hearts of men not yet justified; add farther, that those whom God thus affects by his word and Spirit, those he doth truly and seriously call and invite to faith and conversion; and that Christ, in his death, not only founded his evangelical covenant, but hath also obtained of his Father, that wheresoever this covenant shall be published, there also should ordinarily such a measure of grace be administered as should be sufficient to convince all impenitent and unbelieving men of neglect or contempt; and lastly, that whom God thus affects he forsakes not, nor ceaseth to promote in the way of their conversion, till he be first forsaken of them by a voluntary neglect or contempt of this initial grace.

But what need any proof hereof, while that clause speaks but of a common grace; and the persons to whom this liberty is ascribed are such as by that learned bishop are contradistinguished to them which are truly called according to the purpose of God? Let us go but so far as these two guides will jointly lead us, it will be bootless to quarrel about any further discovery.

Concerning the fifth Article, of Perseverance, the Belgic opponents at first spake timorously; professing not absolutely to hold a possibility of the total or final defection of true believers; only suspending their opinion, and rather inclining to the affirmative: but afterward they grew to a strong resolution of that whereof they formerly but doubted.

In whose writings yet, when a man shall come to read "that a man may and ought to be certain of his own eternal salvation; that the only grace of God is the supernatural cause of perseverance, which makes our will both able and willing to

[o] Theol. Brit. Dord. de Art. ii. thes. 5. [pp. 79, 80.]

persevere [p];" he would think there need no more words; that this quarrel were at a happy end.

But when he shall see them flying off into the distinctions, of certainty for the present and certainty for the future, and dividing this latter into absolute and conditionate, disclaiming the one and establishing the other; so as this certainty walks still in even paces with perseverance, and we can only be sure of salvation if we continue in faith and piety, but we cannot be sure we shall continue in either; and hear them conclude it to be both laudable and profitable for a Christian to nourish these doubts in himself; now he might as easily be induced to think that these ends can never meet.

And yet the opposites strain hard for an accordance, while they distinguish of faiths; and yield it fit to consider a faithful man's estate, in respect of himself, his own weakness, and Satan's frauds; and in respect of the firm promises and supportations of a faithful God: in regard of the former, granting it more than possible that he should utterly fall away from God; but in regard of the latter, fastening their persuasion upon the unremovable rock of their assurance.

But what need I launch forth into this foreign deep? Those opponents which perseverance meets with in our church either are or should be of a softer temper; maintaining only such falling away from grace as reverend B. Overal stateth for the doctrine of the church of England; whose last moderation in this point is worthy to be written in letters of gold. Having first set down the two contrary tenets of the opposite parts, he now brings in the church of England thus, with St. Austin, defining, as from a celestial chair.—That believers, as in common acception, may, through infirmity of flesh and power of temptation, depart and fall off from grace and faith once received: but those believers which are called according to the purpose of God, and which are soundly rooted in a lively faith, can neither totally nor finally fall away and perish everlastingly; but, by the special and effectual grace of God, do so persevere in a true and lively faith that at last they are brought unto eternal life.

[p] Hanc (nostram esse sententiam) profitemur, hominem de salute æterna certum esse posse et debere; solam Dei gratiam esse perseverantiæ causam supernaturalem, quæ facit ut voluntas nostra perseverare et possit et velit. Rem. Ep. ad Ext. p. 73. [*ut supra.*]

Now what wise Christian can make dainty of admitting so necessary and just a distinction; since common experience tells us there are many meteors, that for the time shine like bright stars over our heads, which ere long we find under our feet resolved into a base and slimy slough? What heart can desire a more full and satisfying determination; wherein both sides have their own, and we quietly enjoy what is true in both? When thus much is mutually yielded, let him be branded for an enemy of peace that will farther contend.

Now when the Christian reader hath seriously perused these differences, especially as they are propounded and arbitrated by that grave professor and prelate of our church on the one side, and those other our learned and worthy divines on the other side, let me appeal to his better thoughts, what he finds here worthy of a public division. Well may the schools pick hence matter enough for their theological problems; but what should either the pulpit or the press do with these busy and bootless brabbles?

My brethren, let our care be to study and preach Christ, and him crucified: to work the souls of men to faith, repentance, piety, justice, charity, temperance, and all other heavenly virtues; that they may find cordial testimonies in themselves of their happy predestination to life, and their infallible interest in the precious blood of their Redeemer. Let us beat down those sins in them which make them obnoxious to everlasting damnation, and strip them of all comfortable assurances of the favour of God. Let us not undiscreetly spend our time and pains in distracting their thoughts with those scholastical disquisitions, whereof the knowledge or ignorance makes nothing to heaven. The way to blessedness is not so short that we should find leisure to make outroads into needless and unprofitable speculations. Never treatise could be more necessary, in this curious and quarrelous age, than *De Paucitate Credendorum*. The infinite subdivisions of those points which we advance to the honour of being the objects of our belief, confound our thoughts and mar our peace. Peaceable discourse may have much latitude, but matter of faith should have narrow bounds. If, in the other, men will abound in their own sense, always let unity of spirit be held in the bond of peace. Since God hath given us change of raiment and variety of all intellectual provisions, as Joseph said to his brethren, let me to mine, Let us *not fall out by the way*.

Now, by the dear bonds of brotherhood, by our love to our common mother the church, by our holy care and zeal of the prosperous success of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, let us all compose our hearts to peace; and rest ourselves in those common truths which sober minds shall find abundantly sufficient whether for our knowledge or salvation.

I have done. And now I make no other account but that it will fall out with me, as it commonly doth with him that offers to part a fray: both parts will perhaps drive at me, for wishing them no worse than peace. My ambition of the public tranquillity shall willingly carry me through this hazard. Let both beat me, so their quarrel may cease. I shall rejoice in those blows and scars which I shall take for the church's safety. Men's fingers do so itch after the maintenance of their own opinions, that they can hardly contain themselves from flying upon the fairest moderation of any umpire. Yet I may safely profess, that herein I have carried myself so indifferently, that as I have hid my own judgment, so I have rather seemed partial against my own resolutions.

If any man object that I have not fully stated the questions on both sides, and drawn my accorded propositions out of the heart of those tenets which both parts will yield to be their own in an adversary's sense, without waiving any consequences that shall be deduced therefrom; let him receive answer to the former of these, that it were a fit task for him that intended a full tractation of the points controverted, and is already too much done by others: my drift is only to pick out of both what may sound towards concord: he that would describe the way to some remote city of mark, thinks it not needful to map out before the traveller every town and village of all the shires through which he should pass, but only sets down those that lie in his road. To the latter, that it is a more strict rule than needs to be put upon an agent for peace: for, as it is but just on the one side that every man should be allowed to be his own interpreter, and prejudice and ill will can never make good gloss; so on the other side it is lawful and meet for moderate minds to make their best use of those savoury and wholesome sentences which fall from the better mood of an adversary.

Such, so far as they come home to me, shall gladly reconcile him to me: let him look how in the rest he can be reconciled to himself. Very shame shall at the last drive such a one, if he be

ingenuous, from incompatible propositions. In the meantime, the good that he offers I will not refuse; and leave the evil to his avoiding: as a man that meets with a slack debtor will not be unwilling to take what small sums he can get, till either more may come in or he may conveniently sue for the rest. It is good to hold the ground we have got, till by the power of truth we can recover more.

Not that I could readily take up with the palpable equivocations of an Arius or Pelagius. No wise chapman will suffer himself to be paid with slips. Truth and falsehood will necessarily descry themselves. Neither is it hard for a judicious reader to discern a difference betwixt yielding and dissembling. Where I see a man constant to himself in a favourable assertion, I have reason to construe it as a fair coming off towards reconcilement. If nothing but the rigour of opinions shall be stood upon, what hope can there be of peace?

To shut up, therefore: if what I have here meant will be as well taken and well improved, I shall have comfort in the quieting of many hearts and many tongues: if not, at least I shall have comfort in the quietness of mine own heart; which tells me I have wished well to the church of God: to whose awful sentence I do most humbly submit myself and these my poor endeavours; professing myself ready to eat whatsoever word she shall dislike, and desirous to buy her peace even with blood.

Now the God of Peace incline the hearts of men, as to zeal of truth, so to love of peace! And since we are fallen upon those points which are disputable to the world's end, as we see in the practice both of the Romish and German and Netherlandish churches, the same God compose the minds of men to a wise moderation, and bind up their lips in a safe and discreet silence; that if our brains must needs differ, yet our hearts and tongues may be ever one!

AMEN.

A LETTER

CONCERNING

FALLING AWAY FROM GRACE.

MY GOOD MR. B.

You send me flowers from your garden, and look for some in return out of mine. I do not more willingly send you these than I do thankfully receive the other. I could not keep my hand from the paper, upon the receipt of your letters, though now in the midst of my attendance.

As my desire of your satisfaction calls me to write something, so my other employments force me to brevity, in a question wherein it were easy to be endless.

I am sorry that any of our new Excutifidians should pester your Suffolk, although glad in this, that they could not light upon a soil more fruitful of able oppugners. It is a wonder to me to think that men should labour to be witty to rob themselves of comfort. Good sir, let me know these new disciples of Leyden, that I may note them with that black coal they are worthy of: troublers of a better peace than that of the church, the peace of the Christian soul.

They pretend antiquity. What heresy doth not so? What marvel is it if they would wrest fathers to them, while they use scripture itself so violently?

For that their first instance of Hymeneus and Alexander, how vain it is, like themselves! Nothing can be more plain than that those men were gross hypocrites: who doubts therefore but they might fall from all that good they pretended to have? what is this to prove that a true child of God may do so? "But," say they, "these men had faith and a good conscience:"—True;

such a faith and goodness of conscience as may be incident into a worldly counterfeit. "Yea, but," they reply, "a true justifying faith:"—I think such a one as their own: rather I may say these men deserve not the praise of Hymeneus's faith, which is nothing in this place but orthodox doctrine. How oft doth St. Paul use the word so to his Timothy! 1 Tim. iv. 1: *In the latter times some shall depart from the faith;* interpreted in the next words, and shall give *heed to spirits of error and doctrines of devils:* and, 2 Tim. iii. 8, he describes his false teachers by this title, *reprobate concerning the faith;* which I think no man will expound of the grace, but the doctrine. "Yet," say they, "there is no necessity binds us to that sense here:"—but the scope of this place compared with others may evince it. That which follows plainly points us to this meaning: *that they might learn not to blaspheme.* Their sin was therefore an apostasy from the doctrine of the gospel, and casting foul aspersions upon that profession; so that an opposition to wholesome doctrine was their *shipwreck.* They except yet: "*A good conscience* is added to this faith; therefore it must needs be meant of justifying faith:" —Do but turn your eyes to 1 Tim. iii. 9, where, as in a commentary upon this place, you shall find faith and good conscience so conjoined, that yet the doctrine not the virtue of faith is signified. St. Paul describes his deacon there by his spiritual wealth: *Having the mystery of faith in pure conscience.* No man can be so gross, to take *the mystery of faith* for the grace of faith, or for any other than the same author in the same chapter calls *the mystery of godliness.* It is indeed fit that a good conscience should be the coffer, where truth of Christian doctrine is the treasure: therefore both are justly commanded together; and likely each accompanies other in their loss: and that of Irenæus is found true of all heretics; *Sententiam impiam, vitam luxuriosam, &c.* "Yea, but Hymeneus and Alexander had both these then, and lost both:"—They had both in outward profession, not in inward sincerity. That rule is certain and eternal, *If they had been of us, they had continued with us.* Nothing is more ordinary with the Spirit of God, than to suppose us such as we pretend; that he might give us an example of charity in the censure of each other: of which kind is that noted place, Heb. x. 29; *and counteth the blood of the testament, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing;* and those usual elogies which are given to the churches to whom the apostolical letters were

directed. This place therefore intends no other, but that Hymeneus and Alexander, which were once professors of the Christian doctrine, and such as lived orderly in an unblamable and outwardly holy fashion to the world, had now turned their copy; cast off the profession which they made; and were fallen both to looseness of manners and calumniation of the truth they had abandoned.

For that other scripture, Rom. viii. 12, 13, no place can be more effectual to cut the throat of this uncomfortable heresy. St. Paul writes to a mixed company: it were strange if all the Romans should have been truly sanctified: those which were yet carnal he threats with death; *If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die:* those which are regenerate, contrary to the wicked paradox of those men, he assures of life; *If ye mortify the deeds of the flesh by the Spirit, ye shall live.* How doth he exclude *the spirit of bondage to fear* which these good guides would lead in again! How confidently doth he aver the inward testimony of God's Spirit to ours; and ascribes that voice to it which bars all doubt and disappointment; and tells us by the powerful assurance of this Abba we are sons, and if sons, heirs, coheirs with Christ! Let them now go and say that God may disinherit his own son; that he may cast off his adopted. "But," say they, "to the same regenerate persons he applies these two clauses; and saith at once, *Ye have received the spirit of adoption,* and yet, *If ye walk after the flesh ye shall die:*—What follows of this commination? any assertion of the possibility of apostasy in the regenerate? Nothing less: these threats are to make us take better hold, and to walk more warily: as a father that hath set his little son on horseback (it is Zanchy's comparison,) bids him hold fast or else he shall fall, though he uphold him the while; that both he may cause him hereby to sit fast, and call the more earnestly for his supportation. But the scope of the place plainly extorts a division of carnal men and regenerate: the threats are propounded to the one, the promises and assurance to the other; and therefore no touch from hence of our uncertainty in a confessed estate of renovation.

For that Matt. xii. 43. the *apodosis* or inference of the parable might well have stopped the mouths of these cavillers: for you shall find in the end of it, *So shall it be with this wicked generation.* I suppose no man will be so absurd as to say these Jews had formerly received true justifying faith: how should they, when

they rejected the Messiah? and yet of them is this parable spoken, by our Saviour's own explication. Maldonate himself, a learned and spiteful Jesuit, can interpret it no otherwise: *Ideo Christus hoc dixit, ut doceret pejores esse Judæos, quam si nunquam Dei legem et cognitionem accepissent:* and to this purpose he cites Hilary, Jerome, Beda: and this sense is so clear, that unless the seven devils had found harbour in the dry hearts of these men, they could not so grossly pervert it.

Quench not the Spirit; 1 Thess. v. 19; will never prove a final or total extinction of saving grace. The Spirit is quenched, when the degrees of it are abated; when the good motions thereof are by our security let fall. We grant the Spirit may be quenched *in tanto*, not *in toto:* or, if we should so take it as they desire, I remember Austin parallels this place with that other to Timothy, *Let no man despise thy youth:* not, saith he, that the Spirit can be quenched, or that contempt can be avoided; but that in the one, we may not endeavour to do that which may tend towards this wrong to the Spirit; and in the other, that we should be careful not to do that which may procure contempt. The place I remember not directly, but *numeros teneo, si verba tenerem.* But in all likelihood that place sounds quite another way: as may appear by the connection of it with those two sentences following; as if he should have said, "Discourage not the graces that you find in any of your teachers: despise not their preaching: try their doctrines."

And now what is this to the falling from grace? Which of us do not teach the necessity of perseverance? *He* only *that endures to the end shall be saved. Be faithful to the death, and &c.* But he that hath ordained we shall be saved, hath ordained our perseverance as a mean to this salvation; and hath appointed these sharp advices as the means and motives of our perseverance: so as he that shall be saved shall also endure to the end; because *no man plucks them out of my hand*, saith Christ.

How evidently doth the Spirit of God proclaim our certainty against these doubtmongers! Everywhere is he as full of assurance as these men of discomfort. *He that is born of God sinneth not; neither can sin, because he is born of God, and the seed of God remains in him;* 1 John iii. 9. What an invincible and irrefragable consolation is this! The seed of life is sown in the hearts of the elect. Though they could be dead to themselves, yet to God they cannot.

And what a supposition is that of Christ, that if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived! Matt. xxiv. 24. *Desponsabo te mihi in perpetuum;* Hos. ii. 19: and a thousand of this strain, which your exercise in those holy leaves hath I doubt not abundantly furnished you withal.

Hold fast then, my dear friend, this sure anchor of our undeceivable hope, and spit in the face of men or devils that shall go about to slacken your hand. Let these vain spirits sing despair to themselves: for us, we know whom we have believed.

Thus hath my pen run itself out of breath, in this so important a demand; and much ado have I had to restrain it. Neither would I give you one hour's intermission to my answer; which I know your love cannot but accept, as that which proceeds from an heart zealous both of God and you.

QUO VADIS?

A JUST CENSURE OF TRAVEL,

AS IT IS COMMONLY UNDERTAKEN BY THE GENTLEMEN OF OUR NATION.

BY JOS. HALL, D. D.

[The short tract, entitled "Quo Vadis?" &c. was written soon after the Bishop's return from attending Viscount Doncaster on his embassy to the court of France in 1616. It is the result of observations and reflections made during this and a former visit to the continent, when he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to Spa.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

EDWARD LORD DENNY,

BARON OF WALTHAM.

RIGHT HONOURABLE:

If ever any man had reason to be in love with the face of a foreign entertainment, those are they which were admitted to the attendance of the truly generous and honourable Lord Hay, your most noble son, in his late embassage to France; in which number my unworthiness was allowed to make one; who can therefore well witness, that no man could either receive more honour from a strange country, or do more honour to his own. What wanted there that might make men confess themselves more welcome than strangers? Neither doubt I but that after many ages France itself will wonder at the bountiful expressions of her own favours.

But while others were enjoying the noble courtesies of the time, my thoughts entertained themselves with searching into the proof of that ordinary travel wherewith I saw men commonly affected; which, I must needs confess, the more I saw the less I liked. Neither is it in the power of any foreign munificence to make me think ours anywhere so well as at home. Earthly commodities are no part of my thought: I looked, as I ought, at the soul, which, I well saw, uses not only to gather no moss in this rolling, but suffers the best graces it hath to moulder away insensibly in such unnecessary agitation.

I have now been twice abroad: both times, as thinking myself worthy of nothing but neglect, I bent my eyes upon others, to see what they did, what they got. My inquiry found our spiritual loss so palpable, that now at last my heart could not choose but break forth at my hand, and tell my countrymen of the dangerous issue of their curiosity.

I meddle not with the common journeys to the mineral waters of the Spa: to which many sick souls are beholden for a good excuse, who, while they pretend the medicinal use of that spring, can freely quaff of the puddle of popish superstition, poisoning the better part, instead of helping the worse. These I leave to the best physician, Authority, which, if it may please to undertake the cure, may perhaps save as many English souls from infection, as that water cures bodies of diseases.

I deal only with those that profess to seek the glory of a perfect breeding, and the perfection of that which we call civility in travel; of which sort I have, not without indignation, seen too many lose their hopes and themselves

in the way, returning as empty of grace and other virtues, as full of words, vanity, misdispositions.

I dedicate this poor discourse to your Lordship, as, besides my daily renewed obligations, congratulating to you the sweet liberty and happy use of your home; who, like a fixed star, may well overlook these planets; and by your constant settledness give that aim to inferior eyes which shall be in vain expected from a wandering light.

The God of heaven, to whose glory I have intended this weak labour, give it favour in the sight of his church; and return it back but with this good news, that any one of the sons of Japhet is hereby persuaded to dwell ever in the tents of Shem. Unto that divine protection I humbly betake your Lordship, justly avowing myself,

Your Lordship's humbly devoted,
in all faithful and Christian obedience,

JOS. HALL.

QUO VADIS?

Sect. I.

It is an over rigorous construction of the works of God, that in moating our island with the ocean he meant to shut us up from other regions: for God himself, that made the sea, was the Author of navigation; and hath therein taught us to set up a wooden bridge that may reach to the very antipodes themselves. This were to seek discontentment in the bounty of God, who hath placed us apart, for the singularity of our happiness, not for restraint.

There are two occasions wherein travel may pass,—matter of traffic, and matter of state.

Some commodities God hath confined to some countries: upon others he hath with a full hand poured those benefits which he hath but sprinkled upon some. His wise providence hath made one country the granary, another the cellar, another the orchard, another the arsenal, of their neighbours, yea of the remotest parts. The earth is the Lord's; which he meant not to keep in his hands, but to give: and He which hath given no man his faculties and graces for himself, nor put light into the sun, moon, stars, for their own use, hath stored no parcel of earth with a purpose of private reservation.

Solomon would never have sent his navy for apes and peacocks; but yet held gold and timber for the building of God's house and his own worthy of a whole three years' voyage.

The sea and earth are the great coffers of God: the discoveries of navigation are the keys, which whosoever hath received may know that he is freely allowed to unlock these chests of nature, without any need to pick the wards.

Wise Solomon's comparison is reciprocal. A ship of merchants, that fetches her wares from far, is the good housewife of the commonwealth: and if she were so in those blind voyages of antiquity, which never saw needle nor card, how much more thrifty must she needs be in so many helps both of nature and art!

Either Indies may be searched for those treasures which God hath laid up in them for their far distant owners. Only let our merchants take heed, lest they go so far that they leave God

behind them; that while they buy all other things good-cheap, they make not an ill match for their souls; lest they end their prosperous adventures in the shipwreck of a good conscience.

SECT. II.

And for matter of policy, nothing can be more plain than that our correspondence with other nations cannot possibly be held up without intelligence of their estate, of their proceedings: the neglect whereof were no other than to prostrate ourselves to the mercy of a hollow friendship, and to stand still and willingly lie open while we are played upon by the wit of untrusty neighbourhood. These eyes and ears of state are necessary to the well-being of the head.

In which number I do not include those private interlopers' intelligence that lie abroad only to feed some vain chameleons at home with the air of news, for no other purpose save idle discourse; but only those profitable agents, whose industry either fitteth them abroad for public employment or employeth them after due maturity in the fit services of the commonwealth.

Neither my censure nor my direction reaches to either of these occasions.

It is the travel of curiosity wherewith my quarrel shall be maintained: the inconveniences whereof my own senses have so sufficiently witnessed, that if the wise parents of our gentry could have borrowed mine eyes for the time, they would ever learn to keep their sons at home, and not wilfully beat themselves with the staff of their age. Upon them let my pen turn a little, as those that are more than accessories to this both private and public mischief.

SECT. III.

It is the affectation of too early ripeness that makes them prodigal of their children's safety and hopes: for, that they may be wise betimes, they send them forth to the world in the minority both of age and judgment: like as fond mothers use to send forth their daughters on frosting, early in cold mornings, though into the midst of a vaporous and foggy air; and while they strive for a colour lose their health.

If they were not blinded with overweening and desire, they could not but see that their unsettledness carries in it a manifest peril of miscarriage. Grant that no danger were threatened by the place, experience gives us that a weak limbed child, if he be

suffered to use his legs too soon, too much, lames himself for ever; but, if he walk in uneven ground, he is no less subject to maims than crookedness. Do they not see how easily a young twig is bowed any way? Do they not see that the midwife and nurse are wont to frame the gristly head of the infant to any fashion? May not anything be written upon a blank? And if they make choice of this age because it is most docible, and for that they would take the day before them, why do they not consider that it is therefore more docible of evil? since wickedness is both more insinuative and more plausible than virtue, especially when it meets with an untutored judge, and seeing there is so much inequality of the number of both, that it is not more hard to find virtue than to miss vice.

Hear this then, ye careless ostriches, that leave your eggs in the open sand for the sun to hatch, without the fear of any hoof that may crush them in pieces. Have your stomachs resolved to digest the hard news of the ruin of your children? Do ye profess enmity to your own loins? Then turn them, as you do, loose to these dangers, ere they can resist, ere they can discern: but if ye had rather they should live and grow, bestow upon them the kindly heat of your best plumes, and shelter them with your own breast and wings, till nature have opened a seasonable way to their own abilities.

SECT. IV.

Yea, let it be my just complaint in this place, that in the very transplantation of our sons to the safer soil, our own universities and inns of court, nothing is more prejudicial than speed. Perfection is the child of time; neither was there ever anything excellent that required not meet leisure.

But besides, how commonly is it seen, that those which had wont to swim only with bladders sink when they come first to trust to their own arms! These lapwings, that go from under the wing of their dam with the shell on their heads, run wild. If tutors be never so careful of their early charge, much must be left to their own disposition; which if it lead them not to good, not only the hopes of their youth but the proof of their age lies bleeding.

It is true that, as the French lawyers say merrily of the Normans, which by a special privilege are reputed of full age at twenty-one years, whereas the other French stay for their five-

and-twentieth, that *Malitia supplet ætatem;* so may I say of the younglings of our time, that precocity of understanding supplieth age and stature: but as it is commonly seen that those blossoms which overrun the spring, and will be looking forth upon a February sun, are nipped soon after with an April frost when they should come to the knitting; so is it no less ordinary, that these rathe-ripe[a] wits prevent their own perfection, and after a vain wonder of their haste end either in shame or obscurity.

And as it thus falls out even in our universities, the most absolute and famous seminaries in the world, where the tutor's eye supplies the parent's, so must it needs much more in those free and honourable inns (as they are called for their liberty, colleges for their use,) of our English gentry, wherein each one is his own master in respect of his private study and government. Where there are many pots boiling, there cannot but be much scum. The concourse of a populous city affords many brokers of villainy, which live upon the spoils of young hopes, whose very acquaintance is destruction. How can these novices, that are turned loose into the main ere they know either coast or compass, avoid these rocks and shelves, upon which both their estates and souls are miserably wrecked? How commonly do they learn to roar instead of pleading; and instead of knowing the laws learn how to contemn them! We see and rue this mischief; and yet I know not how careless we are in preventing it.

How much more desperate must it then needs be, to send forth our children into those places which are professedly infectious; whose very goodness is either impiety or superstition! If we desired to have sons poisoned with misbelief, what could we do otherwise? Or what else do those parents which have bequeathed their children to antichristianism?

Our late journey into France informed me of some ordinary factors of Rome, whose trade is the transporting and placing of our popish novices beyond the seas: one whereof, whose name I noted, hath been observed to carry over six several charges in one year. Are we so foolish, to go their way while we intend a contrary period? Do we send our sons to learn to be chaste in the midst of Sodom?

The world is wide and open, but our ordinary travel is southward into the jaws of danger: for so far hath Satan's policy prevailed, that those parts which are only thought worth our viewing

[a] [*Rathe, early, soon.*—Chaucer.]

are most contagious, and will not part with either pleasure or information without some tang of wickedness.

What can we plead for our confidence, but that there is a household of righteous Lot in the midst of that impure city; that there are houses in this Jericho which have scarlet threads shining in their windows; that in the most corrupted air of popery some well reformed Christians draw their breath, and sweeten it with their respiration?

Blessed be God, that hath reared up the towers of his Sion in the midst of Babylon! We must acknowledge, not without much gratulation to the gospel of Christ, that in the very hottest climates of opposition it finds many clients, but more friends; and, in those places where authority hath pleased to give more air to the truth, would have had many more, if the reformed part had happily continued that correspondence in some circumstances with the Roman church which the church of England hath hitherto maintained. God is my record how free my heart is both from partiality and prejudice. Mine eyes and ears can witness with what approof and applause divers of the catholics royal, as they are termed, entertained the new translated liturgy of our church; as marvelling to see such order and regular devotion in them whom they were taught to condemn for heretical. Whose allowances, I well saw, might with a little help have been raised higher, from the practice of our church to some points of our judgment.

But, if true religion were in those parts yet better attended, and our young traveller could find more abettors and examples of piety on whom we might rely; yet how safe can it be to trust young eyes with the view and censure of truth or falsehood in religion? especially when truth brings nothing to this bar but extreme simplicity; and contrarily, falsehood a gawky magnificence and proud majesty of pompous ceremonies, wherewith the hearts of children and fools are easily taken. That courtesan of Rome, according to the manner of that profession, sets out herself to sale in the most tempting fashion: here want no colours, no perfumes, no wanton dresses: whereas the poor spouse of Christ can only say of herself, *I am black, but comely.* When on the one side they shall see such rich shrines, garish altars, stately processions; when they shall see a pope adored of emperors, cardinals preferred to kings, confessors made saints, little children made angels; in a word, nothing not outwardly glorious: on the other side a service without welt or guard, whose majesty is all in the heart, none

in the face: how easily may they incline to the conceit of that Parisian dame, who, seeing the procession of S. Genevieve go by the streets, could say, *O que belle, &c.* "How fine a religion is ours, in comparison of the Huguenots!"

Whereto must be added, that, supposing they do not carry with them but rather go to fetch the language of the place, some long time needs be spent ere they can receive any help to their devotion; while, in the mean season, their unthriving intermission is assailed with a thousand suggestions: and who sees not that this *lucrum cessans*, as the civilians term it, offers an open advantage to a busy adversary?

SECT. V.

In a word, it hath been the old praise of early rising, that it makes a man healthful, holy, and rich; whereof the first respects the body, the second the soul, the third the estate: all falls out contrary in an early travel.

For health: the wise providence of God hath so contrived his earth and us, that he hath fitted our bodies to our clime, and the native sustenance of the place unto our bodies. The apparent difference of diet, and of drinks especially, falling into so tender age, must needs cause a jar in the constitution; which cannot in all likelihood but send forth distemper into the whole course of the ensuing life. The stream runs like the fountain; and speeds well, if at last by many changes of soil it can leave an ill quality behind it. Besides that, the misgovernance of diet, whereto their liberty lays them open in the weakness of their pupilage, cannot but be extremely prejudicial. In this point let experience be consulted with: her unpartial sentence shall easily tell us how few young travellers have brought home sound and strong, and in a word English bodies.

As for holiness, we lose our labour if this discourse prove not that it hath none so great enemy as timely travel. At once do we hazard to abandon God and our home. Set an empty pitcher to the fire, it cracks presently, whereas the full will abide boiling. It was the younger son in the gospel who therefore turns unthrift, because he got his portion too soon into his hands, and wandered into a far country. The eye of the parent and the ferule of the master is all too little to bring our sons to good. Where then there is neither restraint of evil nor helps to grace, how should their condition be other than hopeless? The soil doth much in

many plants: the Persian hyoscyamus, if it be translated to Egypt, proves deadly; if to Jerusalem, safe and wholesome: neither is it otherwise with some dispositions, which may justly curse the place, as accessary in their undoing.

Lastly, for riches, not of the purse (which is not here thought of) but of the mind, what can be expected from that age which is not capable of observation, careless of reposition? whereof the one gets, the other keeps, the treasure of our understanding. What is this age fit to look after but butterflies, or birds' nests, or perhaps the gay coat of a courtier? And if remarkable considerations be put into it by others, they are as some loose pearls, which, for want of filing upon a string, shake out of our pockets: so as all the wealth of a young traveller is only in his tongue; wherein he exceeds his mother's parrot at home, both for that he can speak more, and knows that he speaketh.

SECT. VI.

And in truth, it is not only in travel wherein we may justly complain of the inconveniency of haste, but that we may look a little aside in all the important businesses of our life, especially in marriage and professions. The ordinary haste in the one, before the face can descry the sex, fills the world full of beggary and impotence; and no less haste in the other fills it as full of ignorance and imperfection. For on the one side, where the vigour of nature wants, what can be propagated but infirmity? or how can he skill to live that wants experience? On the other, what plenty of water can there be where the lead of the cistern is put all into the pipes? where those that should be gathering knowledge for themselves, spend it like unthrifty heirs upon others, as fast as they get it?

I am deceived if I have not touched one of the main grounds of that universal decay of arts and men, wherewith the world is commonly checked. They must be mightier and wiser that know how to redress it.

SECT. VII.

But let us give our traveller that which parents seldom care to give—maturity of age. Let him be as ripe as time can make him. What is the best advantage which his absence can promise us? Let us lay the benefits of travel in the one scale, the inconveniences in the other: whethersoever overweighs shall sway down the beam of our judgment.

The private contentment of a man's own heart in the view of foreign things is but a better name of an humorous curiosity. If a man yield to run after his appetite and his eye, he shall never know where to rest, and after many idle excursions shall lie down weary but unsatisfied.

For give me a man that hath seen Judas's lanthorn at Saint Denis's, the Ephesian Diana in the Louvre, the great vessel at Heidelberg, the amphitheatre at Nismes, the ruins and half-lettered monuments of the Seven Hills, and a thousand such rarities; what peace hath his heart above those that sit at home and contemn these toys? And what if that man's fancy shall call him to the stables of the great mogul, or to the solemnities of Mecca, or to the library of the mountain of the moon; will he be so far the drudge or lackey of his own imagination as to undertake this pilgrimage? or where will he stay at last upon his return? If he have smelt the ill-scented cities of France, or have seen fair Florence, rich Venice, proud Genoa, Lucca the industrious; if then his thoughts shall tempt him to see the rich glutton's house in Jerusalem, or invite him to Asmere or Bengala, must he go? And if he can deny and chide his own unprofitable desires at the last, why began he no sooner? That could not be forborne too early which at last we repent to have done.

He therefore that travels only to please his fantasy is like some woman with child, that longs for that piece which she sees upon another's trencher, and swoons if she miss it; or some squire of dames, that doats upon every beauty, and is every day love-sick anew. These humours are fitter for controlment than observation.

Sect. VIII.

It is a higher faculty that travel professeth to advance—the supreme power of our understanding; which if from hence it may be manifestly improved, he should not be worthy to tread upon the earth that would not emulate Drake and Candish [Cavendish] in compassing it.

But set aside the study of civil law, which indeed finds better helps abroad, all sciences (the word may seem proud, but it is true) may be both more fitly wooed and more surely won within our four seas: for what learning is that which the seas, or Alps, or Pyrennees have engrossed from us? what profession, either liberal or manuary, wherein the greatest masters have not been at least equalled by our homebred islanders?

What hath this or the former age known more eminent for learning than some of ours, which have never trod on any but their own earth? And as good marketmen by one handful judge of all the whole sack, why may we not find cause to think so of the rest, if they would not be wanting to themselves?

I am sure the universities of our island know no matches in all the world: unto whose perfection, that as they exceed other so they may no less exceed themselves, nothing wanteth but severe execution of the wise and careful laws of our ancestors, and restraint of that liberty which is the common disease of the time. And why should not the child thrive as well with the mother's milk as with a stranger's?

Whether it be the envy or the pusillanimity of us English, we are still ready to undervalue our own and admire foreigners; while other nations have applauded no professors more than those which they have borrowed from us. Neither have we been so unwise as to lend forth our best. Our neighbours, which should be our corrivals in this praise, shall be our judges, if those few of our writers which could be drawn forth into the public light have not set copies to the rest of the world, not without just admiration. And how many stars have we of no less magnitude that will not be seen!

Blessed be God, who hath made this word as true as it is great, no nation under heaven so aboundeth with all variety of learning as this island! From the head of God's anointed doth this sweet perfume distil to the utmost skirts of this our region. Knowledge did never sit crowned in the throne of majesty, and wanted either respect or attendance. The double praise which was of old given to two great nations, that Italy could not be put down for arms, nor Greece for learning, is happily met in one island. Those therefore that cross the seas to fill their brain do but travel northward for heat, and seek that candle which they carry in their hands.

SECT. IX.

Yea, so far is our ordinary travel from perfecting the intellective powers of our gentry, that it rather robs them of the very desire of perfection.

For what discouragements shall they find from the love of studies in those parts which are most sought to for civility? Who knows not that they are grown to that height of debauch-

ment as to hold learning a shame to nobility? esteeming it as a fit guard for the long robe only, too base for their tissues: an opinion so savouring of proud ignorance and ignorant looseness that I cannot honour it with a confutation. Who would think that the reasonable soul of men not professedly barbarous should be capable of such a monster? What is learning, but reason improved? And can reason so far degenerate as to hate and contemn itself? Were these men made only for a sword, or a dog, or a horse? only for sport, or execution?

I know not wherein Lewis the Eleventh showed himself unwitty, but in the charge which he gave to his son, to learn no more Latin but *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere:* and would this alone teach him to rule well? Doth the art of arts (such is the government of men) require no grounds but dissimulation or ignorance? Even to the feeding of hogs or sheep there is more or better skill necessary.

How unlike is this to a successor of Charles the Great, whose word it had wont to be, that he would rather abound in knowledge than wealth!

In the court of our king Henry the Eighth, a certain great peer of this diet could say, It was enough for noblemen's sons to wind their horn, and carry their hawk fair: that study was for the children of a meaner rank. To whom Pace justly replied, That then noblemen must be content that their children may wind their horns and carry their hawks, while meaner men's sons do wield the affairs of state.

Certainly it is a blind and lame government that lacks learning: whose subjects, what are they else but as limbs of a body whose head wanteth senses, which must needs therefore fail of either motion or safety?

From hence it is that so few of the foreign nobles are studious in comparison of ours; (in which regard I am not ashamed to recant that which my unexperience hath out of hearsay written in praise of the French education;) and those few that have stolen the turning over of books hide their skill, lest they should be made to blush at their virtue.

What brave trophies and rich monuments hath the pen of our gracious sovereign raised of himself unto all posterities! when ignorance and malice have shot their bolt, the glory of his great wisdom and knowledge shall more fill the mouths and affect the hearts of all succeeding ages than of his greatness. Paul the Fifth,

and his greatest chaplains, Bellarmine and Perron, have felt the weight of his hand; whereas the great king that styles himself Catholic, when he comes to pass his censorious Edict[a] upon cardinal Baronius, who in the eleventh tome of his history seemed too busy in fastening the title of the kingdom of Sicily upon the pope, professeth to ground his intelligence of his wrong only upon others' eyes; as if a book, though of a cardinal, were too mean an object for the view of majesty. And as all subordinate greatness flows from the head, so do commonly also the dispositions.

Neither have the doctors of the Romish church, upon whom the implicit faith of the laity is suspended, found it any ill policy to cherish this dislike of bookishness in the great; for while the candle is out, it is safe for them to play their tricks in the dark; and if the Assyrians be once blinded, how easily may they be led into the midst of any Samaria! If the light of knowledge might freely shine to the world, popery would soon be ashamed of itself, and vanish amongst the works of darkness.

Now how well these examples and this conversation shall whet the appetite unto good studies, it cannot be hard to judge.

SECT. X.

But perhaps it is not the learning of the school, but of the state, wherein our traveller hopes for perfection. The site and form of cities, the fashion of government, the manners of people, the raising and rate of foreign revenues, the deportment of courts, the managing both of war and peace, is that wherein his own eye shall be his best intelligencer; the knowledge whereof shall well requite his labour, whether for discourse or for use.

What if I say that, save the soothing up of our fancy in all this, these lessons may be as well taken out at home? I have known some that have travelled no farther than their own closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest traveller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations.

What do we but lose the benefit of so many journals, maps, historical descriptions, relations, if we cannot with these helps travel by our own fireside?

He that travels into foreign countries talks perhaps with a peasant, or a pilgrim, or a citizen, or a courtier, and must needs

[a] Edicto del Rey Don Phelippe d'Espana contra el Tractado della Monarchia de Sicilia enxerido por Cesar Baronio Cardinial, en el tomo undecimo de sus Annales Ecclesiasticos.

take such information as partial rumour or weak conjecture can give him; but he that travels into learned and credible authors talks with them who have spent themselves in bolting out the truth of all passages; and who, having made their labours public, would have been like to hear of it if they had misreported.

The ordinary traveller propounds some prime cities to himself, and thither he walks right forward: if he meet with aught that is memorable in the way he takes it up; but how many thousand matters of note fall beside him on either hand, of the knowledge whereof he is not guilty! whereas some grave and painful author hath collected into one view whatsoever his country affords worthy of mark; having measured many a foul step for that which we may see dryshod, and worn out many years in the search of that which one hour shall make no less ours than it was his own.

To which must be added, that our unperfect acquaintance may not hope to find so perfect information on the sudden as a natural inhabitant may get by the disquisition of his whole life. Let an Italian or French passenger walk through this our island; what can his table-books carry home in comparison of the learned "Britain" of our Camden, or the accurate "Tables" of Speed? Or, if one of ours should, as too many do, pass the Alps, what pittances can his wild journey observe in comparison of the "Itinerary" of Fr. Schottus and Capugnanus? Or he that would discourse of the royalties of the French lilies, how can he be so furnished by flying report as by the elaborate gatherings of Chassanæus, or of Degrassalius?

What should I be infinite? this age is so full of light, that there is no one country of the habitable world whose beams are not crossed and interchanged with other. Knowledge of all affairs is like music in the streets, whereof those may partake which pay nothing. We do not lie more open to one common sin than to the eyes and pens of our neighbours. Even China itself, and Japonia, and those other remotest isles and continents which have taken the strictest order for closeness, have received such discoveries as would rather satisfy a reader than provoke him to amend them.

A good book is at once the best companion, and guide, and way, and end, of our journey. Necessity drove our forefathers out of doors, which else in those misty times had seen no light: we may with more ease and no less profit sit still, and inherit and enjoy the labours of them and our elder brethren, who have pur-

chased our knowledge with much hazard, time, toil, expense; and have been liberal of their blood, some of them, to leave us rich.

SECT. XI.

As for that verbal discourse wherein I see some place the felicity of their travel, thinking it the only grace to tell wonders to a ring of admiring ignorants, it is easy to answer, that table-talk is the least care of a wise man; who, like a deep stream, desires rather to run silent; and as himself is seldom transported with wonder, so doth he not affect it in others; reducing all to use rather than admiration, and more desiring to benefit than astonish the hearer. Withal, that the same means which enable us to know, do at once furnish us with matter of discourse; and for the form of our expression, if it proceed not from that natural dexterity which we carry with us, in vain shall we hope to bring it home; the change of language is rather a hinderance to our former readiness. And if some have fetched new noses and lips and ears from Italy, by the help of Tagliacotius and his scholars, never any brought a new tongue from thence.

To conclude, if a man would give himself leave to be thus vain and free, like a mill without a sluice, let him but travel through the world of books, and he shall easily be able to out-talk that tongue whose feet have walked the farthest.

What hath any eye seen or imagination devised which the pen hath not dared to write?

Out of our books we can tell the stories of the Monocelli, who lying upon their backs shelter themselves from the sun with the shadow of their one only foot. We can tell of those cheap-dieted men that live about the head of Ganges, without meat, without mouths, feeding only upon air at their nostrils; or of those headless eastern people that have their eyes in their breasts, a misconceit arising from their fashion of attire, which I have sometimes seen; or of those Coromandæ[b] of whom Pliny speaks, that cover their whole body with their ears; or of the persecutors of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose posterity, if we believe the confident writings of Degrassalius, are born with long and hairy tails souping after them; which I imagine gave occasion to that proverbial jest wherewith our mirth uses to upbraid the Kentish; or of Amazons, or pigmies, or satyrs, or the Samarcandean lamb, which growing out of the earth by the navel grazeth so far as

[b] [Fanesii. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 13.]

that natural tether will reach; or of the bird ruc, or ten thousand such miracles, whether of nature or event. Little need we to stir our feet to learn to tell either loud lies or large truths. We have heard a bird in a cage sing more change of notes than others have done in the wild liberty of the wood.

And as for the present occurrences of the time, the world about us is so full of presses, that it may and is grown so good a fellow that it will impart what it knows to all the neighbours: whose relations if sometimes they swerve from truth, we may well consider what variety of report every accident will yield; and that therefore our ears abroad are no whit more credible than our eyes at home. Yea rather, as Tully could say, that at Antium he could hear the news of Rome better than at Rome; so may we ofttimes better hear and see the news of France or Spain upon our Exchange than in their Paris or Madrid: since, what liberty soever tongues may take to themselves, a discreet man will be ashamed to subscribe his name to that whereof he may be afterwards convinced.

Sect. XII.

Since therefore travel cannot outbid us in these highest commodities which concern the wealth of the mind, all the advantage it can afford us must be in those mixed abilities wherein our bodies are the greatest partners, as dancing, fencing, music, vaulting, horsemanship; the only professions of the misnamed academies of other nations.

Who can deny that such like exercises are fit for young gentlemen, not only for their present recreation, but much more for the preparing of them to more serious action?

Yet must these learn to know their places: what are they else but the varnish of that picture of gentry whose substance consists in the lines and colours of true virtue? but the lace or facing of a rich garment? but the hang-byes of that royal court which the soul keeps in a generous heart? He that holds gentility accomplished with these (though laudable) qualities, partakes more of his horse than his horse can possibly of him.

This skill then is worthy of our purchase; yet may not be bought too dear, and perhaps need not to be fetched so far.

Neither my profession nor my experience will allow me to hold comparisons in this kind; but I have been heartened by no mean masters of these arts to say, that our nation hath yielded some

in all these faculties, which need not stoop unto the proudest foreigner. Ours have no fault but one, that they are our own: and what hath their country offended if their art offend not? It is a humorous giddiness to measure the goodness of anything by the distance of miles; and where there is equality of worth, to neglect the nearest. I slander our nation if it be not sick of this disease in the course of all sciences. And, if nearness and presence be the cause of our dislike, why do we not hate ourselves, which are ever in our own bosom? why do we not hate this fastidious curiosity, which is too close to us?

Perhaps perfection in these qualities is thinner sown amongst us than some otherwhere; so as our island, for want of work and encouragement, affords no such multitude of masters: but how can we complain of rareness, since if our age yield us but one excellent in each kind, it is more than we are willing to use? and if the fault were not in ourselves, one candle might light a thousand.

To instance in the best: the horse is a noble creature, which, as it is the strength and pride of France, so wins the hearts and heels of that nation. The generality of their skill is nothing to a stranger: each private man's cunning rests in himself: it is only the teacher whose ability may concern us. And whereas there is a double kind of menage, as I have heard, one for service the other for pleasure: in the first, our masters think they cannot yield unto the best; in the latter, if they grant themselves exceeded, how many men have taught their dog the same tricks with no less contentment! In both we have the written directions of their greatest artists, who for the perpetuity of their own honour failed not to say their best. And if these dead masters suffice not we have had, we may have the best of their living. The conscience of a man's excellency will abide no limits, but spurs him forth to win admiration abroad: and if therewithal he can find advancement of profit, how willingly doth he change his home! We have had experience of this in higher professions, much more of these under foot. One obscure town of Holland in our memory had by this means drawn together at once the greatest lights of Europe, and made itself then no less renowned for professors than it is now infamous for schism.

Fear of envy forbids me to name those amongst us which have honoured this island in the choice of their abode. Where art is encouraged, it will soon rise high and go far, and not suffer a

channel of the sea to stay it from the presence of a more bountiful patronage.

SECT. XIII.

But let us grant these faculties so fixed upon any nation, that all our water must necessarily be fetched at their well; and add unto these a few waste compliments and mimical courtesies, which must needs be put into the match of our ordinary travel.

And now let us sit down and see what we paid for this stock, and count our winnings. What must our complete traveller stake down for this goodly furniture of his gentry? If not loss, danger; danger of the best part, if not all: a double danger, of corruption of religion and depravation of manners, both capital.

And can we think these endowments so precious that they should be worth fetching upon such a hazard? Will any man, not desperate, run into an infected house to rifle for a rich suit? Will any man put his finger into a fiery crucible to pull out gold? It is wittily taken of Chrysostom, when our Saviour said, *Ne exeatis in eremum*, that he says not, "Go forth into the desert, and see, but believe not;" but gives an absolute prohibition of going forth at all, that they might be out of danger of misbelief.

"Tush, idle and melancholy fears!" say some of our gallants; "wherefore serves discretion, but to sever good from ill? How easily may a wise man pull a rose and not prick his hand! How freely may he dip in this stream and not be drowned!"

Little do these peremptory resolvers know either the insinuative power of evil, or the treachery of their own heart in receiving it, or the importunity of deceivers in obtruding it. They are the worse for their travel, and perceive it not. An egg covered with salt, as our philosophers teach us, hath the meat of it consumed while the shell is whole. Many a one receives poison and knows not when he took it. No man proves extremely evil on the sudden. Through many insensible declinations do we fall from virtue; and at the first are so gently seized by vice that we cannot believe our accusers. It is mischief enough if they can be drawn to a less dislike of ill, which now by long acquaintance is grown so familiar to their eyes that they cannot think it so loathsome as at the first view. The society of wilful idolaters will now down with them, not without ease; and good meanings begin to be allowed for the cloaks of gross superstition. From thence they grow to a favourable construction of the misopinions of the ad-

verse part, and can complain of the wrongful aggravations of some contentious spirits; and from thence yet lower, to an indifferent conceit of some more politic positions and practices of the Romanists. Neither is there their rest. Hereupon ensues an allowance of some of their doctrines that are more plausible and less important; and withal a censure of us that are gone too far from Rome. Now the marriage of ecclesiastical persons begins to mislike them: the daily and frequent consignation with the cross is not to no purpose; the retired life of the religious, abandoning the world forsooth, savours of much mortification; and confession gives no small ease and contentment to the soul. And now by degrees popery begins to be no ill religion. If there cannot be a false fire of misdevotion kindled in them, it is enough if they can be cooled in their love of truth, which how commonly it falls out amongst us, I had rather experience should speak than myself.

Some there are that by a spiritual antiperistasis have grown hotter in their zeal, by being encompassed with the outward cold of irreligion and error, who, as they owe not this grace to themselves, so are they more for wonder than imitation. If Daniel found a guard in the lion's den, shall another put himself thither for shelter? And if Peter walked upon the pavement of the water, did the rest of the disciples step forth and follow him?

That valiant champion of Christ, since we are fallen upon his name, who durst draw his sword upon a whole troop, after all his protestations of his inseparableness from his Master, was yet infected with the air of the high priest's hall; and while he but warmed himself at that fire, cooled in his respect to his Saviour.

Although perhaps this contagion, working as it commonly doth remissly, causeth not any sudden alteration in our traveller; but, as we say of comets and eclipses, hath his effect when the cause is forgotten.

Neither is there any one more apparent ground of that lukewarm indifferency which is fallen upon our times than the ill use of our wanderings; for, our travellers being the middle rank of men, and therefore either followers of the great or commanders of the meaner sort, cannot want convenience of diffusing this temper of ease unto both.

SECT. XIV.

All this mischief is yet hid with a formal profession, so as every eye cannot find it; in others it dares boldly break forth to an open revolt. How many in our memory, while with Dinah they have gone forth to gaze, have lost their spiritual chastity, and therewith both the church and themselves! How many, like unto the brook Cedron, run from Jerusalem through the vale of Jehoshaphat, and end their course in the Dead Sea!

A popish writer of our nation[c], as himself thought not unlearned, complaining of the obstinacy of us heretics, despairs of prevailing, because he finds it to be long ago foreprophesied of us in the book of the Chronicles, *At illi protestantes audire noluerunt*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 19. It is well that protestants were yet heard of in the Old Testament, as well as Jesuits; whose name one of their own by good hap hath found, Num. xxvi. 24[d]; like as Erasmus found friars in St. Paul's time *inter falsos fratres*.

But it were better if this man's word were as true as it is idle. Some of ours have heard to their cost, whose loss, joined with the grief of the church and dishonour of the gospel, we have sufficiently lamented. How many have we known stricken with these asps which have died sleeping!

And in truth, whosoever shall consider this open freedom of the means of seducement, must needs wonder that we have lost no more; especially if he be acquainted with those two main helps of our adversaries, importunity and plausibility. Never any pharisee was so eager to make a proselyte as our late factors of Rome.

And if they be so hot set upon this service as to compass sea and land to win one of us, shall we be so mad as to pass both their sea and land to cast ourselves into the mouth of danger? No man setteth foot upon their coast which may not presently sing with the Psalmist, *They come about me like bees*. It fares with them as with those which are infected with the pestilence; who they say are carried with an itching desire of tainting others. When they have all done, this they have gained, that if

[c] Robert Pointz, in his Preface to the Testimonies for the Real Presence. [Mittebatque eis prophetas ut reverterentur ad Dominum quos protestantes illi audire nolebant.]

[d] ["Legi alia possunt apud]———— Gretserum contra Lermæum cap. 1. et 2. ubi vere quidem ait hæreticus Jesuitas in sacris literis reperiri, videlicet Num. xvi. 44."—Serarius in Josuam, lib. i. cap. ii. quæst. 19.—[Paris. 1610. p. 56.]

Satan were not more busy and vehement than they, they could gain nothing. But in the meantime, there is nothing wherein I wish we could emulate them, but in this heat of diligence and violent ambition of winning. Pyrrhus did not more envy the valour of those old Roman soldiers, which he read in their wounds and dead faces, than we do the busy audacity of these new. The world could not stand before us, if our truth might be but as hotly followed as their falsehood. O that our God, whose cause we maintain, would enkindle our hearts with the fire of holy zeal but so much as Satan hath inflamed theirs with the fire of fury and faction! O that he would shake us out of this dull ease, and quicken our slack spirits unto his own work! *Arise, O north, and come, O south, and blow upon our garden, that the spices thereof may flow forth!*

These suitors will take no denial, but are ready, as the fashion was to do with rich matches, to carry away men's souls whether they will or no.

We see the proof of their importunity at home. No bulwark of laws nor bars of justice (though made of three trees) can keep our rebanished fugitives from returning, from intermeddling. How have their actions said in the hearing of the world, that since heaven will not hear them they will try what hell can do!

And if they dare be so busy in our own homes, where they would seem somewhat awed with the danger of justice, what think we will they not dare to do in their own territories, where they have not free scope only, but assistance, but encouragement? Never generation was so forward as the Jesuitical for captation of wills amongst their own, or of souls amongst strangers. What state is not haunted with these ill spirits? yea, what house? yea, what soul? Not a prince's council-table, not a lady's chamber, can be free from their shameless insinuations. It was not for nothing that their great patron, Philip the Second king of Spain, called them *Clericos negociadores;* and that Marcus Antonius Columna, general of the navy to Pius Quintus in the battle of Lepanto, and viceroy of Sicily, could say to father Don Alonso, a famous Jesuit, affecting to be of the council of his conscience, *Voi altri padri di Giesu havete la mente al cielo, le mani al mondo l'anima al diavolo*[e].

[e] [Exempl. Epist. ad Dom. Paulinum, Duac. 1610. p. 31.]

SECT. XV.

Yet were there the less peril of their vehemence, if it were only rude and boisterous, as in some other sects; that so, as it is in cannon-shot, it might be more easily shunned than resisted: but here the skill of doing mischief contends with the power. Their miszealous passions hide themselves in a pleasing sweetness, and they are more beholden to policy than strength.

What gentleman of any note can cross our seas, whose name is not landed in their books beforehand, in prevention of his person?

Whom now arrived, if they find untractable through too much prejudice, they labour first to temper with the plausible conversation of some smooth catholic of his own nation. The name of his country is warrant enough for his insinuation. Not a word yet may be spoken of religion; as if it were no part of the errand. So have we seen a hawk cast off at a heronshaw, to look and fly a quite other way; and after many careless and overly fetches, to tour up unto the prey intended. There is nothing wherein this fair companion shall not apply himself to his welcome countryman. At last, when he hath possessed himself of the heart of his new acquaintance, and got himself the reputation of a sweet ingenuity and delightful sociableness, he finds opportunities to bestow some witty scoffs upon those parts of our religion which lie most open to advantage.

And now it is time to invite him, after other rarities, to see the monastery of our English Benedictines; or if elsewhere, those English colleges, which the devout beneficence of our well-meaning neighbours, with no other intention than some covetous farmers lay salt-cates in their dove-cotes, have bountifully erected. There, it is a wonder if our traveller meet not with some one that shall claim kindred or country of him in a more entire fashion. The society welcomes him with more than ordinary courtesy: neither can he refuse, except he will be uncivil, to be their guest. He cannot mislike the love of his countrymen: he cannot fault their carriage.

And now that they have mollified the stiffness of his prejudice, and with much tempering fitted him for their mould, he is a task meet for one of their best workmen; who, willingly undertaking it, hath learned to handle him so sweetly, as if he would have

him think it a pleasure to be seduced. Do ye think this doctor will begin first with the infallibility of their great Master, and persuade him that a necromancer, an heretic, an atheist, cannot err in Peter's chair? or tell him that he may buy off his sins as familiarly as he may buy wares in the market? or teach him that a man may and must both make and eat his god to his breakfast? This hard meat is for stronger maws; he knows how first to begin with the spoon; and to offer nothing to a weak stomach but discourse of easy digestion. As, first, that a catholic, so living and dying, by our confession may be saved: that there is but one church, as but one Christ; and that out of this ark there is no way but drowning: that this one church is more likely to be found in all the world than in a corner; in all ages than in the last century of years; in unity than in division. And now comes in the glorious brag of the Roman universality, their inviolate antiquity, their recorded successions, their harmonious unity, their confessed magnificence: that theirs is the mother church; as to the rest of Christendom, so especially to the English: how well a monarchy, the best form of government, beseems the church: how unlikely it is that Christ would leave his spouse in the confusion of many heads, or of none; and how that we are but a rag torn from their coat: and where was our religion before Luther lay with Bora? and what miserable subdivisions are there in our protestancy! and what a gleaning are we to the harvest of Christendom! with infinite suggestions of this nature; able, as they are plausibly urged, to shake an ungrounded judgment: which, if they have so far prevailed as that the hearer will abide himself hoodwinked with this veil of the church, how easily shall time lead him into those hatefuller absurdities!

SECT. XVI.

In all which proceeding these impostors have a double advantage.

First, that they deliver the opinion of their church with such mitigation and favour as those that care to please, not to inform; forming the voice of the church to the liking of the hearer, not the judgment of the hearer to the voice of the church.

Wherein is not hard to observe, that popery spoken and written are two things.

In discourse, nothing is more ordinary than to disclaim some of their received positions, and to blanch others. It is the malice of

an adversary that misreports them. They do not hold that images should be adored; that the wood of the cross should be worshipped with the very same devotion that is due to Christ himself; that the church is the judge of God's writings; that Paul the Fifth cannot err; that a man may merit of his Maker, much less supererogate; that a mouse can run away with that which either is or was God Almighty; that it is lawful to kill an heretical king; and all other those monsters of opinion, which their most classic authors have both hatched and shamelessly thrust into the light of the world. They defy those ridiculous legends which we father upon their church; and how much do they scorn S. Francis's [f] bird, or his wolf, or his wounds, or his apostles of Assise! Pope Joan was but a fancy. Never pope was a heretic.

If now we cry out of impudence, and call their allowed writers to witness, lo, even they also are forged by us, and are taught to play booty on our side.

Thus resolved to outface all evidence, they make fair weather of their foulest opinions, and inveigh against nothing so much as the spitefulness of our slanders.

It is not possible that any wise stranger should be in love with the face of their church, if he might see her in her own likeness; and therefore they have cunningly masked one part of it and painted another, so as those features of hers which are ugly and offensive shall not appear to any but her own eyes. And because books are dangerous blabs, and will be telling the generations to come how strangely that face is altered with age and art; therefore their tongues are clipped also, and made to speak none but her own words.

Out of this license and hope to win they can fit their dishes to every palate; and are so saucy as to make the church belie itself.

Hence it was that a Spanish father could teach [g], that it is not of the necessity of faith to believe that the present pope is the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter; that Hostius the Jesuit could say, that the pope abused his keys and the authority of the church in receiving Henry the Fourth [h]; that another of his fellows, in a discourse with a French bishop, could disparage

[f] [St. Francis of Assise.—Legenda, S. Franc. Opp. S. Bonaventuræ. Rom. 1588. t. v. pp. 310–318. cap. 8 & 13.]

[g] Exemplar. Epist. Scriptæ ad Dominum Paulinum, quondam datarium sub Clementis VIII. beatæ memoriæ Pontificatu.—[Duac. 1610. p. 21.]

[h] [Ibid. p. 22.]

the decision of his holiness in comparison of a general council; that Menas, the reader of divinity at Valladolid, following Salas the Jesuit, could affirm the lawfulness of the marriage of religious persons upon a doubtful revelation[i]; that more than one of that order have dared to broach confession by letters against the bull of Clement the Eighth.

And if these men be not sparing of their contradictions to that vice-god of theirs, whose vassals they are by peculiar profession, how much more boldly will they swim against the stream of any common opinion that may concern the body of that head!

SECT. XVII.

Their second advantage is, that they regard not with what untruths they make good their own assertions. It is all one with what mortar or rubbish they build up a side.

From hence flow the confident reports both of their miracles to convince us and their slanders to disgrace us.

Father Hayndius, a Jesuit of thirty-three years' standing, amongst fifty-two complaints, which out of an honest remorse he put up against his own society to their general, Aquaviva, finds this not the least, that his fellows shamed not to seek the honour of their order by cogging of miracles[k]. What packets fly about daily of their Indian wonders! Even cardinal Bellarmine can abide to come in as an avoucher of these cozenages, who dares aver that his fellow Xavier had not only healed the deaf, dumb, and blind, but raised the dead; while his brother Acosta[l], after many years spent in those parts, can pull him by the sleeve, and tell him in his ear, so loud that all the world may hear him, *Prodigia nulla producimus, neque vero est opus.* Of the same stamp are the daily renewed miracles, revelations, visions, wherewith any man's ears must needs be beaten amongst them. Afric was at the best but barren of novelties in comparison of Rome; and yet the world is incredulous if it will not suffer itself to be gulled with these holy frauds.

And no fewer are those lewd calumniations, the stuff of all their invectives, whereby they labour to make us loathsome to the world; our persons, our doctrines, are loaded with reproaches; neither matters it how just they are, but how spiteful. What other measure can be expected of us when their best friends have

[i] [Ibid. pp. 28, 29.]
[k] [Ibid. p. 24.]
[l] Lib. iv. de Salut. Ind. c. 12, &c.

thus upon some private dislikes smarted from them? Their own holy fathers, Clement the Eighth and Sixtus Quintus, and with them (the honour of the Jesuitical order) cardinal Tolet, can all show bloody weals in their backs from their lashes. Their late patron of famous memory, whose heart they well merited, and keep it (as their dear relique) enshrined in their La Flesche[m], was, after his death, in their pulpits proclaimed tyrant and worse[n]: no marvel then, if after the virulent declamations of our Gifford (their Gabriel), and the malicious suggestions of others of that viperous brood, we have much ado to persuade our neighbours that we have any churches, baptism, liturgy, religion.

I appeal then to all eyes and ears, how easy it is for a man that will take leave to himself of making what truths he lists, and defending them by what untruths he pleaseth, to lead a credulous heart whither he pleaseth.

Sect. XVIII.

But if the power of falsified reason prevail not, these desperate factors of Rome, as I have been informed, have learned, out of their acquaintance in the court of the prince of darkness, to employ stronger aid. On some of their hands, I fear, magical delusions and devilish incantations shall not want, rather than they will want a client.

Neither can this seem strange to any that knows how familiarly the Roman church professes the solemn practice of conjuration; in such a fashion, as it doth more than trouble the best casuists to set down a perfect difference betwixt their sacred magic and the diabolical.

From hence perhaps have proceeded those miraculous apparitions, if at the least they were any other but fancy or fraud, wherewith some of our death-sick gentlemen amongst them have been frighted into catholics.

A famous divine of France, second to none for learning or fidelity, told me this one, amongst other instances, of his own experience, which he yet lives to justify. A gentleman of the religion, whose wife was popishly devoted, lying upon the bed of his sickness in expectation of death, sends for this divine his pastor. The sick man's wife sends for a Jesuit. Both meet at

[m] [Jesuit School and College.—Anquetil, Hist. de France, t. vi. p. 255.]
[n] Exempl. Epist. sup. cit. [p. 27.]

the bed's side: each persuades him to his own part; both plead for their religion at this bar before these judges: after two hours' disputation, not only the gentleman was cheerfully confirmed in that judgment which he had embraced, but his wife also, out of the evidence of truth, began to incline to him and it. The Jesuit departed, discontent; yet, within some few hours after, returning when the coast was clearer, intreats some private conference with the gentlewoman; with whom walking in her garden, he did vehemently expostulate, mixing therewithal his strongest persuasions. At last, to shut up his discourse, he importuned her, with many obsecrations, that she would vouchsafe to receive from his hands a little box which he there offered her, and for his sake wear it about her continually: she condescended: no sooner had she taken it, than she fell to so great a detestation of her husband that she could by no means be drawn into his presence; and within two days after in this state she died. An act more worthy the sword of justice than the pen of an adversary.

These courses are as secret as wicked. Not daring therefore peremptorily to accuse, I had rather leave these practices to further inquiry. Sure I am that by their tongue Satan labours to enchant the world, and hath strongly deluded too many souls. And are we weary of ours, that we dare tempt God, and offer ourselves as challengers to this spiritual danger?

The Jesuits, amongst much change of houses, have two famous for the accordance of their names; one, called "The Bow," at Nola; the other, "The Arrow," La Flesche, in France: though this latter were more worthy of the name of a whole quiver, containing not fewer than eight hundred shafts of all sizes. Their apostate Ferrier, if I shall not honour him too much, played upon them in this distich:

Arcum Nola dedit, dedit illis alma Sagittam
Gallia: quis funem, quem meruere, dabit?

Nola the Bow, and France the Shaft did bring:
But who shall help them to a hempen string?

This provision is for the care of Christian princes; but in the meantime what madness is it in us, not only to give aim to these roving flights, but to offer ourselves to be their standing butt, that they may take their full aim and hit us level at pleasure!

Do we not hear some of their own fellow catholics, in the midst of their awfullest senate, the parliament of Paris, pleading vehe-

mently against those factious spirits; and crying out passionately of that danger which will follow upon their admission both of lewd manners and false doctrine[o]? and do we, in greater opposition, fear neither; and especially from English Jesuits?

Some countries yield more venomous vipers than others; ours, the worst. I would it were not too easy to observe, that as our English papists are commonly most Jesuitish, so our English Jesuits are more furious than their fellows. Even those of the hottest climates cannot match them in fiery dispositions. And do we put ourselves out of our comfortable sunshine into the midst of the flame of these noted incendiaries? Do we take pleasure to make them rich with the spoil of our souls? And, because they will not come fast enough to fetch these booties, do we go to carry them unto their pillage?

Sect. XIX.

The danger is in the men more than in their cause; and if this great courtesan of the world had not so cunning panders, I should wonder how she should get any but foolish customers.

The Searcher of all hearts, before whose tribunal I shall once come to give an account of this "Censure," knows that I speak it not maliciously. Him I call to witness, that I could not find any true life of religion amongst those that would be catholics. I meddle not with the errors of speculations, or school points, wherein their judgment palpably offendeth: I speak of the lively practice of piety.

What have they amongst them but a very outside of Christianity, a mere formality of devotion?

Look into their churches: there their poor ignorant laity hope to present their best services to God; and yet, alas! they say they know not what; they hear they know not what; they do they know not what: returning empty of all hearty edification, and only full of confused intentions; and are taught to think this sacrifice of fools meritorious.

Look upon their Chemarim[p], the sacred actors in this religious

[o] At etiamnum non animadvertimus, quod, Latini sermonis obtentu, impurissime Gallicæ juventutis mores ingenuos fœdant: bonarum literarum prætextu pessimas edocent artes: dum ingenia excolunt animas perdunt: &c. Oratio ad Curiam Parliamenti super Henrici Magni parricidali nece. [e Gallic. in Lat. Serm. redd. 1612. p. 23.]

[p] [Idolatrous priests. See 2 Kings xxv. 3; Hosea x. 5; Zeph. i. 4. Gesenius.]

scene: what shall you see but idle apishness in their solemnest work, and either mockery or slumbering?

Look into their religious houses: what shall you see but a trade of careless and lazy holiness? hours observed because they must, not because they would. What do they but lull piety asleep with their heartless and sleepy vespers?

Look into the private closets of their devout ignorants: what difference shall you see betwixt the image and the suppliant? If they can hear their beads knack upon each other, they are not bid to care for hearing their prayers reflect upon heaven. Shortly, in all that belongs to God, the work done sufficeth, yea, meriteth: and what need the heart be wrought upon for a task of the hands?

Look into the melancholic cells of some austere recluses: there you may find perhaps a hair cloth, or a whip, or a hurdle; but show me true mortification, the power of spiritual renovation of the soul. How should that be found there, whenas that saving faith, which is the only purger of the heart, is barred out as presumptuous, and no guest of that kind allowed but the same which is common to devils? What papist in all Christendom hath ever been heard to pray daily with his family, or to sing but a psalm at home?

Look into the universal course of the catholic life: there shall you find the decalogue professedly broken, besides the ordinary practice of idolatry and frequence of oaths. Who ever saw God's day duly kept in any city, village, household, under the jurisdiction of Rome? Every obscure holyday takes the wall of it and thrusts it into the channel. Who sees not obedience to authority so slighted that it stands only to the mercy of human dispensation? And in the rest of God's laws, who sees not how foul sins pass for venial? and how easily venial sins pass their satisfaction, for which a cross or a drop of holy water is sufficient amends? Who sees not how no place can be left for truth where there is full room given to equivocation?

All this, though it be harsh to the conscionable man, yet is no less pleasing to the carnal. The way of outward fashionableness in religion and inward liberty of heart cannot but seem fair to nature, and especially when it hath so powerful angariation. It is a wonder if but one half of Christendom be thus won to walk in it. Those which are either ungrounded in the principles of religion, or the unconscionable in the practice, are fit to travel into these miserable errors: *But though Israel play the harlot, yet*

let not Judah sin. Come ye not to Gilgal, neither go ye up to Bethaven.

SECT. XX.

From the danger of corruption in judgment let us turn our eyes to the depravation of manners, which not seldom goes before. Apples therefore fall from the tree because they be worm-eaten; they are not worm-eaten because they fall: and, as usually follows, Satan, like the raven, first seizes upon the eye of understanding, and then preys freely upon the other carcass.

We may be bad enough at home; certainly we are the worse for our neighbours. Old Rome was not more jealous of the Grecian and African manners than we have reason to be of the Roman. It were well if we knew our own fashions; better if we could keep them.

What mischief have we amongst us that we have not borrowed?

To begin at our skin: who knows not whence we had the variety of our vain disguises? as if we had not wit enough to be foolish, unless we were taught it. These dresses, being constant in their mutability, show us our masters. What is it that we have not learned of our neighbours, save only to be proud good-cheap? Whom would it not vex, to see how that other sex hath learned to make antics and monsters of themselves? Whence came their hips to the shoulders and their breasts to the navel; but the one from some ill shaped dames of France, the other from the worse minded courtesans of Italy? Whence else learned they to daub these mud walls with apothecary's mortar, and those high washes which are so cunningly licked on, that the wet napkin of Phryne should be deceived? Whence the frizzled and powdered bushes of their borrowed excrement; as if they were ashamed of the head of God's making, and proud of the tirewoman's? Where learned we that devilish art and practice of duel, wherein men seek honour in blood, and are taught the ambition of being glorious butchers of men? Where had we that luxurious delicacy in our feasts, in which the nose is no less pleased than the palate, and the eye no less than either? wherein the piles of dishes make barricadoes against the appetite, and with a pleasing incumbrance trouble an hungry guest? Where those forms of ceremonious quaffing, in which men have learned to make gods of others and beasts of themselves, and lose their reason while they pretend to do reason? Where the lawlessness (miscalled freedom) of a wild tongue, that runs with reins in the neck through the bedchambers

of princes, their closets, their council-tables, and spares not the very cabinet of their breasts, much less can be barred out of the most retired secresy of inferior greatness? Where the change of noble attendance and hospitality into four wheels and some few butterflies? Where the art of dishonesty in practical Machiavelism, in false equivocations? Where the slight account of that filthiness which is but condemned as venial, and tolerated as not unnecessary? Where the skill of civil and honourable hypocrisy in those formal compliments, which do neither expect belief from others nor carry any from ourselves? Where that unnatural villainy which, though it were burned with fire and brimstone from heaven, and the ashes of it drowned in the Dead Sea, yet hath made shift to revive, and calls for new vengeance upon the actors? Where that close atheism, which secretly laughs God in the face, and thinks it weakness to believe, wisdom to profess any religion? Where the bloody and tragical science of king-killing? the new divinity of disobedience and rebellion? with too many other evils wherewith foreign conversation hath endangered the infection of our peace?

Lo here, dear countrymen, the fruit of your idle gaddings. Better perhaps might be had: but he was never acquainted at home that knows not our nature to be like unto fire, which, if there be any infection in the room, draws it straight to itself; or like unto jet, which, omitting all precious objects, gathers up straws and dust.

Islanders have been ever in an ill name. Wherefore, save only for the confluence of foreigners, which never come without the freight of their national wickedness? The experience whereof hath moved some witty nations, both ancient and present, to shut themselves up within their own bounds, and to bar the intercourse of strangers, as those that thought best to content themselves with their own faults.

A corrupt disposition, out of a natural fertility, can both get and conceive evil alone; but if it be seconded by examples, by precepts, by encouragements, the ocean itself hath not so much spawn as it: in all which regards he hath escaped well that returns but what he carried; but he is worthy of memory that returns either more good or less evil. Some have come home perhaps more sparing; others more subtle; others more outwardly courteous; others more capricious; some more tongue-free; few ever better. And if themselves be not sensible of their

alterations, yet their country and the church of God feels and rues them.

Sect. XXI.

Let me therefore have leave to shut up this discourse with a double suit; one to our gentry, the other to supreme authority: both which shall come from the bottom of an heart unfeignedly sacrificed to the common good: neither speak I words, but my very soul unto both.

To the former my suit is, that they would be happy at home. God hath given us a world of our own, wherein there is nothing wanting to earthly contentment. Whither go ye then, worthy countrymen, or what seek ye? Here grows that wealth which ye go but to spend abroad. Here is that sweet peace which the rest of the world admires and envies. Here is that gracious and well tempered government which no nation under heaven may dare once offer to parallel. Here all liberal arts reign and triumph: and for pleasure, either our earth or our sea yields us all those dainties which their native regions enjoy but single. Lastly, here heaven stands open, which to many other parts is barred on the outside with ignorance or misbelief.

And shall our wantonness contemn all this bounty of God, and carry us to seek that which we shall find nowhere but behind us, but within us? Shall the affection of some frivolous toys draw us away from the fruition of those solid comforts which are offered us within our own doors?

How many of ours, whom their just offence hath cast out of the bosom of their country, compare their exile with death, and can scarce abide to bid that breath welcome which they are forced to draw in a foreign air; and though freedom of conscience entertain them never so liberally abroad, yet resolve either to live or die at home! And do we suffer our folly to banish us from those contentments which they are glad to redeem with the hazard of their blood?

Are we so little in our own books that we can be content to purchase outlandish superfluities with the miscarriage of our souls, with the danger of miscarriage, with the likelihood of danger? Are we so foolish that, while we may sweetly enjoy the settled estate of our primogeniture, we will needs bring upon ourselves the curse of Reuben, to run abroad like water, whose quality it is not easily to be kept within the proper bounds? yea, the curse of

Cain, to put ourselves from the side of Eden into the land of Nod, that is, of demigration?

None of the least imprecations which David makes against God's enemies is, *Make them like unto a wheel, O Lord.* Motion is ever accompanied with unquietness, and both argues and causes imperfection: whereas the happy estate of heaven is described by rest; whose glorious spheres, in the meantime, do so perpetually move, that they are never removed from their places.

It is not the least part either of wisdom or happiness to know when we are well. Shall we not be shamelessly unthankful, if we cannot sing the note of that great chorister of God, *My lot is fallen to me in a good ground?* Hath not the munificence of God made this island as it were an abridgment of his whole earth; in which he hath contrived, though in a less letter, all the main and material commodities of the greater world; and do we make a prison where God meant a paradise?

Enjoy therefore, happy countrymen, enjoy freely, God and yourselves. Enrich yourselves with your own mines. Improve those blessed opportunities which God hath given you to your mutual advantage, and care not to be like any but yourselves.

SECT. XXII.

And if at any time these unworthy papers may fall betwixt the hands of my sovereign master, or any of his grave and honourable ministers of state, let the meanness of so weak and obscure solicitors presume to commend this matter to their deepest consideration, and out of an honest zeal of the common safety sue to them for a more strict restraint of that dangerous liberty whereof too many are bold to carve to themselves.

Who can be ignorant of those wise and wholesome laws which are enacted already to this purpose? or of those careful and just cautions wherewith the licenses of travel are ever limited? But what are we the better for God's own laws without execution? or what are limits unto the lawless? Good laws are the hedges of the commonwealth; just dispensations are as gates or stiles in the hedge. If every straggler may at pleasure cast open a gap in this fence of the state, what are we the better for this quickset than if we lay open to the common?

Who sees not how familiarly our young recusants, immediately upon their disclosing, are sent over for their full hatching and

making? Italy, Spain, Artois, and now of late France itself, provides nests and perches and mews for these birds, with the same confidence wherewith we breed our own at home; which when they are once well acquainted with the Roman lure, are sent back again fit for the prey.

And as for those of our own feather, whereas the liberty of their travel is bounded chiefly with this double charge: one, that they have no conversation or conference with Jesuits or other dangerous persons; the other, that they pass not into the dominions of the king's enemies: both these are so commonly neglected, as if they were intended only for a verbal formality; yea, as if the prohibition meant to teach men what they should do. Every of our novices hath learned to make no difference of men, and dare breathe in the poisonous air of Italy itself, and touch the very pommel of the chair of pestilence.

It is this licentious freedom, which we miscall openhearted ingenuity, that undoes us. Do we not see the wary closeness of our adversaries, which will not so much as abide one of our books (a mute solicitor) to harbour in any of their coasts? How many of the Italian or Spanish nobles have we known allowed to venture their education in our courts or universities? Do they lie thus at the lock, and do we open our breast, and display our arms, and bid an enemy strike where he list?

Since then we have no more wit or care than to be willingly guilty of our own shame, O that the hands of supreme authority would be pleased to lock us within our own doors, and to keep the keys at their own girdle!

And, to speak truth, to what purpose are those strait and capital inhibitions of the return of our factious fugitives into this kingdom, if, while the wicket is shut upon them that they should not come to us, the postern be open to us that we may go to them?

As all intercourse is perilous, so that is most which is by our own provocation. Here yet they dare but lurk in secret, and take only some sudden snatches at a weak prey, like unto evening wolves, that never walk forth but under the cloak of the night: but in their own territories they can show the sun their spoils, and think this act worthy of garlands and trophies. Here we have mastiffs to secure our flocks; there, the prey goes straggling alone to the mouth of their dens, without protection, without assistance, and offers to be devoured.

Ye whom the choice of God hath made the great shepherds of

his people, whose charge it is to feed them by government, suffer not their simplicity to betray their lives unto the fangs of these cruel beasts; but chase them home rather from the wilful search of their own perdition, and shut them up together in your strong and spacious folds, that they may be at once safe, and ye glorious!

SECT. XXIII.

Lastly, for those whom necessary occasions draw forth of their own coasts; that we may have done with those which like foolish papists go on pilgrimage to see another block better dressed than that at home; let me say to them, as Simeon, that prophetical monk, said to the pillars which he whipped before the earthquake, "Stand fast, for ye shall be shaken." And therefore, as the crane, when she is to fly against an high wind, doth balance herself with stones in her bill, that she may cut the air with more steadiness; so let them carefully fore-instruct and poise themselves with the sound knowledge of the principles of religion, that they may not be carried about with every wind of doctrine. Whereto if they add but those lessons which they are taught by the state in their letters of passage, there may be hope they shall bring back the same souls they carried. It was at least an inclination to a fall that Eve took boldness to hold chat with the serpent.

And as subtle lawyers desire no more advantage, in the quarrel which they would pick at conveyances, than many words, so neither do our adversaries. While our ears are open and our tongues free, they will hope well of our very denials. Error is crafty, and out of the power of his rhetorical insinuations ofttimes carries away probability from truth. I remember, in that famous embassy of the three philosophers which Athens sent to Rome, Critolaus, Diogenes, and Carneades, there falling out many occasions of discourse, wise Cato persuaded the senate to a speedy dismission of those otherwise welcome guests; "because," said he, "while Carneades disputes, scarce any man can discern which is the true." There is more danger of these spiritual sophisters by how much the business is more important and their subtlety greater. Let our passenger therefore, as that wise Grecian served his fellows, stop up his ears with wax against these syrens.

Our Saviour would not give Satan audience even while he spake true, because he knew that truth was but to countenance error. There is ever true corn strewed under a pitfall: those

ears are full and weighty which we dress with lime to deceive the poor birds in a snow: no fisher lets down an empty hook, but clothed with a proper and pleasing bait. These impostors have no other errand but deceit. If he love himself, let him be afraid of their favours, and think their frowns safer than their smiles.

And if at any time, as no fly is more importunate, they thrust themselves into his conversation, let him, as those which must necessarily pass by a carrion in the way, hold his breath, and hasten to be out of their air. And if they yet follow him in his flight, let him turn back to them with the angel's farewell, *Increpet te Dominus.*

VIRGIDEMIARUM

SIX BOOKS.

FIRST THREE BOOKS

OF TOOTHLESS SATIRES:

1. Poetical.
2. Academical.
3. Moral.

1597.

DE SUIS SATYRIS.

Dum Satyræ dixi, videor dixisse, Sat iræ
Corripio; aut istæc non satis est Satyra.

Ira facit Satyram, reliquum sat temperat iram;
Pinge tuo Satyram sanguine, tum Satyra est.

Ecce novam Satyram: Satyrum sine cornibus! Euge,
Monstra novi monstri hæc; et Satyri et Satyræ.

VIRGIDEMIARUM

LIBRI SEX.

[The remarkable collection of Satires known under the name of Virgidemiæ was, according to the unanimous testimony of those who have edited or criticised them, written by Bishop Hall at a very early age, and soon afterwards published. It appears however that, either from the nature of the work itself, or the freedom both of style and remark in which the author indulged, he did not himself either authorize the publication of the Satires, or in any of his subsequent works make allusion to them as his own. The authorship is fixed upon him by his friend William Knight, who superintended the publication. And it is stated by the Rev. Peter Hall, who conducted through the press the edition of 1839, that this work on its first appearance was by the High Commission Court condemned to the flames at the instigation of Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft. Subsequently, until the middle of the last century, it seems to have attracted little attention, when Mr. Thomson of Queen's College, Oxford, reprinted it, but with scarcely a word of preface, save only the remarks of Whalley in his Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare.

It is not my intention, as I do not conceive it to be my duty, in presenting to the public a collected edition of the Bishop's works, to preface these Satires with a lengthened introductory disquisition; neither have I thought it right to expatiate in notes and remarks upon the illustrations which may be gathered out of contemporary and other authors as to difficult or obscure, or similar and analogous passages. Where there is difficulty or obscurity, I have selected what I considered the most

useful and probable explanation: where the expressions are obsolete or strange, I have availed myself of the elucidations I have found in the few editions published since the commencement of the present century, abridging, in most cases where I have used them, the notes to the last edition, and adding anything I had myself met with. The late editor, Mr. P. Hall, denominates his edition of the Satires a Variorum Edition; and to those who examine it under this impression, much that is interesting, instructive, and amusing, will be found in the Notes. But, not to repeat my opinion on the subject, I content myself with giving the author for the most part unencumbered with the remarks of others; being persuaded that the enlarged knowledge of etymology which prevails in the present day renders it quite unnecessary in many instances to afford help even to the superficial reader. It may be proper to state that, for the text of the first three Satires I have had recourse to the edition of 1597; for the last three to that of 1599, together with Thomson's, Singer's, and P. Hall's; and have in all cases adhered as much as possible to the earlier. It will perhaps be a satisfaction to some readers to have before them the remarks of Warton: I have therefore prefixed them, together with the Advertisement to the edition of 1839. The extract from Whalley's Enquiry I think superfluous, as it is simply a general commendation of one whose merits as a poet and correct observer of human nature are sufficiently known. I may add, however, that the special beauties of these Satires are ably but briefly remarked upon, in Letter XV. of a work entitled, Letters of Literature, by Robert Heron, esq. Lond. 1785.]

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE EDITION OF 1839.

BISHOP HALL commenced authorship, like many authors, as a poet; and, like many poets, as a satirist. The history of his Satires has been somewhat remarkable. For a time they had two evils of an opposite description to encounter, hostility at first, and neglect afterwards. No sooner was the first edition issued from the press, than it was condemned by the High Commission Court to the flames, through the instigation of Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft[a]: while the character of the author, as well as that of the book, was attacked, nearly half a century afterwards, with relentless severity, by no less an antagonist than John Milton[b]. For two whole centuries they were then almost forgotten. An edition indeed appeared at Oxford in 1753, under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Thompson, formerly Fellow of Queen's College; and Pope[c] and Gray[d] were both of them alive, and endeavoured to enliven others[e] to an appreciation of their merits.

[a] See Andrews's Continuation of Henry's History of England, vol. i. b. 7. c. 2. p. 530.

[b] In his Apology for Smectymnuus, published in 1642.

[c] In the Catalogue of Mr. West's Library, sold in 1773, occurs the following article:—"No. 1047. Hall's (Bp.) *Virgidemiarum*, 6 books, *impr.* by Harrison, 1599–1602; *rare edit.* Mr. Pope's copy, who presented it to Mr. West, telling him that he esteemed them the best Poetry and truest Satire in the English language, and that he had an intention of modernizing them, as he had done some of Donne's Satires." Mr. Thompson, the editor of the Oxford reprint, mentions, that "Mr. Pope saw these Satires, but so late in life that he could only bestow this commendation on them, which they truly deserve, to wish he had seen them sooner." Bp. Warburton told Mr. Warton, that, in a copy of Hall's Satires, in the library of Mr. Pope, the whole of the first satire of the sixth book was either corrected in the margin or interlined; and that Pope had written at the top, *Optima Satira.*

[d] "They are full of spirit and poetry," observes Mr. Gray in a letter to Dr. Warton; "as much of the first as Dr. Donne, and far more of the latter."

[e] The popularity of personal satires is apt to decline, and their merits to be forgotten, when the age in which they are written, with its feelings, its fashions, and its characters, has passed away. From this fate, however, lord Hailes thought that *Virgidemiarum* deserved to be saved. "Hall's Satires," says his lordship, in a manuscript note upon his copy of the work, "have merit, and will be remembered." This commendation may be considered cold; but lord Hailes was a sagacious rather than an enthusiastic critic; and in remarking that the Satires of Hall were worthy of being remembered, he sufficiently intimated his sense of their merits.—MAITLAND.

But it was not till the mention made of them by Mr. Whalley, and the masterly analysis of them by Mr. Warton, that the Virgidemiæ of Bishop Hall took their place among the classical poetry of the land. The praises thus bestowed were repeated by Mr. Campbell[f], and copies of the Satires began to multiply. Besides the edition incorporated by Mr. Pratt among the Bishop's Miscellaneous Works, a facsimile of the first edition was now printed by Mr. Constable of Edinburgh: in 1824 another edition, under the care of Mr. S. W. Singer, with the illustrations of Warton, and additional notes interspersed: and another in 1825, limited to 100 copies, but elaborately revised and elucidated by Mr. Thomas Maitland, Advocate, of Dundrennan[g]. To these may be added an edition, supposed to have been printed under the care of the late Mr. Hazlewood, to which the writer of the present notice furnished a Preface and Glossary preparatory to its publication last year.

The present is intended to form a *variorum editio* of the Satires of Bishop Hall. The text is founded on the edition of 1599, but carefully compared with every edition extant; no other liberty being taken but that of reducing the orthography into order[h]. For the groundwork of the notes, the introductory observations of Mr. Pratt may be cited. "By the kindness of Mr. Henry Ellis, of the British Museum," he

[f] "Bishop Hall," says Campbell, "was the first who gave our language an example of *epistolary* composition in prose. He wrote besides, a satirical fiction, entitled *Mundus Alter et Idem;* in which, under pretence of describing the Terra Australis Incognita, he reversed the plan of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and characterised the vices of existing nations. Of our *satirical* poetry, taking satire in its moral and dignified sense, he claims, and may be allowed, to be the founder: for the ribaldry of Skelton, and the crude essays of the graver Wyatt, hardly entitle them to that appellation." —"In the point, volubility, and vigour, of Hall's numbers, we might frequently imagine ourselves perusing Dryden. This may be exemplified in the harmony and picturesqueness of the description of a magnificent rural mansion (in book v. satire 2.), which the traveller approaches in the hopes of reaching the seat of ancient hospitality, but finds it deserted by its selfish owner."—"His satires are neither cramped by personal hostility nor spun out to vague declamations on vice; but give the form and pressure of the times, exhibited in the faults of coeval literature, and in the foppery or sordid traits of prevailing manners."—"The age was undoubtedly fertile in eccentricity. His picture of its literature may at first view appear to be overcharged with severity, accustomed as we are to associate a general idea of excellence with the period of Elizabeth; but when Hall wrote, there was not a great poet firmly established in the language, except Spenser, and on him he has bestowed ample applause."—*Specimens of British Poets*, vol. iv. p. 256.

[g] Published however without the name of the editor. Some of the copies have the imprint of Edinburgh, and some of London.

[h] The orthography, in our author's days, was regulated by no fixed principles. There is no kind of conformity in this respect between the first edition of the Satires, printed in 1597, and the subsequent editions of 1599 and 1602. I have followed, with very few exceptions, that of the first edition: from which edition I have also corrected several gross mistakes, which had crept into all that followed.—PRATT.

remarks, "the Editor is enabled, in addition to the fruits of his own researches, to enrich the following masterly performance of his author with some of those elucidations which his frequent imitation of the classics, and his perpetual allusions to temporary and local circumstances, have rendered indispensable to a full comprehension of the spirit and beauty of his satire. Mr. Ellis has had it in contemplation to publish an edition of the Satires, fully illustrated: which design it is to be hoped he will find leisure to accomplish. In the meantime he has had the goodness to allow the Editor to select such notes from his papers as might appear most necessary: and he has also furnished him with Warton's notes on his author, contained in a few of the first sheets of the fourth volume of his History of English Poetry, which had passed the press before the death of the learned critic." Mr. Warton's illustrations are now given at much greater length, with the additions of Mr. Park. Of the notes of Mr. Singer moreover, as well as those of Mr. Maitland, the Editor has copiously availed himself. A few are borrowed from Mr. Hazlewood, and a few more supplied by himself. A separate Glossary is also subjoined, comprising such expressions as are not more fully elucidated in the notes.

P. HALL.

Chelsea, May 13th, 1839.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

REMARKS ON BISHOP HALL AND HIS SATIRES, FROM WARTON'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

SATIRE, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. We have seen, indeed, that eclogues and allegories were made the vehicle of satire, and that many poems of a satirical tendency had been published long ago. And here the censure was rather confined to the corruptions of the clergy, than extended to popular follies and vices. But the first professed English satirist, to speak technically, is Bishop Joseph Hall, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich; born at Bristow Park, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, in the year 1574; and at the age of fifteen, in the year 1588, admitted into Emmanuel College at Cambridge, where he remained about eight years. He soon became eminent in the theology of those times, preached against predestination before prince Henry with unrivalled applause, and discussed the doctrines of Arminianism in voluminous dissertations. But so variable are our studies, and so fickle is opinion, that the poet is better known to posterity than the prelate or the polemic[a]. His satires have outlived his sermons at court and his laborious confutations of the Brownists. One of his later controversial tracts is however remembered, on account of the celebrity of its antagonist. When Milton descended from his dignity to plead the cause of fanaticism and ideal liberty, Bishop Hall was the defender of our hierarchical establishment. Bayle, who knew Hall only as a theologist, seems to have written his Life merely because he was one of the English divines at the synod of Dort in 1618. From his inflexible and conscientious attachment to the royal and episcopal

[a] "Nothing can be less true than this remark," says Mr. Singer. Certainly the very opposite is now, at all events, the fact. Almost the whole of the devotional and practical pieces of Bp. Hall retain their popularity. The Contemplations more especially are continually appearing in all the varieties of new and cheap publications.—H.

[Since the decease of our poetical historian this just reproach has been removed by a republication of the entire works of Bishop Hall. PARK. See note V. iv. p. 335. ed. Lond. 1824.]

cause under king Charles the First, he suffered in his old age the severities of imprisonment and sequestration, and lived to see his cathedral converted into a barrack, and his palace into an alehouse. His uncommon learning was meliorated with great penetration and knowledge of the world; and his mildness of manners and his humility were characteristical. He died, and was obscurely buried, without a memorial on his grave, in 1656, and in his eighty-second year, at Heigham, a small village near Norwich, where he had sought shelter from the storms of usurpation and the intolerance of presbyterianism.

I have had the good fortune to see Bishop Hall's funeral sermon, preached some days after his interment, on the 30th day of September, 1656, at St. Peter's church, in Norwich, by one John Whitefoote, master of arts, and rector of Heigham. The preacher, no contemptible orator, before he proceeds to draw a parallel between our prelate and the patriarch Israel, thus illustrates that part of his character with which we are chiefly concerned, and which I am now hastening to consider. "Two yeares together he was chosen rhetorick-professor in the universitie of Cambridge, and performed the office with extraordinary applause. He was noted for a singular wit from his youth; a most acute rhetorician, and an elegant poet. He understood many tongues; and in the rhetorick of his own he was second to none that lived in his time[b]." It is much to our present purpose to observe, that the style of his prose is strongly tinctured with the manner of Seneca. The writer of the Satires is perceptible in some of his gravest polemical or scriptural treatises; which are perpetually interspersed with excursive illustrations, familiar allusions, and observations on life. Many of them were early translated into French[c]; and their character is well drawn by himself, in a dedication to James the First, who perhaps would have much better relished a more sedate and profound theology. "Seldome any man hath offered to your royall hands a greater bundle of his owne thoughts, nor perhaps more variety of discourse. For here shall your maiestie find moralitie, like a good handmaid, waiting on divinitie; and divinitie, like some great lady, euery day in seuerall dresses. Speculation interchanged with experience; positive theology with polemical; textual with discursorie; popular with scholasticall[d]."

At the age of twenty-three, while a student at Emmanuel College, and in the year 1597, he published at London three books of anony-

[b] Fol. 3.

[c] By Theodore Jacquemot. Of the danger of criticising upon hearsay, Bayle affords a curious instance in his Memoir of Bp. Hall: "His *Christian Seneca*," he observes, "has been translated into several languages;" and adds, "It is a very solid piece." There will be scarcely need to inform the reader, that CHRISTIAN SENECA is not a title given by the bishop to any one of his publications; but to the bishop himself by his contemporaries.—H.

[d] Works, Lond. 1628, fol. vol. i. p. 3.

mous satires, which he called *Toothless* SATYRS, *poetical, academical, moral*[e]. They were printed by Thomas Creede for Robert Dexter, and are not recited in the registers of the stationers of London. The following year, and licensed by the stationers, three more books appeared, entitled "VIRGIDEMIARUM, the three last bookes of *Byting* Satyres." These are without his name, and were printed by Richard Bradock for Robert Dexter, in the size and letter of the last[f]. All the six books were printed together in 1599, in the same form, with this title, "VIRGIDEMIARUM, the three last bookes of *Byting* Satyres, corrected and amended, with some additions, by J. H. London, for R. Dexter, &c. 1599." A most incomprehensive and inaccurate title; for this edition, the last and the best, contains the three first as well as the three last books[g]. It begins with the first three books; then, at the end of the third book, follow the three last, but preceded by a new title: "VIRGIDEMIARUM, the three last bookes of Byting Satyres. Corrected and amended, with some additions, by J. H." For R. Dexter, as before, 1599. But the seventh of the fourth book is here made a second satire to the sixth or last book. Annexed are "Certaine worthye manvscript Poems, of great antiquitie, reserued long (since) in the studie of a Northfolke Gentleman, and now first published by J. S. 1. *The stately tragedy of Guistard and Sismond;* (in two books.) 2. *The Northerne Mother's blessing.* 3. *The Way to Thrifte.* Imprinted at London, for R. D. 1597." Dedicated, "To the worthiest poet, Maister Ed. Spenser[h]." To this identical impression of Hall's Satires, and the Norfolk gentleman's manuscript poems annexed, a false title appeared in 1602: "VIRGIDEMIARUM. Sixe Bookes. First three bookes, Of toothlesse Satyrs. 1. POETICALL. 2. ACADEMICALL, 3. MORAL. London, Printed by John Harison, for Robert Dexter,

[e] In small duodecimo, Wh. Let. But see the Catalogue to Mr. Capell's SHAKESPERIANA, given to Trinity College, Cambridge, NUM. 347. "Virgidemiarum libri 6, Satires, Hall, 1597, 8vo."

[f] In pages 106, with vignettes. Entered March 30, 1598, to R. Dexter. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 33. a.—Ames recites an edition of all the SIX BOOKS, in 68 pages, in 1598. HIST. PRINT. p. 434. I suspect this to be a mistake. [The following is an extract from Ames, Lond. 4to. 1786. p. 1268. Robert Dexter, 1598. Virgidemiarum. The three last bookes of byting Satyrs, R. Bradock for him (viz. Dexter) 106 pages. Both parts reprinted 1599. sixteens.]

[g] A modern edition, however, a thin duodecimo, was printed at Oxford for R. Clements, 1753, under the direction of Mr. Thomson, late fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. The editors followed an edition bought from lord Oxford's library, which they destroyed when the new one was finished.

[h] There is a second title in the body of the work, as follows: "*The Northerne Mother's Blessing. The Way to Thrifte.* Written nine years before the death of G. Chaucer. London; printed by Robert Robinson for Robert Dexter, 1597." Dr. Warton (Essay on Pope, i. 187.) conjectures that the Northerne Mother's Blessing is about the age of Henry VII. 1485–1509. Chaucer died in 1440.—H.

1602." All that follows[i] is exactly what is in the edition of 1599. By VIRGIDEMIA, an uncouth and uncommon word, we are to understand a Gathering or Harvest of Rods[k],—in reference to the nature of the subject.

These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring; and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age, when every preacher was a punster, to have written verses, where laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity; arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elliptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression. Perhaps some will think that his manner betrays too much of the laborious exactness and pedantic anxiety of the scholar and the student. Ariosto in Italian, and Regnier in French, were now almost the only modern writers of satire; and, I believe, there had been an English translation of Ariosto's satires[l]. But Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbanity of Horace. His parodies of these poets, or rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, (a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Rochester, and Pope,) discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the censorial declamation of Juvenal he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images.

In the opening of his general PROLOGUE, he expresses a decent consciousness of the difficulty and danger of his new undertaking. The laurel which he sought had been unworn, and it was not to be won without hazard:—

[i] Even to the title-page of the Second Part of the Satires; which still bears the correct date of 1599.—H.

[k] Hall takes the title of his work from *Virgidemia*, or, more properly, *Virgindemia*, a Latin word signifying a bundle of rods. It is used both by Plautus and Varro as an instrument for *beating*; a rod of twigs, probably corresponding to our modern birch rod of scholastic celebrity. On Hall's title-page *Virgidemia* is governed in the genitive plural by the following words, *Sixe Bookes*.—MAITLAND.

[l] [By sir John Harrington, R. Field, Lond. 1591.]

I FIRST ADVENTURE, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despight;
I FIRST ADVENTURE, follow me who list,
And be the SECOND ENGLISH SATIRIST[m].

* * * * * * * *

"With Hall's SATIRES should be ranked his MUNDUS ALTER ET IDEM, an ingenious satirical fiction in prose, where, under a pretended description of the TERRA AUSTRALIS, he forms a pleasant invective

m "Though Hall designates himself the first English satirist, yet this is not true in fact," observed Dr. Warton; "for Sir Thomas Wyat, the friend and favourite of Henry VIII, was our first writer of satire worth notice:" Essay on Pope, ii. 422. To Wyat may be added Gascoigne, who published his "Steele Glass" in 1576; which is not only a shrewd and poignant Satire well expressed, but, what should be still remembered to the credit of so antiquated a poet, it is an attempt to shake off the shackles of rhyme for the freedom of blank verse, or what the old bard himself styles "rhimeless verse." Lodge also published his "Fig for Momus," containing regular satires, in 1595, two years before the appearance of Hall's first three books: and in his Prefatory Address he thus bespeaks for them priority, if not originality, in point of composition: "I have thought good (he says) to include *Satyres*, Eclogues, and Epistles: first by reason that I studied to delight with varietie; next because I would write in that forme, wherein *no man might chalenge me with servile imitation*." It appears also that what he then sent forth was only a small sample of a considerable stock in his possession. "My Satyres (he proceeds) are rather placed here to prepare and try the case, than to feede it; because if it passe well, the whole centon of them alreadie in my hands shall sodainly be published." Of Lodge's satiric Fig, which our historian had not seen, Mr. Alex. Boswell has given a correct re-impression from the Auchinleck press. Dr. Warton considers the "Universal Passion" of Dr. Young as the first *characteristical* satires in our language: but surely those of Hall may put in a long preceding and justly admitted claim to the praise of this distinction.—PARK.

Though the long allegorical Vision of Piers Ploughman is interspersed with satirical delineations of vice and folly, satire was not its primary object. Other poems had been made the vehicle of satirical allusion, and Skelton's ribaldry long since had dealt out abuse and scurrility in profusion; but satire 'in its dignified and moral sense,' and on the model of the ancients, had its rise, if not with the publication of Hall, at least in his time. He boldly claims the precedence: but he was certainly anticipated by Thomas Lodge, whose Fig for Momus, published in 1593, contained four satires, as a specimen of 'a whole centon already in his hands,' and several Epistles in the manner of Horace. Donne, and Marston too, appear to have written about the same time, though posterior in the order of publication. Hall has also the merit of being the first who published epistolary compositions in his native tongue. Ascham had indeed put forth a volume of Latin Letters; and the Italians, Spaniards, and French had many collections of the kind: but this familiar species of composition was then a novelty in our literature; and he thus expresses his claim to the invention in his Dedication to Prince Henry:—"Further, (which these times account not the least praise,) your grace shall herein perceive a new fashion of discourse by Epistles; new to our language, usual to all others: and so (as novelty is never without plea of use,) more free, more familiar. Thus we do but talk with our friends by our pen, and express ourselves no whit less easily; somewhat more digestedly."—SINGER.

against the characteristic vices of various nations, and is remarkably severe on the Church of Rome. This piece was written about the year 1600, before he had quitted the Classics for the Fathers, and published some years afterwards, against his consent. Under the same class should also be mentioned his CHARACTERISMES of VERTUES, a set of sensible and lively moral Essays, which contain traces of the Satires."

In the parallel which Warton draws between Hall and Marston he adds [n], "There is a carelessness and laxity in Marston's versification; but there is a freedom and facility which Hall has too frequently missed, by labouring to confine the sense to the couplet. Hall's measures are more musical, not because the music of verse consists in uniformity of pause, and regularity of cadence. Hall had a correcter ear; and his lines have a tuneful strength, in proportion as his language is more polished, his phraseology more select, and his structure more studied. Hall's meaning, among other reasons, is not so soon apprehended, on account of his compression both in sentiment and diction. Marston is more perspicuous, as he thinks less, and writes hastily. Hall is superior in penetration, accurate conception of character, acuteness of reflection, and the accumulation of thoughts

[n] Meres, in his Wit's Treasurie, 1598, mentions Hall, with Marston and others, celebrated for satiric compositions. Marston, who appears to have been Hall's poetical rival at Cambridge, levels his Fourth Satire, entitled "Reactio," (printed with his Pigmalion's Image, 1598,) at Hall; many of whose lines he paraphrases: for example,—

"But come, fond braggart, *crown thy brows with bay,*
Intrance thyself in thy sweet ecstasy.
Come, manumit thy *plumy pinion,*
And scower the sword of elvish champion;
Or else vouchsafe *to breathe in wax-bound quill,*
And deign our longing ears with music fill;
Or let us see thee some such stanzas frame,
That thou mayst raise thy vile inglorious name.
Summon the Nymphs and Driades to bring
Some rare invention, whilst thou dost sing
So sweet, that thou *mayst shoulder from above*
The eagle from the stairs of friendly Jove,
And lead sad Pluto captive with thy song,
Gracing thyself, that art obscur'd too long.
Come, somewhat say (but hang me when 'tis done),
Worthy of brass and hoary marble stone.
Speak, ye attentive swains, that heard him never,
Will not his pastorals endure for ever?"

And so on to the end in this strain. The cause of the quarrel between Hall and Marston is not exactly known: but, in the third book, tenth satire, of the Scourge of Villanie, 1598, Marston again returns to the charge; and, by some expressions, I judge that he was angry at being forestalled by the publication of Hall's Satires: he also accuses him of having caused an epigram to be pasted on the last page of every copy of Pigmalion that came from London to the booksellers of Cambridge.—SINGER.

and images. Hall has more humour, Marston more acrimony. Hall often draws his materials from books and the diligent perusal of other satirists, Marston from real life. Yet Hall has a larger variety of characters. He possessed the talent of borrowing with address, and of giving originality to his copies. On the whole, Hall is more elegant, exact, and elaborate." * * * * "The Satires of Hall and Marston were condemned to the same flame, and by the same authority. But Hall deserved a milder sentence. Hall exposes vice, not in the wantonness of description, but with the reserve of a cautious yet lively moralist. Perhaps every censurer of obscenity does some harm, by turning the attention to an immodest object. But this effect is to be counteracted by the force and propriety of his reproof, by showing the pernicious consequences of voluptuous excesses, by suggesting motives to an opposite conduct, and by making the picture disgustful by dashes of deformity. When vice is led forth to be sacrificed at the shrine of virtue, the victim should not be too richly dressed."

A DEFIANCE TO ENVY.

NAY; let the prouder pines of Ida fear
The sudden fires of heaven; and decline
Their yielding tops, that dared the skies whilere:
And shake your sturdy trunks, ye prouder pines,
Whose swelling grains are like[a] be galled alone,
With the deep furrows of the thunder-stone.

Stand ye secure, ye safer shrubs below,
In humble dales, whom heavens do not despite;
Nor angry clouds conspire your overthrow,
Envying at your too disdainful height.
Let high attempts dread envy and ill tongues,
And cowardly shrink for fear of causeless wrongs.

So wont big oaks fear winding ivy weed:
So soaring eagles fear the neighbour sun:
So golden mazer[b] wont suspicion breed,
Of deadly hemlock's poisoned potion:
So adders shroud themselves in fairest leaves:
So fouler fate the fairer thing bereaves.

Nor the low bush fears climbing ivy-twine:
Nor lowly bustard dreads the distant rays:
Nor earthen pot wont secret death to shrine:
Nor subtle snake doth lurk in pathed ways:
Nor baser[c] deed dreads envy and ill tongues,
Nor shrinks so soon for fear of causeless wrongs.

[a] [probably, perchance.]

[b] ["Mazer or drinking-cup. Maezer, seu Maser, Acer, a Maple," of which such cups were frequently made. Minshew. Skinner gives a similar derivation: so also Philips. But see Du Cange v. *Mazer* for a more elaborate etymology, which however is perhaps more illustrative of the sense.]

[c] [humbler.]

Needs me then hope, or doth me need misdread;
Hope for that honour, dread that wrongful spite:
Spite of the party, honour of the deed,
Which wont alone on lofty objects light:
  That Envy should accost my Muse and me,
  For this so rude and reckless poesy?

Would she but shade her tender brows with bay,
That now lie bare in careless wilful rage,
And trance herself in that sweet ecstasy,
That rouseth drooping thoughts of bashful age:
  (Though now those bays, and that aspired thought,
  In careless rage she sets at worse than naught.)

Or would we loose her plumy pinion,
Manacled long with bonds of modest fear,
Soon might she have those kestrels[d] proud outgone,
Whose flighty wings are dew'd with wetter air,
  And hopen now to shoulder from above
  The eagle from the stairs[e] of friendly Jove.

Or list she rather in late triumph rear
Eternal trophies to some conqueror,
Whose dead deserts slept in his sepulchre,
And never saw nor life nor light before:
  To lead sad Pluto captive with my song,
  To grace the triumphs he obscured so long.

Or scour the rusted swords of elvish knights,
Bathed in pagan blood, or sheath them new
In misty moral types; or tell their fights,
Who mighty giants, or who monsters slew,
  And by some strange enchanted spear and shield
  Vanquished their foe, and won the doubtful field.

May be she might in stately stanzas frame
Stories of ladies, and adventurous knights,
To raise her silent and inglorious name
Unto a reachless pitch of praises' heights,
  And somewhat say, as more unworthy done,
  Worthy of brass and hoary marble-stone.

[d] [A meaner kind of hawk.]

[e] The *stairs* must here mean the *steps* (scalæ) of the throne of Jove, on the highest of which the eagle perched.—MAITLAND.

Then might vain Envy waste her duller wing,
To trace the airy steps she spiting sees,
And vainly faint in hopeless following
The clouded paths her native dross denies.
But now such lowly satires here I sing,
Not worth our Muse, not worth her envying.

Too good, if ill, to be exposed to blame:
Too good, if worse, to shadow shameless vice.
Ill, if too good, not answering their name:
So good and ill in fickle censure lies.
Since in our satire lies both good and ill,
And they and it in varying readers' will.

Witness, ye Muses, how I wilful sung
These heady rhymes, withouten second care;
And wished them worse, my guilty thoughts among;
The ruder satire should go ragg'd and bare,
And show his rougher and his hairy hide,
Though mine be smooth, and decked in careless pride.

Would we but breathe within a wax-bound quill,
Pan's sevenfold pipe, some plaintive pastoral;
To teach each hollow grove and shrubby hill,
Each murmuring brook, each solitary vale,
To sound our love, and to our song accord,
Wearying Echo with one changeless word.

Or list us make two striving shepherds sing
With costly wagers for the victory,
Under Menalcas judge; while one doth bring
A carven bowl well wrought of beechen tree,
Praising it by the story, or the frame,
Or want of use, or skilful maker's name.

Another layeth a well-marked lamb,
Or spotted kid, or some more forward steer,
And from the pail doth praise their fertile dam;
So do they strive in doubt, in hope, in fear,
Awaiting for their trusty umpire's doom,
Faulted as false by him that's overcome.

Whether so me list my lovely thought to sing,
Come dance, ye nimble dryads, by my side:
Ye gentle wood-nymphs, come; and with you bring
The willing fawns that mought your music guide:
Come, nymphs and fawns, that haunt those shady groves,
While I report my fortunes or my loves.

Or whether list me sing so personate,
My striving self to conquer with my verse,
Speak, ye attentive swains, that heard me late,
Needs me give grass unto the conquerors[f]?
At Colin's feet I throw my yielding reed,
But let the rest win homage by their deed.

But now, ye Muses, sith your sacred hests
Profaned are by each presuming tongue;
In scornful rage I vow this silent rest,
That never field nor grove shall hear my song.
Only these refuse rhymes I here mispend,
To chide the world, that did my thoughts offend.

[f] I do not completely understand,

"Needs me *give grass* unto the conquerors?"

To give grass, was probably to *yield* the palm; but I have found no instance of its use.—SINGER. [Bailey gives *grass-hearth* or *hurt*. An ancient customary service of tenants doing one day's work for their landlord; thence here an acknowledgment of superiority; or it may mean giving a clod of turf in token of yielding a country to a conqueror.]

SATIRES.

BOOK I.

PROLOGUE.

I FIRST adventure, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despite:
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English Satirist[a].
Envy waits on my back, Truth on my side;
Envy will be my page, and Truth my guide;
Envy the margent holds, and Truth the line;
Truth doth approve, but Envy doth repine.
For in this smoothing age who durst indite,
Hath made his pen an hired parasite,
To claw the back of him that beastly lives,
And prank[b] base men in proud superlatives.
Whence damned Vice is shrouded quite from shame,
And crowned with Virtue's meed, immortal name!
Infamy dispossessed of native due,
Ordained of old on looser life to sue;
The world's eye bleared with those shameless lies,
Masked in the show of meal-mouthed poesies.
Go, daring Muse, on with thy thankless task,
And do the ugly face of Vice unmask:
And if thou canst not thine high flight remit,
So as it mought a lowly satire fit,
Let lowly satires rise aloft to thee:
Truth be thy speed, and Truth thy patron be!

[a] *The second English Satirist.* Marston is entitled to this appellation.—MAITLAND.

[b] *Prank,* to decorate.—MAITLAND.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE FIRST.

SATIRE I.

Nor lady's wanton love, nor wandering knight,
Legend I out in rhymes all richly dight.
Nor fright the reader with the pagan vaunt
Of mighty Mahound, and great Termagaunt[a].
Nor list I sonnet of my mistress' face,
To paint some blowesse[b] with a borrowed grace.
Nor can I bide to pen some hungry scene
For thick-skin ears, and undiscerning eyne.
Nor ever could my scornful Muse abide
With tragic shoes her ankles for to hide.
Nor can I crouch, and writhe my fawning tail
To some great patron, for my best avail.
Such hunger-starven trencher poetry[c];
Or let it never live, or timely die.
Nor under every bank and every tree,
Speak rhymes unto my oaten minstrelsy:
Nor carol out so pleasing lively lays,
As mought the Graces move my mirth to praise.
Trumpet, and reeds, and socks, and buskins fine,
I them bequeath[d], whose statues[e] wandering twine,

[a] Of *Macone* (Mahound or Mahomet) and *Trivagante* (Termagaunt) the Saracen divinities, many of our old metrical romances make ample mention. The source of the English *Termagant* is most probably the *Tervagant* of the French, or the *Trivagante* of the Italian romances.—SINGER.

[b] Blowesse, (or Blouse), Warton considers this word to be synonymous with the *Blousilinda*, or *Blousebella*, of modern ballads. Johnson interprets *Blowze, a ruddy fat-faced wench.*—MAITLAND.

[c] *Such hunger-starven trencher poetry.* Poetry written by hirelings for bread. —WARTON.

[d] These lines are an obvious imitation of the following passage in the Prologue of Persius:—

"Heliconiadasque, pallidamque Pirenen
Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ sequaces."—MAITLAND.

[e] The Oxford Editor refers this to the earl of Surrey, Wyat, Sidney, Dyer, &c.—PRATT.

Of ivy, mixed with bays, circlen around,
Their living temples likewise laurel-bound.
Rather had I, albe in careless rhymes,
Check the misordered world, and lawless times.
Nor need I crave the Muse's midwifery,
To bring to light so worthless poetry.
Or, if we list, what baser Muse can bide
To sit and sing by Granta's naked side?
They haunt the tided Thames and salt Medway,
E'er since the fame of their late bridal day[f];
Naught have we here but willow-shaded shore,
To tell our Grant his banks are left forlore[g].

SATIRE II.[h]

Whilom the Sisters Nine were vestal maids,
And held their temple in the secret shades
Of fair Parnassus, that two-headed hill,
Whose ancient fame the southern world did fill:
And, in the stead of their eternal flame,
Was the cold stream, that took his endless name
From out the fertile hoof of winged steed:
There did they sit, and do their holy deed,
That pleased both heaven and earth; till that of late
(Whom should I fault? or the most rigorous fate,
Or heaven, or men, or fiend, or aught beside,
That ever made that foul mischance betide?)
Some of the Sisters in securer shades
Defloured were:

[f] The allusion is to Spenser's beautiful episode of the marriage of Thames and Medway, then recently published, in book iv. canto ii. of the Fairy Queen. The Muses frequent other rivers ever since Spenser celebrated the nuptials of Thames and Medway. Cam has now nothing on his banks but willows, the types of desertion.—Warton.

[g] *Forlore* is the same as *forlorn*, abandoned, forsaken. All editions print erroneously *for lore*.—Singer.

[h] This satire is directed with honest indignation against the prostitution of the Muse to lewd or obscene subjects. Ovid's Art of Love had recently been rendered in a coarse manner; and Marlowe had translated Ovid's Epistles, and written his erotic romance of Hero and Leander. Shakspeare had also published his Venus and Adonis, which had given great offence to the graver readers of English verse. But it is in the Epigrams of Davies and Harrington, and in the ephemeral publications of Greene and Nashe, that decency was most outraged. The poet had these most flagrant transgressions in his eye. Though the first edition of Marston's Pigmalion's Image bears the date of 1598, I cannot but think that Hall particularly points at that poem, which is one of Ovid's transformations heightened with much paraphrastic obscenity.—Singer.

And, ever since, disdaining sacred shame,
Done aught that might their heavenly stock defame.
Now is Parnassus turned to a stews,
And on bay-stocks the wanton myrtle grews;
Cytheron hill's become a brothel-bed,
And Pyrene sweet turn'd to a poisoned head
Of coal-black puddle, whose infectious stain
Corrupteth all the lowly fruitful plain:
Their modest stole, to garish looser weed[i]
Decked with love-favours, their late whoredom's meed:
And, where they wont sip of the simple flood,
Now toss they bowls of Bacchus' boiling blood.
I marvelled much, with doubtful jealousy,
Whence came such litters of new poetry:
Methought I feared, lest the horse-hoofed well[k]
His native banks did proudly overswell
In some late discontent, thence to ensue
Such wondrous rabblements of rhymesters new:
But since, I saw it painted on Fame's wings,
The Muses to be woxen wantonings.
Each bush, each bank, and each base apple-squire[l]
Can serve to sate their beastly lewd desire.
Ye bastard poets, see your pedigree
From common trulls and loathsome brothelry!

SATIRE III[m].

With some pot-fury[n], ravished from their wit,
They sit and muse on some no-vulgar writ.
As frozen dunghills in a winter's morn,
That void of vapours seemed all beforn,
Soon as the sun sends out his piercing beams,
Exhale out filthy smoke and stinking steams;
So doth the base and the fore-barren brain[o],
Soon as the raging wine begins to reign.

[i] [Weed or Wede (Sax.), a garment or suit of apparel. See Philips's World of Wonders; also Somner's Anglo-Saxon Dict. and Junius Etym. Angl.]

[k] The fountain of Hippocrene.—Maitland.

[l] *Apple-squire*, ex ἁπαλος, tener, mollis: see Junius, Minshew, also Skinner: here used for an effeminate person.]

[m] This satire is levelled at the intemperance and bombastic fury of his contemporary dramatists.—Warton.

[n] *Pot-fury.* Vid. Bishop Earle's character of a *Pot-poet*, in his Microcosmography, ed. 1811. p. 80.—Maitland.

[o] *Fore-barren brain;* the brain that was previously barren.—Maitland.

One, higher pitched, doth set his soaring thought
On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought:
Or some upreared, high-aspiring swain,
As it might be the Turkish Tamberlain[p]:
Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned sprite
Rapt to the threefold loft of heaven's height,
When he conceives upon his feigned stage
The stalking steps of his great personage,
Graced with huff-cap[q] terms and thundering threats,
That his poor hearers' hair quite upright sets.
Such, soon as some brave-minded hungry youth
Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,
He vaunts his voice upon an hired stage,
With high-set steps and princely carriage:
Now, swooping[r] in side-robes[s] of royalty,
That erst did scrub in lousy brokery,
There, if he can with terms Italianate,
Big-sounding sentences and words of state,
Fair patch me up his pure Iambic verse,
He ravishes the gazing scaffolders[t]:
Then certes was the famous Corduban[u]
Never but half so high tragedian.
Now, lest such frightful shows of Fortune's fall,
And bloody tyrant's rage, should chance appal
The dead-struck audience, midst the silent rout,
Comes leaping in a self-misformed lout[x],
And laughs, and grins, and frames his mimic face,
And justles straight into the prince's place:
Then doth the theatre echo all aloud
With gladsome noise of that applauding crowd.
A goodly hotch-potch! when vile russetings[y]
Are matched with monarchs and with mighty kings.

[p] This alludes to Christopher Marlowe's absurd and inflated tragedy of Tamerlane the Great.—Maitland.

[q] *Huff-cap;* cant, for saucy, bold, arrogant. *Huff-cap* was also a name given to strong ale, "from inducing people to set their caps in a bold or *huffing* style." Nares.—Maitland.

[r] *Swooping, sooping, passing along in a stately manner.*—Maitland.

[s] [*Side,* Ang. Bor. Ang. Sax. longus prolixus.—Junius.]

[t] *Scaffolders;* those who sat on the scaffold; a part of the playhouse which answered to the upper gallery.—Warton.

[u] *The famous Corduban;* Seneca.—Pratt.

[x] *A stage clown or buffoon.*—Maitland.

[y] *Russetings;* coarse rustic dress. The name was derived from the usual colour of such garments, namely, a reddish brown: in Fr. *rousset.*—Maitland.

A goodly grace to sober Tragic Muse,
When each base clown his clumsy fist doth bruise[z],
And show his teeth in double rotten row,
For laughter at his self-resembled show.
Meanwhile our poets, in high parliament,
Sit watching every word and gesturement,
Like curious censors of some doughty gear[a],
Whispering their verdict in their fellows' ear.
Woe to the word, whose margent, in their scroll,
Is noted with a black condemning coal!
But if each period might the synod please,
Ho! bring the ivy boughs and bands of bays.
Now, when they part, and leave the naked stage,
Gins the bare hearer, in a guilty rage,
To curse, and ban, and blame his lickorous eye,
That thus hath lavished his late halfpenny.
Shame that the Muses should be bought and sold,
For every peasant's brass, on each scaffold!

SATIRE IV.

Too popular is tragic poesy,
Straining his tiptoes for a farthing fee,
And doth beside on rhymeless numbers tread,
Unbid Iambics flow from careless head.
Some braver brain in high heroic rhymes
Compileth worm-eat stories of old times:
And he, like some imperious Maronist[b],
Conjures the Muses that they him assist.
Then strives he to bombast his feeble lines
With farfetched phrase;
And maketh up his hard-betaken tale
With strange enchantments, fetched from darksome vale,
Of some Melissa[c], that by magic doom
To Tuscan's soil transporteth Merlin's tomb.

[z] In striking the benches to express applause.—WARTON.

[a] *Doughty gear;* important matter.—MAITLAND. Gear is a general word for *things* or *matters*. See Reed's Shakespeare, vol. vii. 240; xiii. 261.—PRATT.

[b] *Maronist;* an imitator of Virgil.—MAITLAND.

[c] *Melissa;* a sorceress of early romance, whose agency is used by Ariosto, in the *Orlando Furioso* (c. iii. v. 10. and c. xxvi. v. 39.) for the purpose of removing Merlin's tomb from Wales to Tuscany.—MAITLAND.

Painters and Poets, hold your ancient right:
Write what you will, and write not what you might:
Their limits be their list; their reason, will.
But if some painter, in presuming skill,
Should paint the stars in centre of the earth,
Could ye forbear some smiles and taunting mirth?
But let no rebel satire dare traduce
Th' eternal legends of thy Fairy Muse,
Renowmed[d] Spenser: whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much less dares despite.
Salust of France[e], and Tuscan Ariost,
Yield up the laurel garland ye have lost:
And let all others willow wear with me,
Or let their undeserving temples bared be.

SATIRE V.[f]

Another, whose more heavy-hearted saint
Delights in naught but notes of rueful plaint,
Urgeth his melting Muse, with solemn tears,
Rhyme of some dreary fates of luckless peers.
Then brings he up some branded whining ghost[g],
To tell how old misfortunes had him tossed.
Then must he ban the guiltless fates above,
Or fortune frail, or unrewarded love.
And when he hath parbraked[h] his grieved mind,
He sends him down where erst he did him find,
Without one penny to pay Charon's hire,
That waiteth for the wandering ghost's retire.

[d] *Renowmed;* a variety in the orthography of *renowned,* which frequently occurs in the early editions of Spenser's Works.—Maitland.

[e] Guillaume Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas. [His Hebdomas and other works were translated by Joshua Sylvester, and to this translation some verses of Bishop Hall among others are prefixed, Lond. 1633.]

[f] The book to which this satire alludes, is the "Mirrour of Magistrates:" in which poem many of the most eminent characters in English history are introduced, relating their own misfortunes. It was originally written by Thomas Sackville, first lord Buckhurst, about 1557; and was afterwards digested anew, and continued by several of the greatest wits of the Elizabethan age.—Ellis. For a detailed account of its contents, see Warton's "History of English Poetry," vol. iii. p. 209–282.—Maitland.

[g] [Branded—marked—celebrated. Or it may mean bearing a brand, i. e. sword.]

[h] *Parbraked*—i. e. sickened to vomiting. Spenser, book i. canto i. v. 20, has,

"Her filthy *parbreake,* all the place defiled has."—Pratt.

SATIRE VI.

Another scorns the homespun thread of rhymes[i],
Matched with the lofty feet of elder times:
Give me the numbered verse that Virgil sung,
And Virgil's self shall speak the English tongue:
"Manhood and garboils shall he chaunt" with changed feet,
And headstrong dactyls making music meet:
The nimble dactyls, striving to outgo
The drawling spondees, pacing it below;
The lingering spondees, labouring to delay
The breathless dactyls with a sudden stay.
Who ever saw a colt wanton and wild
Yoked with a slow-foot ox on fallow field,
Can right areed how handsomely besets
Dull spondees with the English dactylets.
If Jove speak English in a thundering cloud,
"Thwick thwack, and riff raff," roars he out aloud[k].
Fie on the forged mint that did create
New coin of words never articulate.

SATIRE VII.[l]

Great is the folly of a feeble brain,
O'erruled with love and tyrannous disdain;
For love, however in the basest breast
It breeds high thoughts that feed the fancy best;
Yet is he blind, and leads poor fools awry,
While they hang gazing on their mistress' eye.
The lovesick poet, whose importune[m] prayer
Repulsed is, with resolute despair

[i] *Another scorns the homespun thread of rhymes, &c. &c.*: alluding to a servile imitation of Latin verse, in which the mistaken zeal of pedantry had engaged, and for which some of the finest poets of the Elizabethan age would have rejected rhyme. Hall alludes, it would seem, to Stanihurst's Translation of the Æneid, 8vo. 1579. Stanihurst's fifth line of the First Æneid runs thus,

"*Now manhood and garboils I chaunt*, and martial horror."—Ellis.

Garboile, an uproar or commotion; from *garbouille*, Fr.—Maitland.

[k] Stanihurst, in one of his descriptions of a tempest from Virgil, has the following passage—

"Rounce robble hobble
Of ruff-raff roaring with thwick-thwack thurlery bouncing," &c.—Singer.

[l] The false and foolish compliments of the sonnet-writer are the object of the seventh satire.—Warton.

[m] *Importune;* constantly recurring, unseasonable: from *importun*, old Fr. —Maitland.

Hopeth to conquer his disdainful dame
With public plaints of his conceived flame.
Then pours he forth, in patched sonnetings,
His love, his lust, and loathsome flatterings:
As though the staring world hanged on his sleeve,
When once he smiles, to laugh; and when he sighs, to grieve.
Careth the world, thou love, thou live, or die?
Careth the world how fair thy fair one be?
Fond wit-wal[l], that wouldst load thy witless head
With timely horns before thy bridal bed!
Then can he term his dirty ill-faced bride,
Lady, and queen, and virgin deified:
Be she all sooty black or berry-brown,
She's white as morrow's milk or flakes new blown.
And though she be some dunghill drudge at home,
Yet can he her resign some refuse room
Amidst the well-known stars; or if not there,
Sure will he saint her in his calendar.

SATIRE VIII.[m]

Hence, ye profane; mell not with holy things
That Sion's Muse from Palestina brings.
Parnassus is transformed to Sion-hill,
And Jewry-palms her steep ascents doon fill.
Now good St. Peter[n] weeps pure Helicon,
And both the Maries make a music moan:
Yea, and the prophet of the heavenly lyre,
Great Solomon[o], sings in the English quire;
And is become a new-found sonnetist,
Singing his love, the holy spouse of Christ:

[l] *Wit-wal.* This should apparently be *wittol*, a tame cuckold.—Singer.

[m] In this satire he insinuates his disapprobation of sacred poetry, and the metrical versions of scripture, which were encouraged and circulated by the Puritans.—Warton.

[n] Father Southwell's "St. Peter's Complaint," was originally published in 1595: reprinted in small 4to. 1615; and again in 1620, in 12mo.—Ellis. "The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ," and "The Lamentations of Mary Magdalene for the Loss of her Master Jesus," were both printed anonymously, in 4to. as early as 1601, and perhaps earlier.—H.

[o] The censure of Hall is here levelled at "The Poem of Poems, or Sion's Muse: containing the Divine Song of King Solomon, divided into Eight Eclogues." London, 1596, 16mo.—Warton.

Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest,
In mightiest inkhornisms[p] he can thither wrest.
Ye Sion Muses shall, by my dear will,
For this your zeal and far admired skill,
Be straight transported from Jerusalem
Unto the holy house of Bethlehem[q].

SATIRE IX.

ENVY, ye Muses, at your thriving mate,
Cupid hath crowned a new Laureat:
I saw his statue gaily tired in green,
As if he had some second Phœbus been;
His statue trimmed with the Venerean tree[r],
And shrined fair within your sanctuary.
What, he that erst, to gain the rhyming goal,
The worn recital-post[s] of capitol,
Rhymed in rules of stewish ribaldry,
Teaching experimental bawdery?
Whiles th' itching vulgar, tickled with the song,
Hanged on their unready poet's tongue.
Take this, ye patient Muses; and foul shame
Shall wait upon your once profaned name.
Take this, ye Muses, this so high despite,
And let all hateful luckless birds of night,
Let screeching owls, nest in your razed roofs,
And let your floor with horned satyrs' hoofs
Be dinted and defiled every morn,
And let your walls be an eternal scorn.
What if some Shoreditch[t] fury should incite
Some lust-stung lecher: must he needs indite

[p] *Inkhorn terms;* affected phrases, or studied expressions that savoured of the ink-horn. It was a favourite phrase of the old writers.—SINGER.

[q] [Bethlehem Hospital in Bp. Hall's time was near St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate. It had been a priory, founded by Simon Fitzmary in 1246. "King Henry the VIIIth gave it unto the city. It was an hospital for distracted people."—Stow's Survey of London, 1633. p. 173.]

[r] *Venerean tree;* the myrtle.—MAITLAND.

[s] [Upon line 373 of the Ars Poetica] the ancient Scholiast remarks: "In columnis autem *Poetæ ponebant πιττάκια, indicantes quo die recitaturi essent.*" In the Capitol there was a public library, with which it is apparently the poet's design to connect the *recital-post.* Vid. Lipsii *Syntagma de Bibliothecis,* cap. vii. [Opp. t. ii. Lugd. 1613. p. 895.]—MAITLAND.

[t] *Shoreditch* was one of the outskirts of the town, where the stews or brothels abounded.—SINGER.

The beastly rites of hired venery,
The whole world's universal bawd to be?
Did never yet no damned libertine,
Nor elder heathen, nor new Florentine[u],
Though they were famous for lewd liberty,
Venture upon so shameful villany.
Our epigrammatarians, old and late,
Were wont be blamed for too licentiate.
Chaste men, they did but glance at Lesbia's[x] deed,
And handsomely leave off with cleanly speed.
But arts of whoring, stories of the stews,
Ye Muses, will ye bear, and may refuse?
Nay, let the Devil and St. Valentine[y]
Be gossips to those ribald rhymes of thine.

[u] The Oxford Editor refers this to Peter Aretine.—Pratt. The allusion seems rather to be general.—Maitland.

[x] Hall gives the name of Lesbia to Sappho.—Maitland.

[y] *The Devil and Saint Valentine.* The name of this saint is generally connected with love or gallantry. St. Valentine is therefore introduced to denote the subject, and the Devil to denote the character, of the *new laureat's* rhymes:—they relate to love, but to such love as the Devil approves.—Maitland.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

SATIRES.

BOOK II.

PROLOGUE.

Or been the manes of that Cynic sprite[a]
Clothed with some stubborn clay, and led to light?
Or do the relique ashes of his grave
Revive and rise from their forsaken cave?
That so, with gall-wet words and speeches rude,
Controls the manners of the multitude?
Envy belike incites his pining heart,
And bids it sate itself with others' smart.
Nay, no despite: but angry Nemesis
Whose scourge doth follow all that doon amiss:
That scourge I bear, albe in ruder fist,
And wound and strike and pardon whom she list.

[a] *That cynic sprite;* Diogenes.—MAITLAND.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE SECOND.

SATIRE I.*

For shame! write better, Labeo, or write none;
Or better write, or, Labeo, write alone.
Nay, call the Cynic[a] but a witty fool,
Thence to abjure his handsome drinking-bowl;
Because the thirsty swain, with hollow hand,
Conveyed the stream to wet his dry weasand[b].
Write they that can, though they that cannot do;
But who knows that, but they that do not know?
Lo! what it is that makes white rags so dear,
That men must give a teston[c] for a queare[d]:
Lo! what it is that makes goose-wings so scant,
That the distressed sempster did them want:
So lavish Ope-tide[f] causeth fasting Lents,
And starveling famine comes of large expense.
Might not (so they were pleased that been above)
Long paper-abstinence our dearth remove?
Then many a Lollard[g] would in forfeitment
Bear paper-fagots o'er the pavement.
But now men wager who shall blot the most,
And each man writes. *There's so much labour lost,*

* This satire is properly a continuation of the last.—MAITLAND.

[a] It is related of Diogenes, "that seeing a boy drink water in the hollow of his hand, he took his little cup out of his wallet, and threw it away, saying, *The boy outwent him in frugality.*" Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, ed. 1701. p. 285.—MAITLAND.

[b] [*Weasand* of a man's throat—windpipe.—MINSHEW.]

[c] *Teston*, or *testerne;* a piece of money of the value of tenpence.—PRATT. Semisolidus, nummus sex assibus nostris constans a *Teste*, (Fr. Gall.) caput, a capite sc. regio in ipso expresso.—SKINNER.

[d] *Queare*, a quire of paper, a book; from *kiver*, Isl., or *quayer*, old Fr.—MAITLAND.

[f] [Or *Open-tide;* Tempus ab Epiphania Domini usque ad diem cinerum.—JUNIUS.]

[g] Hall here alludes to the fact of the Lollards, or English reformers, bearing the fagots to the stake at which they were to be burned.—MAITLAND.

That's good, that's great: nay, much is seldom well:
Of what is bad, a little's a great deal.
Better is more: but best is naught at all.
Less is the next, and lesser criminal.
Little and good, is greatest good save one:
Then, Labeo, or write little or write none.
Tush! but small pains can be but little art,
To load full dry-vats from the foreign mart,
With folio volumes, two to an ox-hide [h]:
Or else, ye pamphleter, go stand aside;
Read in each school, in every margent coted,
In every catalogue for an author noted.
There's happiness well given and well got:
Less gifts, and lesser gains, I weigh them not.
So may the giant roam and write on high,
Be he a dwarf that writes not there as I.
But well fare Strabo [i], which, as stories tell,
Contrived all Troy within one walnut-shell.
His curious ghost now lately hither came;
Arriving near the mouth of lucky Tame,
I saw a pismire struggling with the load,
Dragging all Troy home towards her abode.
Now dare we hither, if he durst appear,
The subtle stithy-man [k] that lived whilere:
Such one was once, or once I was mistaught,
A smith at Vulcanus' own forge up brought,
That made an iron chariot, so light,
The coach-horse was a flea in trappings dight:
The tameless steed could well his wagon wield,
Through downs and dales of the uneven field.
Strive they, laugh we: meanwhile the black story [l]
Passes new Strabo, and new Strabo's Troy.
Little for great; and great for good; all one:
For shame! or better write, or, Labeo, write none.

[h] *Two to an ox-hide;* that is, requiring an *ox-hide* to bind two of the volumes. —Maitland.

[i] "In nuce inclusam Iliada, Homeri carmen, in membranâ scriptum, tradidit Cicero. Idem, fuisse qui perviderat CXXXV. m. passuum; huic et nomen M. Varro reddidit, Strabonem vocatum." Plinii Natur. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 21. [Lugd. 1587. p. 148.] Maitland.

[k] *Stithy*-man; [Stithie—Incus, Junius. A smith's anvil.—Bailey.

[l] *The black story;* the poet's own satires. In another place he speaks of the *black bronds* of satire.—Maitland. [It may be that the author means Labeo's work, and not his own.]

But who conjured this bawdy Poggie's [m] ghost
From out the stews of his lewd homebred coast:
Or wicked Rabelais' drunken revellings,
To grace the misrule of our tavernings?
Or who put bays into blind Cupid's fist,
That he should crown what laureats him list?
Whose words are those, to remedy the deed,
That cause men stop their noses when they read?
Both good things ill, and ill things well; all one:
For shame! write clearly, Labeo, or write none.

SATIRE II.

To what end did our lavish ancestors
Erect of old these stately piles of ours?
For threadbare clerks, and for the ragged Muse,
Whom better fit some cotes of sad secluse?
Blush, niggard age, and be ashamed to see
These monuments of wiser ancestry.
And ye, fair heaps, the Muse's sacred shrines,
(In spite of time and envious repines,)
Stand still, and flourish till the world's last day,
Upbraiding it with former love's decay [n].
Here may ye, Muses, our dear sovereigns,
Scorn each base lordling ever you disdains;
And every peasant churl, whose smoky roof
Denied harbour for your dear behoof.
Scorn ye the world before it do complain,
And scorn the world that scorneth you again:
And scorn contempt itself that doth incite
Each single-soled squire [o] to set you at so light.
What needs me care for any bookish skill,
To blot white papers with my restless quill;
Or pore on painted leaves, and beat my brain
With farfetched thought; or to consume in vain
In latter even, or midst of winter nights,
Ill smelling oils or some still-watching lights?

[m] Alluding to an English translation of the *Facetiæ* of Poggio, a work remarkable for indelicacy.—MAITLAND.

[n] *Love's decay;* decay of learning.—MAITLAND.

[o] *Single-soled,* or *single-souled,* like *single-witted,* was used by our ancestors to designate *simplicity, silliness.*—SINGER.

Let them, that mean by bookish business
To earn their bread, or hopen to profess
Their hard-got skill, let them alone, for me,
Busy their brains with deeper bookery.
Great gains shall bide you sure, when ye have spent
A thousand lamps, and thousand reams have rent
Of needless papers; and a thousand nights
Have burned out with costly candle-lights.
Ye palish ghosts of Athens, when at last,
Your patrimony spent in witless waste,
Your friends all weary, and your spirits spent,
Ye may your fortunes seek, and be forwent [p]
Of your kind cousins and your churlish sires,
Left there alone, midst the fast-folding briers.
"Have not I lands of fair inheritance,
Derived by right of long continuance
To first-born males; so list the law to grace
Nature's first-fruits in eviternal [q] race?
Let second-brothers and poor nestlings,
Whom more injurious Nature later brings
Into the naked world, let them assaine [r]
To get hard pennyworths with so bootless pain.
Tush! what care I to be Arcesilas,
Or some sad Solon [s], whose deep-furrowed face,
And sullen head, and yellow-clouded sight,
Still on the steadfast earth are musing pight [t];
Muttering what censures their distracted mind
Of brainsick paradoxes deeply hath defined:
Or of Parmenides [u], or of dark Heraclite [x],
Whether all be one, or aught be infinite?

[p] *Forwent.* This word is from the verb *to forwend*, meaning, *to go before;* but Hall apparently uses *forwent* in the sense of *forsaken.*—Maitland.

[q] [Æviternus. See Vossius v. ævum. —Eviternity.—Bailey.]

[r] *Assaine;* attempt: from *assaier*, old Fr.—Maitland.

[s] He concludes his complaints of the general disregard of the literary profession with a spirited paraphrase of that passage of Persius, Sat. iii. 78, 79:

"Quod satis est, sapio mihi: non ego curo
Esse quod Arcesilas, ærumnosique Solones, &c."—Warton.

[t] *Pight* is *set, placed, fixed.*—Singer. [*propped, settled, cast.*—Bailey.]

[u] Parmenides; a philosopher of the Eleatic sect, who flourished 500 years before Christ.—Maitland.

[x] [Clarus ob obscuram linguam.—Lucr. l. i. 640.]

Long would it be ere thou hast purchase[y] bought,
Or wealthier waxen by such idle thought.
Fond fool! six feet shall serve for all thy store;
And he that cares for most shall find no more.
We scorn that wealth should be the final end
Whereto the heavenly Muse her course doth bend;
And rather had be pale with learned cares,
Than paunched with thy choice of changed fares.
Or doth thy glory stand in outward glee?
A lave-eared[z] ass with gold may trapped be.
Or if in pleasure? live we as we may;
Let swinish Gryll[a] delight in dunghill clay.

SATIRE III.[b]

Who doubts? the laws fell down from heaven's height,
Like to some gliding star in winter's night?
Themis, the scribe of God, did long agone
Engrave them deep in during marble-stone,
And cast them down on this unruly clay,
That men might know to rule and to obey.
But now their characters depraved bin
By them that would make gain of others' sin.
And now hath wrong so mastered the right,
That they live best that on wrong's offal light.
So loathly fly, that lives on galled wound,
And scabby festers inwardly unsound,
Feeds fatter with that poisonous carrion
Than they that haunt the healthy limbs alone.
Woe to the weal where many lawyers be;
For there is sure much store of malady.
'Twas truly said, and truly was foreseen,
The fat kine are devoured of the lean.

[y] *Purchase* here means *gain, profit;* a sense in which it is used by Ben Jonson, in his Devil is an Ass, act i. sc. 1:—

"I will share, sir,
In your sports only, nothing in your *purchase*, &c."—Singer.

[z] *Lave-eared* is *lap, long,* or *flap-eared.* Hall elsewhere uses *laving* for *lapping,* or *flapping.* It is perhaps derived from *Lavers,* which Bullokar explains, *thongs of leather.*—Singer.

[a] *Gryllus* is one of Ulysses's companions, transformed into a hog by Circe.—Warton.

[b] In this satire the poet laments the lucrative injustice of the law, while ingenious science is without reward or emolument.—Warton.

Genus and Species long since barefoot went,
Upon their ten toes in wild wanderment[b];
Whiles father Bartoll[c] on his footcloth rode,
Upon high pavement gaily silver-strowed.
Each homebred science percheth in the chair,
While sacred arts grovel on the groundsel bare.
Since peddling barbarisms 'gan be in request,
Nor classic tongues nor learning found no rest.
The crouching client, with low-bended knee,
And many Worships, and fair flattery,
Tells on his tale as smoothly as him list,
But still the lawyer's eye squints on his fist;
If that seem lined with a larger fee,
Doubt not the suit, the law is plain for thee.
Though must he buy his vainer hope with price,
Disclout his crowns[d], and thank him for advice.
So have I seen in a tempestuous stowr,
Some brier-bush showing shelter from the shower
Unto the hopeful sheep, that fain would hide
His fleecy coat from that same angry tide;
The ruthless brier, regardless of his plight,
Lays hold upon the fleece he should acquite,
And takes advantage of the careless prey,
That thought she in securer shelter lay.
The day is fair, the sheep would fare to feed;
The tyrant brier holds fast his shelter's meed,
And claims it for the fee of his defence;
So robs the sheep, in favour's fair pretence.

[b] This is an allusion to an old distich, made and often quoted in the age of scholastic science:—

"Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed Genus et Species cogitur ire pedes."

That is, the study of medicine produces riches, and jurisprudence leads to stations and offices of honour; while the professor of logic is poor, and obliged to walk on foot.—Warton.

[c] *Father Bartoll, Bartholus,* or *Bartolo,* was professor of jurisprudence in the university of Bologna, in the fourteenth century; and was equally remarkable for his talents, his magnificence, and his liberality. Contemporary accounts are to be found of the gorgeous trappings of his horse, and of his scattering money among the people in his daily progress through the streets of Bologna.—Maitland.

[d] *Disclout his crowns,* is a humorous way of expressing the action of disbursing or taking his money out of his *clout;* that is, his bag or purse.—Singer.

SATIRE IV.[e]

Worthy were Galen to be weighed in gold,
Whose help doth sweetest life and health uphold;
Yet by St. Æsculape he solemn swore,
That for diseases they were never more,
Fees never less, never so little gain,
Men give a groat, and ask the rest again.
Groats-worth of health can any leech allot?
Yet should he have no more that gives a groat.
Should I on each sick pillow lean my breast,
And grope the pulse of every mangy wrist;
And spy out marvels in each urinal;
And rumble up the filths that from them fall;
And give a dose for every disease,
In prescripts long and tedious recipes;
All for so lean reward of art and me?
No horseleech but will look for larger fee.
Meanwhile, if chance some desperate patient die,
Com'n to the period of his destiny;
(As who can cross the fatal resolution,
In the decreed day of dissolution?)
Whether ill tendment or recureless pain
Procure his death; the neighbours straight complain,
Th' unskilful leech murdered his patient
By poison of some foul ingredient.
Hereon the vulgar may as soon be brought
To Socrates his poisoned hemlock-draught,
As to the wholesome julep, whose receipt
Might his disease's lingering force defeat.
If nor a dram of treacle[f] sovereign,
Or aqua-vitæ, or sugar-candian,
Nor kitchen cordials can it remedy,
Certes his time is come, needs mought he die.
Were I a leech, (as who knows what may be?)
The liberal man should live, and carles[g] should die:

[e] In this satire he displays the difficulties and discouragements of the physician.

[f] [A physical composition made of vipers and other ingredients.—Bailey.]

[g] This and the word *churl* are both derived from the Saxon *ceorl*, a husbandman.—Singer.

The sickly lady and the gouty peer
Still would I haunt, that love their life so dear.
Where life is dear, who cares for coined dross?
That spent, is counted gain; and spared, loss:
Or would conjure the chymic mercury
Rise from his horse-dung bed, and upwards fly[h];
And with glass stills, and sticks of juniper,
Raise the black spright that burns not with the fire;
And bring quintessence of elixir pale
Out of sublimed spirits mineral.
Each powdered grain ransometh captive kings,
Purchaseth realms, and life prolonged brings.

SATIRE V.[i]

Saw'st thou ever Siquis[k] patched on Paul's church-door,
To seek some vacant vicarage before?
Who wants a churchman that can service say,
Read fast and fair his monthly homily,
And wed, and bury, and make christen-souls?
Come to the left-side alley of Saint Poules.
Thou servile fool, why couldst thou not repair
To buy a benefice at steeple-fair[l]?

[h] This passage alludes to the notion prevalent among the earlier chemists, that mercury or quicksilver was the principle of all other bodies, and one of the elements of nature; and to the processes employed by the alchemists for transmuting it into gold, and for discovering the *elixir vitæ*.—Maitland.

[I sent you of his fæces there calcined;
Out of that calx I ha' won the salt of mercury.—
Alchemist, act. ii. sc. 3.]

[i] This satire levels a rebuke at the simoniacal traffic for livings then openly practised by public advertisement, affixed to the door of St. Paul's.—Singer.

[k] *Si quis* (i. e. If any one,) was the first word of advertisements often published on the doors of St. Paul's.—Decker says, "The first time that you enter Paules, pass through the body of the church like a porter; yet presume not to fetch so much as one whole turne in the middle ile, nor to cast an eye upon Siquis doore, pasted and plaistered up with serving-men's supplications, &c." Gul's Hornbook, 1609, p. 21.—Warton.

The *Si quis* has a more particular reference to ecclesiastical matters. A candidate for holy orders, who has not been educated at the university, or has been some time absent from thence, is still obliged to have his intention proclaimed, by being hung up in the church where he resided (perhaps this is the origin of the *Si quis* door); and if, after a certain time, no objection is made, a certificate of his *Si quis*, signed by the churchwarden, is given him, to be presented to the bishop when he seeks ordination.—Singer.

[l] *Steeple-fair*. Probably *Si quis* door, St. Paul's, where church livings were disposed of.—Maitland.

There moughtest thou, for but a slender price,
Advowson thee with some fat benefice:
Of if thee list not wait for dead men's shoon,
Nor pray each morn th' incumbent's days were doon,
A thousand patrons thither ready bring
Their new-fallen churches to the chaffering.
Stake three years' stipend; no man asketh more:
Go, take possession of the church-porch door,
And ring thy bells[n]; luck-stroken in thy fist,
The parsonage is thine or ere thou wist.
Saint Fool's of Gotham[o] mought thy parish be,
For this thy base and servile simony!

SATIRE VI.[p]

A GENTLE squire would gladly entertain
Into his house some trencher-chapelain[q];
Some willing man, that might instruct his sons,
And that would stand to good conditions.
First, that he lie upon the truckle-bed[r],
Whiles his young master lieth o'er his head:
Second, that he do, on no default,
Ever presume to sit above the salt[s]:

[n] Alluding to the ceremonies observed on induction into a benefice.—PRATT.

[o] *St. Fool's of Gotham.* Andrew Borde, who is said, on no very good authority, to have been physician to Henry the Eighth, compiled a work entitled, *The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*, which acquired great popularity. It describes the *sports* and *customs* of the men of Gotham, a town in Lincolnshire; and is said to bear reference to certain tenures peculiar to that place and its neighbourhood, which are now obsolete. It is probable that in Hall's time the *Men of Gotham* had become a proverbial expression, applicable to those whose conduct was remarkable for silliness or simplicity.—MAITLAND.

[p] This is one of the most perspicuous, easy, and perhaps one of the most humorous satires in the whole collection. It exhibits the servile condition of a domestic preceptor in the family of an esquire.—WARTON.

[q] *Trencher-chapelain;* a table chaplain.—MAITLAND.

[r] The *truckle-bed* was a small bed made to run under a larger one; quasi *trocle-bed*, from *troclea*, a low wheel or castor. It was generally appropriated to a servant, or attendant of some kind.—SINGER.

[s] Towards the head of the table was placed a large and lofty piece of plate; the top of which, in a broad cavity, held the salt for the whole company. In Parrot's Springes for Woodcocks, 1613, a guest complains of it as an indignity,—

"And swears that he below the salt was sett."
Lib. ii. Epig. 188.—WARTON.

Third, that he never change his trencher twice:
Fourth, that he use all common courtesies;
Sit bare at meals, and one half rise and wait:
Last, that he never his young master beat,
But he must ask his mother to define
How many jerks she would his breech should line.
All these observed, he could contented be
To give five marks and winter livery.

SATIRE VII.[t]

In th' heaven's universal alphabet
All earthly things so surely are foreset,
That who can read those figures may foreshow
Whatever thing shall afterwards ensue.
Fain would I know (might it our artist please)
Why can his tell-troth Ephemerides[u]
Teach him the weather's state so long beforn,
And not foretell him, nor his fatal horn,
Nor his death's-day, nor no such sad event,
Which he mought wisely labour to prevent?
Thou damned mock-art, and thou brainsick tale
Of old astrology: where didst thou veil
Thy cursed head thus long, that so it mist
The black bronds[x] of some sharper satirist?
Some doting gossip 'mongst the Chaldee wives
Did to the credulous world thee first derive;
And superstition nursed thee ever since,
And published in profounder art's pretence,
That now, who pares his nails or libs[y] his swine,
But he must first take counsel of the sign?
So that the vulgar's count, for fair or foul,
For living or for dead, for sick or whole,

[t] From those who despised learning he makes a transition to those who abused it by false pretences. Judicial astrology is the subject of this satire. —Warton.

[u] *Ephemerides;* astronomical tables, showing the state of the heavens at noon on every day of the year, and used by astrologers in calculating horoscopes.—Maitland.

[x] *Bronds;* properly *swords* (see Todd's Spenser, vol. v. p. 212.): but *black bronds* must here mean *severe brands*, or *censures*.—Pratt.

[y] *To lib;* a word still in general use in Scotland, signifying *to geld*.—Maitland.

His fear or hope, for plenty or for lack,
Hangs all upon his new-year's almanack.
If chance once in the spring his head should ache,
It was foretold: thus says mine almanack.
In th' heaven's High-street[z] are but a dozen rooms,
In which dwells all the world, past and to come.
Twelve goodly inns they are, with twelve fair signs,
Ever well tended by our star-divines.
Every man's head inns at the horned Ram,
The whiles the neck the Black Bull's guest became:
Th' arms, by good hap, meet at the wrastling Twins;
Th' heart, in the way, at the Blue Lion inns:
The legs, their lodging in Aquarius got;
That is the Bridge-street[a] of the heaven, I wot:
The feet took up the Fish with teeth of gold;
But who with Scorpio lodged may not be told[b].
What office then doth the stargazer bear?
Or let him be the heaven's osteler,
Or tapster some, or some be chamberlain,
To wait upon the guests they entertain.
Hence can they read, by virtue of their trade,
When anything is missed, where it was laid:
Hence they divine, and hence they can devise,
If their aim fail, the stars to moralize.
Demon, my friend, once liver-sick of love,
Thus learned I by the signs his grief remove:
In the blind Archer first I saw the sign,
When thou receiv'dst that wilful wound of thine;

[z] Hall supposes the twelve signs of the zodiac to be twelve inns in the High-street of heaven; and he assigns the duties of *ostlers, tapsters,* and *chamberlains,* to astrologers. The *Ram,* the *Black Bull,* and the *Blue Lion,* were the signs of inns at Cambridge; and *Bridge-street* was a street in the same town.—Maitland.

[a] This passage is animadverted upon by Milton in his Apology for Smectymnuus, in the following manner: "Turning by chance to the sixth (seventh) satire of his second book, I was confirmed; where, having begun loftily in *heaven's universal alphabet,* he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity, as to talk of *Bridge-street in heaven,* and the *ostlers of heaven:* and there, wanting other matter to catch him a heat (for certainly he was on the frozen zone, miserably benumbed), with thoughts lower than any beadle's, betakes him to whip the sign-posts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subjects of freshmen's tales, and in a strain as pitiful."—Singer.

[b] The human figure, thus astrologically distributed, was common on old almanacks.—Pratt.

And now in Virgo is that cruel maid,
Which hath not yet with love thy love repaid:
But mark when once it comes to Gemini,
Straightway fish-whole shall thy sick liver be.
But now, (as th' angry heavens seem to threat
Many hard fortunes and disasters great,)
If chance it come to wanton Capricorn,
And so into the Ram's disgraceful horn,
Then learn thou of the ugly Scorpion
To hate her for her foul abusion:
Thy refuge then the Balance be of right,
Which shall thee from thy broken bond acquite:
So, with the Crab, go back whence thou began,
From thy first match, and live a single man.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

SATIRES.

BOOK III.

PROLOGUE.

Some say my Satires over loosely flow,
Nor hide their gall enough from open show:
Not, riddle-like, obscuring their intent;
But, pack-staff plain[a], uttering what thing they meant:
Contrary to the Roman ancients,
Whose words were short, and darksome was their sense;
Who reads one line of their harsh poesies,
Thrice must he take his wind, and breathe him thrice.
My Muse would follow them that have foregone,
But cannot with an English pinion.
For look how far the ancient Comedy
Passed former satires in her liberty:
So far must mine yield unto them of old.
'Tis better be too bad than be too bold.

[a] This proverbial phrase is still in use: we say, *as plain as a pike-staff*, alluding to the staff of a pike. The old form, *pack-staff*, alludes to the staff on which a pedler carried his pack. So Marston uses '*pack-staff* rhymes,' and a '*pack-staff* epithet.'—Singer.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE THIRD.

SATIRE I.

Time was, and that was termed the time of gold,
When world and time were young, that now are old:
(When quiet Saturn swayed the mace of lead,
And pride was yet unborn, and yet unbred:)
Time was, that whiles the autumn-fall did last,
Our hungry sires gaped for the falling mast
Of the Dodonian oaks[a];
Could no unhusked acorn leave the tree,
But there was challenge made whose it might be.
And if some nice and lickorous appetite
Desired more dainty dish of rare delight,
They scaled the stored crab[b] with clasped knee,
Till they had sated their delicious eye:
Or searched the hopeful thicks of hedgy rows,
For briery berries, or haws, or sourer sloes:
Or when they meant to fare the fin'st of all,
They licked oak-leaves besprent with honeyfall.
As for the thrice-three-angled beech-nut shell,
Or chestnut's armed husk and hid kernel,
No squire durst touch, the law would not afford,
Kept for the court, and for the king's own board.
Their royal plate was clay, or wood, or stone;
The vulgar, save his hand, else he had none.
Their only cellar was the neighbour brook:
None did for better care, for better look.
Was then no plaining of the brewer's scape[c],
Nor greedy vintner mixed the strained grape.

[a] The celebrity of the *Dodonia quercus* is familiar to every scholar. — MAITLAND.

[b] *Scaled the stored crab*, i. e. climbed the stored crab-tree. *Delicious eye*, in the next line, is a hardy poetical license; but *delicious* was formerly used for *dainty*.—SINGER.

[c] A *scape* is a trick, shift, or evasion.

The king's pavilion was the grassy green,
Under safe shelter of the shady treen.
Under each bank men laid their limbs along,
Not wishing[d] any ease, not fearing wrong:
Clad with their own, as they were made of old,
Not fearing shame, not feeling any cold.
But when, by Ceres' huswifery and pain,
Men learned to bury the reviving grain;
And father Janus taught the new-found vine
Rise on the elm with many a friendly twine;
And base desire bade men to delven low
For needless metals; then gan mischief grow.
Then farewell, fairest age, the world's best days;
Thriving in ill, as it in age decays.
Then crept in pride and peevish covetise,
And men grew greedy, discordous, and nice.
Now man, that erst hail-fellow was with beast,
Woxe on to ween[e] himself a god at least.
No airy fowl can take so high a flight,
Though she her daring wings in clouds have dight;
Nor fish can dive so deep in yielding sea,
Though Thetis' self should swear her safety;
Nor fearful beast can dig his cave so low,
As could he farther than earth's centre go;
As that the air, the earth, or ocean,
Should shield them from the gorge of greedy man.
Hath utmost Inde aught better than his own?
Then utmost Inde is near, and rife to gone[f].
O nature! was the world ordained for naught
But fill man's maw and feed man's idle thought?
Thy grandsires' words savoured of thrifty leeks
Or manly garlick; but thy furnace reeks
Hot steams of wine, and can aloof descry
The drunken draughts of sweet autumnity.
They naked went, or clad in ruder hide,
Or homespun russet, void of foreign pride:
But thou canst mask in garish gaudery,
To suit a fool's farfetched livery,

[d] *Not wishing*, i. e. not feeling the want of, any ease.—Pratt.

[e] *Woxe on to ween*, i. e. came to imagine.—Pratt.

[f] *Rife to gone*; easy to go to.—Maitland.

A French head joined to neck Italian:
Thy thighs from Germany, and breast from Spain:
An Englishman in none, a fool in all;
Many in one, and one in several.
Then men were men; but now the greater part
Beasts are in life, and women are in heart.
Good Saturn's self, that homely emperor,
In proudest pomp was not so clad of yore,
As is the under-groom of th' hostelrie,
Husbanding it in workday yeomanry.
Lo! the long date of those expired days,
Which the inspired Merlin's word foresays;
When dunghill peasants shall be dight as kings,
Then one confusion another brings.
Then farewell, fairest age, the world's best days;
Thriving in ill, as it in age decays.

SATIRE II.[g]

Great Osmond knows not how he shall be known,
When once great Osmond shall be dead and gone,
Unless he rear up some rich monument,
Ten furlongs nearer to the firmament.
Some stately tomb he builds, Egyptian wise,
Rex Regum written on the Pyramis.
Whereas great Arthur lies in ruder oak[h],
That never felt none but the feller's stroke.
Small honour can be got with gaudy grave;
Nor it thy rotting name from death can save.
The fairer tomb, the fouler is thy name,
The greater pomp procuring greater shame.
Thy monument make thou thy living deeds;
No other tomb than that true virtue needs.
What! had he naught whereby he might be known
But costly pilements of some curious stone?

[g] One of the vanities of the age of Elizabeth was the erection of monuments, equally costly and cumbersome, charged with a waste of capricious decorations, and loaded with superfluous and disproportionate sculpture.—Warton.

[h] He alludes to the discovery of king Arthur's body in Glastonbury Abbey. In digging up a barrow, or tumulus, on the downs near Dorchester, a few years since, the body of a Daniah chief, as it seemed, was found in the hollow trunk of a large oak for a coffin.—Warton.

The matter nature's, and the workman's frame,
His purse's cost: where then is Osmond's name?
Deserv'dst thou ill? well were thy name and thee,
Wert thou inditched in great secresy;
Whereas no passenger might curse thy dust,
Nor dogs sepulchral sate their gnawing lust.
Thine ill deserts cannot be graved with thee,
So long as on thy grave they engraved be[k].

SATIRE III.[l]

The courteous citizen bade me to his feast
With hollow words and overly[m] request:
"Come, will ye dine with me this holiday?"
I yielded, though he hoped I would say nay:
For, had I maidened it[n], as many use,
Loath for to grant, but loather to refuse,
"Alack, sir, I were loath—another day—
I should but trouble you—pardon me, if you may;"
No pardon should I need; for to depart
He gives me leave, and thanks too, in his heart.
Two words for money, Derbyshirian wise[o],
(That's one too many,) is a naughty guise.
Who looks for double biddings to a feast
May dine at home for an importune guest[p].
I went; then saw and found the great expense,
The fare and fashion of our citizens.
Oh, Cleopatrical! what wanteth there
For curious cost and wondrous choice of cheer?

[k] The reader who would like to compare bishop Hall's thoughts on the same subject in prose, is referred to the Meditations and Vows, Cent. I. No. 70.—H.

[l] This satire contains a description of a citizen's feast, to which he was invited out of hollow courtesy.—Warton.

[m] *Overly* is slight, superficial. Thus Baret, in his Alvearie, 1575, "Perfunctorie istud facis: Thou doest this *overlie*, or onely for an outward show." Hall uses the word again in his Quo Vadis? "So have we seen an hawk cast off an heronshaw, to look and fly quite another way, and after many careless and *overly* fetches, to tower up to the prey intended."—Singer. [This word, as frequently used by bishop Hall, implies an assumption of superiority.]

[n] *Had I maidened it;* i. e. acted the modest maiden.—Pratt. Received the proposal with coyness.—Maitland.

[o] *Derbyshirian wise.* This expression is used in allusion to a Derbyshire proverb, or saying, the point of which seems to be, that it is foolish to decline accepting money the first time it is offered. *Naughty guise* means *unwise conduct.*—Maitland.

[p] *An importune guest;* one who requires *pressing.*—Maitland.

Beef, that erst Hercules held for finest fare;
Pork for the fat Bœotian, or the hare
For Martial; fish for the Venetian;
Goose-liver for the lickorous Roman;
Th' Athenian's goat; quail, Iolaus'[q] cheer;
The hen for Æsculape; and the Parthian deer;
Grapes for Arcesilas; figs for Plato's mouth;
And chestnuts fair for Amarillis'[r] tooth.
Hadst thou such cheer? wert thou ever there before?
Never. I thought so.—Nor come there no more.
Come there no more?—For so meant all that cost:
Never hence take me for thy second host.
For whom he means to make an often guest,
One dish shall serve, and welcome make the rest.

SATIRE IV.[s]

Were yesterday Polemon's natals kept,
That so his threshold is all freshly steept
With new-shed blood? Could he not sacrifice
Some sorry morkin[t] that unbidden dies,
Or meagre heifer, or some rotten ewe;
But he must needs his posts with blood embrue,
And on his way-door fix the horned head,
With flowers and with ribands garnished?
Now shall the passenger deem the man devout:
What boots it be so, but the world must know't?
O the fond boasting of vainglorious men!
Does he the best that may the best be seen?
Who ever gives a pair of velvet shoes
To the Holy Rood[u], or liberally allows

[q] [Hercules, when slain by Typhon, was restored to life by Iolaus his companion, who offered him a quail, the scent of which revived him. See Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. ix. Ἰολάου δ' αὐτῷ προσενέγκαντος ὄρτυγα καὶ προσαγάγοντος ὀσφρανθέντα ἀναβιῶναι. Ed. Casaub. 1598. p. 392.]

[r] By the name of *Amarillis*, Spenser, in "Colin Clout's come home again," distinguishes Lady Strange: to whom also he dedicates "The Teares of the Muses." See Todd's Life of Spenser, p. 76.—Pratt.

[s] This satire is an arraignment of ostentatious piety, and of those who strove to push themselves into notice and esteem by petty pretensions.—Warton.

[t] A *morkin* is an animal that dies by mischance or sickness: Philips says, a *deer;* others, any *wild animal. Mortling* seems to have had the same meaning.—Singer. [A *morkin*, in provincial language, signifies a *scarecrow.*]

[u] In a gallery over the screen at en-

But a new rope to ring the curfew-bell,
But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
Or graven in the chancel window-glass,
Or in his lasting tomb of plated brass?
For he that doth so few deserving deeds,
'Twere sure his best sue for such larger meeds.
Who would inglorious live, inglorious die,
And might eternize his name's memory?
And he that cannot brag of greater store
Must make his somewhat much, and little more.
Nor can good Myson wear on his left hond
A signet-ring of Bristol diamond,
But he must cut his glove to show his pride,
That his trim jewel might be better spied;
And that men mought some burgess him repute,
With satin sleeves hath graced his sackcloth suit.

SATIRE V.[x]

Fie on all courtesy, and unruly winds,
Two only foes that fair disguisement finds.
Strange curse! but fit for such a fickle age,
When scalps are subject to such vassalage.
Late travelling along in London way,
Me met, as seemed by his disguised array,
A lusty courtier, whose curled head
With abron[y] locks was fairly furnished.
I him saluted in our lavish wise:
He answers my untimely courtesies.
His bonnet vail'd[z], ere ever he could think,
The unruly wind blows off his periwink[a].

tering the choir, (called the rood-loft,) was a large crucifix, or rood, with the images of the holy Virgin and Saint John. The velvet shoes were for the feet of Christ on the cross, or of one of the attendant figures.—Warton.

[x] The author here presents us with a droll portrait of a seemingly *lustie courtier*, or fine gentleman, whose periwinkle, or peruke, was suddenly blown off by a boisterous puff of wind, while he was making his bows.—Warton.

[y] *Abron;* i. e. *auburn*. "Light auborne, Subflavus; Un peu jaulne," says Baret.—Singer.

[z] *Vail'd*, lowered: from the Fr. *avaler*.—Maitland. Pulled off. See Reed's Shakespeare, vol. vii. p. 235.—Pratt.

[a] *Periwink*, i. e. *periwig:* about this time first become an article of dress. In book iv. sat. vi. it is made one of the characteristics of a fop:—

"And wear curl'd periwigs."—Pratt.

He 'lights, and runs, and quickly hath him sped,
To overtake his overrunning head.
The sportful wind, to mock the headless man,
Tosses apace his pitched Rogerian[b];
And straight it to a deeper ditch hath blown:
There must my younker fetch his waxen crown.
I looked, and laughed, whiles, in his raging mind,
He cursed all courtesy and unruly wind.
I looked, and laughed, and much I marvelled,
To see so large a causeway in his head;
And me bethought, that, when it first begon,
'Twas some shroud[c] autumn that so bared the bone.
Is't not sweet pride, when men their crowns must shade,
With that which jerks[d] the hams of every jade,
Or floor-strew'd locks from off the barber's shears?
But waxen crowns well 'gree with borrowed hairs.

SATIRE VI[e].

WHEN Gullion died, (who knows not Gullion?)
And his dry soul arrived at Acheron,
He fair besought the ferryman of hell,
That he might drink to dead Pantagruel[f].
Charon was afraid lest thirsty Gullion
Would have drunk dry the river Acheron;
Yet last consented for a little hire:
And down he dips his chops deep in the mire,
And drinks, and drinks, and swallows in the stream,
Until the shallow shores all naked seem.
Yet still he drinks, nor can the boatman's cries,
Nor crabbed oars, nor prayers make him rise.
So long he drinks, till the black caravel[g]
Stands still, fast gravelled on the mud of hell.

[b] *Rogerian;* a word which, according to Nares, only occurs in Hall's Satires. —MAITLAND. As a *Gregorian* was a species of *wig* or *peruque*, so a *Rogerian* appears to have been a nickname for a *false scalp*.—SINGER.

[c] *Shroud*, synonymous with shrewd.—MAITLAND.

[d] [*Jerk*, verber, ictus, JUNIUS; à Gothic. *gercken*, verberare, SKINNER. *Jade*, a sorry horse, BAILEY; horsehair being that of which the wig is usually made.]

[e] This satire is levelled at drunkards in general.—SINGER.

[f] [See Rabelais—it means some boon companion.]

[g] A *caravel* was a swift, light, round vessel, with a square poop, rigged and fitted out like a galley.—SINGER. From *caravelle*, FR.—MAITLAND.

There stand they still, nor can go nor retire,
Though greedy ghosts quick passage did require.
Yet stand they still, as though they lay at rode[h],
Till Gullion his bladder would unload.
They stand, and wait, and pray, for that good hour,
Which when it came they sailed to the shore.
But never since dareth the ferryman
Once entertain the ghost of Gullion.
Drink on, dry soul, and pledge sir Gullion:
Drink to all healths, but drink not to thine own.

Desunt nonnulla.

SATIRE VII[i].

Seest thou how gaily my young master goes,
Vaunting himself upon his rising toes;
And pranks[k] his hand upon his dagger's side;
And picks his glutted teeth since late noontide?
'Tis Ruffio. Trow'st thou where he dined to-day?
In sooth I saw him sit with duke Humphrey[l].
Many good welcomes, and much gratis cheer,
Keeps he for every straggling cavalier;
An open house, haunted with great resort;
Long service mixed with musical disport.
Many fair younker, with a feathered crest,
Chooses much rather be his shot-free guest,
To fare so freely with so little cost,
Than stake his twelvepence to a meaner host.
Hadst thou not told me, I should surely say
He touched no meat of all this livelong day.
For sure methought, (yet that was but a guess,)
His eyes seem sunk for very hollowness.
But could he have (as I did it mistake)
So little in his purse, so much upon his back?
So nothing in his maw? yet seemeth by his belt,
That his gaunt gut no too much stuffing felt.

[h] [Road in navigation is an open place near the land, where ships may anchor. —Phillips.]

[i] "In this description of a famished gallant," says Campbell, "Hall has rivalled the succeeding humour of Ben Jonson in similar comic portraits."—H.

[k] *Pranks*, adjusts. See Todd's Spenser, vol. ii. p. 117.—Pratt.

[l] [Dining with duke Humphrey is a well-known saying; the origin of it is variously accounted for. See Nares's Glossary, under the article, *Duke Humphrey*.]

Seest thou how side[k] it hangs beneath his hip?
Hunger and heavy iron[l] makes girdles slip.
Yet for all that, how stiffly struts he by,
All trapped in the new-found bravery.
The nuns of new-won Cales his bonnet lent,
In lieu of their so kind a conquerment[m].
What needed he fetch that from farthest Spain
His grandam could have lent with lesser pain?
Though he, perhaps, ne'er passed the English shore,
Yet fain would counted be a conqueror.
His hair, French-like, stares on his frighted head,
One lock Amazon-like disheveled[n].
As if he meant to wear a native cord[o],
If chance his fates should him that bane afford.
All British bare upon the bristled skin,
Close notched is his beard, both lip and chin;
His linen collar labyrinthian-set,
Whose thousand double turnings never met:
His sleeves half hid with elbow-pinionings,
As if he meant to fly with linen wings.
But when I look, and cast mine eyes below,
What monster meets mine eyes in human show?
So slender waist with such an abbot's loin
Did never sober nature sure conjoin.
Lik'st a strawn scarecrow in the new-sown field,
Reared on some stick, the tender corn to shield:
Or, if that semblance suit not every deal,
Like a broad shak-fork with a slender steale[p].
Despised nature, suit them once aright,
Their body to their coat, both now misdight:
Their body to their clothes might shapen be,
That nill[q] their cloths shape to their bodië.

[k] *How side*, i. e. how long, or loose.—SINGER. [See book i. sat. iii. l. 23. note.]

[l] *Heavy iron;* meaning his sword.—MAITLAND.

[m] He pretends to have been at the conquest of Calais, (then recently taken,) where the nuns had worked his bonnet.—WARTON.

[n] The *love-locks*, which afterwards called forth such bitter invective at the hands of the puritanic Prynne, were then in high fashion.—SINGER.

[o] *To wear a native cord;* to be hanged.—MAITLAND.

[p] A broad *shak-fork* with a slender *steale*, was a broad hay-fork, a fork for shaking out grass, now called a pitch-fork: a slender *steale* was a slender handle; *stele*, Saxon, being the handle or stem of anything.—SINGER.

[q] *Nill;* will not. "Will ye, nill ye." *Prov.*—MAITLAND.

Meanwhile I wonder at so proud a back,
Whiles th' empty guts loud rumblen for long lack:
The belly envieth the back's bright glee,
And murmurs at such inequality.
The back appeals unto the partial eyne,
The plaintiff belly pleads they bribed been:
And he, for want of better advocate,
Doth to the ear his injury relate.
The back, insulting o'er the belly's need,
Says, Thou thyself, I others' eyes, must feed.
The maw, the guts, all inward parts complain
The back's great pride, and their own secret pain.
Ye witless gallants, I beshrew your hearts,
That set such discord 'twixt agreeing parts,
Which never can be set at onement[r] more,
Until the maw's wide mouth be stopped with store.

[r] *At onement;* in a state of reconciliation and unity: whence the scriptural term, *atonement*.—H.

THE CONCLUSION OF ALL.

Thus have I writ, in smoother cedar-tree
So gentle Satires, penned so easily.
Henceforth I write in crabbed oak-tree rind;
Search they that mean the secret meaning find.
Hold out, ye guilty and ye galled hides,
And meet my farfetched stripes with waiting sides.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

VIRGIDEMIARUM

SIX BOOKS.

THE THREE LAST BOOKS

OF BITING SATIRES.

THE AUTHOR'S CHARGE TO HIS SATIRES.

Ye luckless rhymes, whom not unkindly spite
Begot long since of truth and holy rage,
Lie here in womb of silence and still night,
Until the broils of next unquiet age:
That which is others' grave shall be your womb,
And that which bears you, your eternal tomb.

Cease, ere ye 'gin; and ere ye live, be dead;
And die and live ere ever ye be born;
And be not bore, ere ye be buried;
Then after live, sith you have died beforn.
When I am dead and rotten in the dust,
Then 'gin to live, and leave when others lust[a].

For when I die, shall Envy die with me,
And lie deep smothered with my marble stone;
Which while I live cannot be done to die,
Nor, if your life 'gin ere my life be done,
Will hardly yield to await my mourning hearse,
But for my dead corpse change my living verse.

What shall the ashes of my senseless urn
Need to regard the raving world above?
Sith afterwards I never can return
To feel the force of hatred or of love.
Oh! if my soul could see their posthume spite,
Should it not joy and triumph in the sight?

Whatever eye shall find this hateful scroll
After the date of my dear exequies,
Ah, pity thou my plaining orphan's dole,
That fain would see the sun before it dies.
It died before; now let it live again;
Then let it die, and bide some famous bane.

Satis est potuisse videri.

[a] To *lust*, like to *list*, which is frequently used by Hall, signifies to *will*, to *choose*, to *desire*, to *like*. "Their eyes swell with fatness, and they do even what they lust." Ps. lxxiii. 7.—Singer.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE FOURTH[a].

SATIRE I.

Che baiar vuol bai.

WHO dares upbraid these open rhymes of mine
With blindfold Aquine's, or dark Venusine[b]?
Or rough-hewn teretisms[c], writ in the antique vein,
Like an old satire, and new Flaccian?
Which who reads thrice, and rubs his rugged brow,
And deep intendeth[d] every doubtful row,
Scoring the margent with his blazing stars,
And hundreth crooked interlinears,
(Like to a merchant's debt-roll new defaced,
When some cracked manor crossed his book at last,)
Should all in rage the curse-beat page outrive,
And in each dust-heap bury me alive;
Stamping like Bucephal, whose slackened reins
And bloody fetlocks fry with seven men's brains:
More cruel than the craven Satyr's[e] ghost,
That bound dead bones unto a burning post;
Or some more straitlaced juror of the rest,
Impanelled of an Holifax inquest[f]:

[a] The fourth book breathes a stronger spirit of indignation, and abounds with applications of Juvenal to modern manners, yet with the appearance of unborrowed and original satire.—WARTON.

[b] In these expressions, the poet alludes to the obscure styles of Juvenal and Horace; the former of whom was a native of Aquinium in Campania, the latter of Venusium, a town upon the confines of Lucania and Apulia.—MAITLAND.

[c] Τερετίσματα, "Cantus cicadæ: quo factum, ut veteres sic vocarent cantus lascivos et procaces." *Scapulæ Lexicon.* —MAITLAND.

[d] *Intendeth;* studies with attention: this use of the verb to *intend* is now obsolete.—MAITLAND.

[e] [*Satyr*, half man half beast, a sensual man, i. e. Nero. See l. 148. infra.]

[f] This expression, which Hall uses proverbially, alludes to the ancient *customary* or *gibbet-law* of the Forest of Hardwick; namely, "That if a felon be taken within the liberty, with goods stolen out, or within the liberty or precincts of the said forest, either *handhabend, backberond,* or *confessioned,* to the value of thirteen pence halfpenny, he shall, after three market-days, or meeting-days, within the town of Halifax, next after such his apprehension, and being condemned, be taken to the gib-

Yet well bethought, stoops down and reads anew;
('The best lies low, and loathes the shallow view,'
Quoth old Eudemon, when his gout-swoln fist
Gropes for his double ducats in his chist[g]:)
Then buckle close his careless lids once more,
To pose the purblind snake of Epidore[h].
That Lynceus[i] may be matched with Gaulard's sight,
That sees not Paris for the houses' height[k];
Or wily Cyppus[l], that can wink and snort
While his wife dallies on Mæcenas' skort:
Yet when he hath my crabbed pamphlet read
As oftentimes as Philip hath been dead[m],
Bids all the Furies haunt each peevish line
That thus have racked their friendly reader's eyne;
Worse than the logogriphs[n] of later times,
Or hundreth riddles shaked to sleeveless rhymes.

bet, and there have his head cut off from his body." The reader may consult Wright's *Antiquities of Halifax*, chap. iii.—Maitland.

[g] *Chist*, for *chest*.—Pratt.

[h] *Snake of Epidore*, Æsculapius. Vid. Ovid. Metam. i. xv. v. 669. et seq.—Maitland.

"Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius?"
Horace, Sat. i. 3.—Pratt.

[i] The story of Lynceus is well known.

[k] This alludes to a story, told in the *Contes du Sieur Gaulard*, by the facetious des Accords, or Tabouret, (of a countryman who complained that he could not see Paris for the houses:) "Quand il fut à Paris, passant par les ruës, il disoit: Chascun me disoit que je verrois une si grande et belle ville, mais on se mocquoit bien de moi: car on ne la peut voir, à cause de la multitude des maisons qui empeschent la veuë."—Singer.

[l] Vid. Juvenal sat. i. v. 55–57. The story here referred to is thus given by Erasmus: "Plutarchus, in libro cui titulum fecit *ἐρωτικῷ*, fabulam super hac re non illepidam narrat. Cum Galba quispiam convivio Mecænatem accepisset, sentiretque jam e nutibus hominem inflammatum in uxorem suam, sensim demisit caput, perinde quasi dormiret. At cum interea famulus quispiam ad mensam accedens vinum clam tolleret, ibi jam vigil et oculatus, 'Infelix,' inquit, 'an nesciebas, me soli Mecænati dormire?'" Erasmi Adagia; "Non omnibus dormio." The same story is told by Cælius Rhodiginus, Lect. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. xvi. with this difference, that he gives the accommodating husband the name of *Cappas*, which Hall has altered to *Cyppus*.—Maitland.

[m] Alluding possibly to the first Philippic of Demosthenes; where the orator, reprobating the supineness of the Athenians, in giving credit to the reports of Philip of Macedon's death, rather than preparing to resist his attacks, asks, *Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δία, ἀλλὰ σθένει.* Or he may allude to Philip of Spain.—Ellis. Frequent false reports of the death of Philip king of Spain were raised, to amuse the news-seeking people.—Singer.

[n] *Logogriphs* [*λόγος* and *γρῖφος*, the latter a fishing-net or basket: (hence) a dark saying, riddle. See Liddell and Scott in voce.] The word is used by Ben Jonson. See Mason's Supplement to Johnson.—Pratt.

Should I endure these curses and despite,
While no man's ear should glow at what I write?
Labeo is whipped, and laughs me in the face:
Why? for I smite, and hide the galled place.
Gird but the cynic's helmet on his head,
Cares he for Talus[o] or his flail of lead?
Long as the crafty cuttle lieth sure
In the black cloud of his thick vomiture,
Who list complain of wronged faith or fame,
When he may shift it to another's name?
Calvus can scratch his elbow, and can smile,
That thriftless Pontice bites his lip the while.
Yet I intended in that self-device
To check the churl for his known covetise.
Each points his straight forefinger to his friend,
Like the blind dial on the belfry end.
Who turns it homeward, to say 'This is I,'
As bold Socrates[p] in the comedy?
But single out, and say once plat and plain,
That coy Matrona is a courtesan;
Or thou, false Crispus[q], chok'dst thy wealthy guest,
Whiles he lay snoring at his midnight rest,
And in thy dung-cart didst the carcass shrine,
And deep entomb it in Port-Esquiline[r].
Proud Trebius lives, for all his princely gait,
On thirdhand suits and scrapings of the plate.
Titius knew not where to shroud his head,
Until he did a dying widow wed,
While she lay doting on her deathë's bed;
And now hath purchased lands with one night's pain,
And on the morrow woos and weds again.

[o] "His name was Talus, made of yron mould,
Immoveable, resistless, without end;
Who, in his hand, an yron flaile did hold,
With which he thresht out falsehood, and did truth unfold."
Spenser's Fairy Queen, book v. cant. i. st. 12.—MAITLAND.

[p] It is related of Socrates, that when present at the representation of Aristophanes's *Clouds*, in which he is introduced in a ridiculous light, he stood up, in order to give the spectators an opportunity of contrasting the *original* with the *caricature*.—MAITLAND.

[q] In this passage Hall seems to have had in view a remarkable dream, recorded by Cicero in his treatise *De Divinatione*, lib. i. cap. 27.—MAITLAND.

[r] Esquiliæ, one of the Roman hills. Here were thrown the carcasses of malefactors.—ELLIS.

Now see I fire-flakes sparkle from his eyes,
Like a comet's tail in th' angry skies;
His pouting cheeks puff up above his brow,
Like a swoln toad touched with the spider's blow[s];
His mouth shrinks sideward like a scornful plaice[t],
To take his tired ears' ingrateful place:
His ears hang laving[u] like a new-lugged swine,
To take some counsel of his grieved eyne.
Now laugh I loud, and break my spleen, to see
This pleasing pastime of my poesy;
Much better than a Paris-garden bear[x],
Or prating puppet on a theatre;
Or Mimo's whistling to his tabouret[y],
Selling a laughter for a cold meal's meat.
Go to then, ye my sacred Semones[z],
And please me more, the more ye do displease.
Care we for all those bugs of idle fear?
For Tigels[a] grinning on the theatre;
Or scare-babe threatenings of the rascal crew;
Or wind-spent verdicts of each ale-knight's view?
Whatever breast doth freeze for such false dread,
Beshrew his base white liver for his meed.

[s] The toad and the spider were supposed by the early naturalists to be sworn foes; and in their conflicts the latter is generally said to have been successful.—Maitland.

[t] That is, he *makes a wry mouth* at it: (the flat-fish, called the plaice, having its mouth on one side.) Nashe, in his Lenten Stuffe, 1599, has "Save only the *playse* and the butt, that made *wry mouths* at him, and for their mocking have wry mouths ever since."—Singer.

[u] *Laving;* stretched, dangling: so called, perhaps, from the action of *laving out* water.—Pratt. See book ii. sat. ii.—H.

[x] *Paris-garden* was a famous bear-garden on the Bankside, in Southwark, contiguous to the Globe Theatre. It was so called from Robert de Paris, who had a house and garden there in the reign of Richard II.—Singer.

[y] Warton thought Kempe the player was here ridiculed; but a *tabor,* or *tabouret,* and pipe, was the usual appendage of the clown on the ancient stage. Tarleton is represented with one in a print on the titlepage of his Jests, printed in 1611: and there is a much more ancient representation of a fool with a tabor in Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.—Singer.

[z] *Semones;* heroes, or demi-gods: quasi *semi-homines.* "Semones, ex illo deorum numero, qui minorum gentium appellabantur, et ex hominibus relati in Deos; majores scilicet hominibus, minores Diis."—*Hoffmanni Lexicon,* voc. *Semones.*—Maitland. See "Mundus Alter et Idem," lib. iii. cap. viii. sect. 1: "Quod a quoquam vel hominum, vel *Semonum,* vel Dæmonum fieri possit."—Pratt. He uses *Semones* for *Satires.*—Singer.

[a] Tigellius is mentioned by Cicero in his Epistles as having been remarkable for his powers of mimicry, to which Hall apparently alludes.—Maitland.

Fond were that pity, and that fear were sin,
To spare waste leaves that so deserved bin.
Those toothless toys[b] that dropped out by mishap,
Be but as lightning to a thunder-clap.
Shall then that foul infamous Cyned's[c] hide
Laugh at the purple weals of others' side?
Not if he were as near as, by report,
The stews had wont be to the tennis-court[d].
He that, while thousands envy at his bed,
Neighs after bridals and fresh maidenhead;
While slavish Juno[e] dares not look awry,
To frown at such imperious rivalry;
Not though she sees her wedding jewels dressed
To make new bracelets for a strumpet's wrist;
Or, like some strange disguised Messaline[f],
Hires a night's lodging of his concubine.
Whether his twilight-torch of love do call
To revels of uncleanly musical,
Or midnight plays, or taverns of new wine,
Hie, ye white aprons, to your landlord's sign;
When all, save toothless age or infancy,
Are summoned to the court of venery.
Who list excuse, when chaster dames can hire
Some snout-fair stripling to their apple-squire[g];
Whom, staked up like to some stallion steed,
They keep with eggs and oysters for the breed?
O Lucine! barren Caia hath an heir,
After her husband's dozen years' despair:
And now the bribed midwife swears apace,
The bastard babe doth bear his father's face.

[b] Alluding to what he calls his own Toothless Satires.—PRATT.

[c] *Cyned.* Hall gives this name to an adulterer, from *Cinædus.*—MAITLAND.

[d] The tennis-court, the baths, and the *stewes*, or brothel, were generally, during the middle ages, if not under the same roof, at least in adjoining buildings. Hence *bath* and *brothel* became in some degree convertible terms. The Italian word *bagno* now signifies, with us, rather a brothel than a bath; and the German *bade-haus* (bath-house) bears so strong a resemblance to the vulgar term *bawdy-house*, that it is difficult to avoid resorting to the former for the etymology of the latter. Cowell, in his *Interpreter*, derives *stewes*, the ancient English name for a licensed brothel, from *estuves*, old Fr. for *thermæ*. Vid. *Interpreter*, voc. *Stewes*.—MAITLAND.

[e] *Juno;* Juno seems here to be used generally for a wife.—MAITLAND.

[f] Vid. Juvenal. sat. vi. v. 115, et seq.—MAITLAND.

[g] See book i. sat. ii. l. 25.

But hath not Lelia passed her virgin years?
For modest shame (God wot!) or penal fears?
He tells a merchant tidings of a prize,
That tells Cynedo of such novelties,
Worth little less than landing of a whale,
Or Gades' spoils[h], or a churl's funeral.
Go bid the banns, and 'point the bridal day,
His broking[i] bawd hath got a noble prey;
A vacant tenement, an honest dower
Can fit his pander for her paramour,
That he, base wretch, may clog his wittoled[k] head,
And give him hansel[l] of his Hymen bed.
Ho! all ye females that would live unshent,
Fly from the reach of Cyned's regiment.
If Trent be drawn to dregs and low refúse,
Hence, ye hot lecher, to the steaming stews:
Tyber, the famous sink of Christendom,
Turn thou to Thames, and Thames run towards Rome:
What ever damned stream but thine were meet
To quench his lusting liver's boiling heat?
Thy double draught may quench his dogdays' rage
With some stale Bacchis, or obsequious page,
When writhen[m] Lena makes her sale-set shows
Of wooden Venus with fair limned brows;
Or like him more some veiled matron's face,
Or trained 'prentice trading in the place.
The close adulteress[n], where her name is read
Comes crawling from her husband's lukewarm bed,
Her carrion skin bedaubed with odours sweet,
Groping the postern with her bared feet.
Now play the Satyr whoso list for me,
Valentine's self, or some as chaste as he.
In vain she wisheth long Alcmena's night[o],
Cursing the hasty dawning of the light;

[h] The plunder of Cadiz, then lately taken.—H.

[i] *Broking;* [trafficking.]

[k] *Wittoled;* cuckolded. See note on book i. sat. vii. l. 17.

[l] *Hansel,* the first use of anything; from *hansel,* a first gift; Dutch.—Maitland.

[m] *Writhen;* twisted, crooked. *Lena,* a procuress, the mistress of a brothel.—Maitland.

[n] Vid. Juvenal, sat. vi. l. 126, et seq.—Maitland.

[o] The story of Alcmena's infidelity is well known.

And, with her cruel lady-star uprose,
She seeks her third roost on her silent toes,
Besmeared all with loathsome smoke of lust,
Like Acheron's steams, or smouldering sulphur dust.
Yet all day sits she simpering in her mew [p],
Like some chaste dame, or shrined saint in shew;
While he lies wallowing with a westy [q] head
And palish carcass, on his brothel bed,
Till his salt bowels boil with poisonous fire [r];
Right Hercules with his second Dejanire.
O Æsculape! how rife is physic made,
When each brass bason [s] can profess the trade
Of ridding pocky wretches from their pain,
And do the beastly cure for ten groats' gain!
All these, and more, deserve some blood-drawn lines,
But my six cords been of too loose a twine:
Stay till my beard shall sweep mine aged breast,
Then shall I seem an awful Satirist.
While now my rhymes relish of the ferule [t] still,
Some nose-wise pedant saith; whose deep-seen skill
Hath three times construed either Flaccus [u] o'er,
And thrice rehearsed them in his trivial floor [x].
So let them tax me for my hot blood's rage,
Rather than say I doted in my age.

p *Simpering in her mew.* A *mew* is a retreat: properly a cage, or place of confinement (from *mue*, Fr.) where falcons were kept.

q A *westy* head is a dizzy, confused head. Cole renders *westy* by *Scotomaticus*, vertigine laborans, i. e. troubled with *scotoma*, or dizziness.—Singer.

r Hall here compares the consequences of sensual indulgence to the effects produced upon Hercules by the poisoned garment sent to him by his wife Deianira.—Maitland.

s *Each brass bason*; i. e. *barber*, designated by one of his chief implements.—Singer.

t *Ferule*; an instrument of correction, so called because the stalks of fennel were anciently used for this purpose. The word is derived from *ferula*, giant fennel.—Maitland.

u *Either Flaccus*; i. e. Horace and Valerius.—H.

x Schools were formerly divided into *quadriviales* and *triviales*. In the former, the *quadrivium*, or cycle of the four highest of the seven liberal arts, was taught; in the latter, the *trivium*, or cycle of the three lowest. *Trivial floor* means a school, as distinguished from the *universities*, where only the four highest arts were taught.—Maitland.

SATIRE II.[z]

Arcades ambo.

Old drivelling Lolio drudges all he can
To make his eldest son a gentleman.
Who can despair, that sees another thrive
By loan of twelvepence to an oyster-wive[a]?
When a crazed scaffold and a rotten stage
Was all rich Nænius his heritage.
Naught spendeth he for fear, nor spares for cost;
And all he spends and spares beside is lost.
Himself goes patched like some bare cottyer,
Lest he might aught the future stock appeyre[b].
Let giddy Cosmius change his choice array,
Like as the Turk his tents, thrice in a day,
And all to sun and air his suits unfold[c]
From spiteful moths, and frets, and hoary mould,
Bearing his pawn-laid lands upon his back,
As snails their shells, or pedlers do their pack.
Who cannot shine in tissues and pure gold
That hath his lands and patrimony sold?
Lolio's side-coat[d] is rough pampilian,
Gilded with drops that down the bosom ran,
White kersey hose, patched on either knee,
The very emblem of good husbandry;
And a knit nightcap, made of coarsest twine,
With two long labels[e] buttoned to his chin.

[z] This satire contains the character of an old country squire, who starves himself to breed his son a lawyer and a gentleman. It appears that the vanity or luxury of purchasing dainties at an exorbitant price began early.—Warton.

[a] Probably by lending small sums to oyster-women for the purchase of their daily stock, for which an oppressive and usurious interest was demanded. Mr. Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, states this practice to be carried to a great extent at this day in London: many persons supporting themselves by lending enough to improvident barrow-women to purchase the stock of the day, for which they receive after the rate of sixpence for five shillings.—Pratt.

[b] *Appeyre*, to impair, from *empirer*, Fr.—Maitland.

[c] [All the editions give "*untold*," an evident mistake.]

[d] *Side-coat*, long coat. In the south of Scotland, *side-coat* is used for *great coat*.—Maitland. [*Pampilian*: though the meaning of this word is not difficult to conjecture, no authority for it has been found. It may be formed perhaps from πᾶς and πῖλος, a rough kind of cloth or felt.]

[e] *Label*; a small slip of silk, a kind of tassel.—Maitland.

So rides he mounted on the market-day
Upon a straw-stuffed pannel[f] all the way,
With a maund[g] charged with household merchandise,
With eggs, or white meat, from both daïries:
And with that buys he roast for Sunday noon,
Proud how he made that week's provision.
Else is he stall-fed on the worky-day
With brown-bread crusts softened in sodden whey,
Or watergruel, or those paups of meal
That Maro makes his Simule and Cybale[h]:
Or once a week, perhaps, for novelty,
Reezed bacon-soords[i] shall feast his family;
And weens this more than one egg cleft in twain
To feast some patron and his chapelain,
Or more than is some hungry gallant's dole,
That in a dearth runs sneaking to a hole,
And leaves his man and dog to keep his hall,
Lest the wild room should run forth of the wall.
Good man! him list not spend his idle meals
In quinsing plovers or in winging quails[k];
Nor toot[l] in Cheapside baskets earne and late
To set the first tooth in some novel cate.
Let sweet-mouthed Mercia bid what crowns she please
For half-red cherries or green garden-peas,

[f] A *pannel* is a *pack-saddle*, or *sumpter-saddle*. Dossualia, sagma, clitella. —SINGER.

[g] A *maund* is a *hand-basket;* mand, Saxon.

[h] *Similago* Lat., *semoule* Fr., *semola* Ital., is that kind of coarse meal of which *porridge* was usually made. *Cibale* Lat., *cibaglia* Ital., is *food* or victuals in general. Hall probably means to say that Maro made those *paups*, or miserable portions of coarse meal, both his *meat* and *drink*.—SINGER. *Simula* is used in ancient Latin deeds for a manchet or white loaf.—PRATT. The poet here alludes to *Simulus* and *Cybale*, the *agricola* and *ancilla* of *Moretum*, a poem attributed to Virgil. For an account of Cybale's mode of compounding "paups of meale," vid. *Moretum*, v. 39–51.—MAITLAND.

[i] *Reezed bacon-soords*, i. e. reechy remnants of bacon. *Soord* (a corruption of *sward*) is still used, in Warwickshire at least, and probably elsewhere, to denote the rind or thick skin of bacon.—PRATT. *Reezed* is probably from *reasty*, quasi *rusty*, or *rancid*.—MAITLAND.

[k] These are terms in the noble arts of *kerving* and *cooking*. In that curious list of '*the dewe termys to speak of brekynge or dressynge of dyvers beestys and foules*,' printed in the Boke of St. Alban's, (I quote from the facsimile of the edition of 1496,) the proper terms appear to be, *a quayle wynggyd, a plover mynsyd*.—SINGER.

[l] To *toot* is to pry, to search, to peep. So Spenser, in the Shepherd's Kalendar, March, 66:—

"With bow and bolts in either hand,
For birdes in bushes *tooting*."

Or the first artichokes of all the year,
To make so lavish cost for little cheer;
When Lolio feasteth in his revelling fit,
Some starved pullen [m] scours the rusted spit.
For else how should his son maintained be
At Inns of Court or of the Chancery;
There to learn law, and courtly carriage,
To make amends for his mean parentage;
Where he unknown, and ruffling [n] as he can,
Goes current eachwhere for a gentleman?
While yet he roosteth at some uncouth sign,
Nor never read his tenures' second line [o].
What broker's lousy wardrobe cannot reach
With tissued panes [p] to prank each peasant's breech?
Couldst thou but give the wall, the cap, the knee,
To proud Sartorio that goes straddling by;
Were't not the needle, pricked on his sleeve,
Doth by good hap the secret watchword give?
But hear'st thou, Lolio's son? 'gin not thy gait
Until the evening owl or bloody bat:
Never until the lamps of Paul's been light [q],
And niggard lanterns shade the moonshine night:
Then, when the guilty bankrupt, in bold dread,
From his close cabin thrusts his shrinking head,

[m] *Pullen;* pullet.—Pratt. A word still used in the north for *poultry.*—Maitland.

[n] Shakspeare has—

"The tailor stays thy leisure,
To deck thy body with his *ruffling* treasure."

Mr. Malone says, "*A ruffler* in our author's time signified a noisy and turbulent swaggerer; and the word ruffling may here be applied in a kindred sense to dress." See his note on the passage in the Taming of the Shrew, act iv. sc. 3.—Pratt.

[o] [Littleton on Tenures. The meaning is plain, "studied scarcely a word of law."]

[p] *Panes* (from *panneau*, Fr.) were openings in the cloth, where other colours were inserted in silk or rich stuff, and drawn through; in fact, the pane of a window is perfectly analogous, and of the same origin. *Panniculus.* "The Switzers weare no coates, but doublets and hose of *panes* intermingled with red and yellow, and some with blew, trimmed with long puffes of yellow and blew sarcenet rising up between the *panes.*" *Coriat's Crudities,* 1611, (repr. vol. i. p. 41). These slashed garments were of course expensive, and therefore unsuited to the lower classes.—Singer. To *prank* is to dress out, or ornament.—Pratt.

[q] The lamps about St. Paul's were at that time the only regular night-illuminations of London.—Warton.

That hath been long in shady shelter pent
Imprisoned for fear of prisonment;
May be some russet-coat parochian [r]
Shall call thee cousin, friend, or countryman,
And, for thy hoped fist crossing the street,
Shall in his father's name his godson greet.
Could never man work thee a worser shame,
Than once to minge [s] thy father's odious name:
Whose mention were alike to thee as lieve [t]
As a catchpoll's fist [u] unto a bankrupt's sleeve;
Or a *Hos ego* [x] from old Petrarch's sprite
Unto a plagiary sonnet-wright.
There, soon as he can kiss his hand in gree [y],
And with good grace bow it below the knee,
Or make a Spanish face [z] with fawning cheer,
With the island congé like a cavalier,
And shake his head, and cringe his neck and side,
Home hies he in his father's farm to bide.
The tenants wonder at their landlord's son,
And bless them at so sudden coming on,
More than who vies [a] his pence to view some trick
Of strange Morocco's [b] dumb arithmetic,

[r] Probably some homely-clad inhabitant of the parish where he was himself born.—Pratt.

[s] To *minge*, to *mention*, to *mind* or *remember* one of a thing: *myngian*,

"Ay *ming'd*, ay mourn'd, and wished oft in wast."—Singer.

[t] *As lieve*, that is, *as agreeable, as pleasing*.—Singer. From the Saxon.—Maitland.

[u] See Phillips's Splendid Shilling, v. 57.—Hazlewood.

[x] An allusion to the well-known lines of Virgil, quoted by Donatus:—

"Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores.
Sic vos non vobis," &c.—Maitland.

[y] *In gree;* i. e. in expression of *liking* or *satisfaction:* from the Italian "prendi in *grado*." Frequently used by Spenser. See Todd's Spenser, vol. ii. p. 158.—Pratt. From *gré*, Fr.—Maitland.

[z] A *Spanish face* meant a *courtier-like* one, no doubt. The *Island congé* I cannot explain. The *Spanish face* is the *Castiliano volto* of Shakspeare, in Twelfth Night, act i. sc. 3; where the editions erroneously read, "Castiliano *vulgo*."—Singer.

[a] To *vie* was to wager, stake, or put down money: it is a term borrowed from the old game of Gleek.—Singer.

[b] *Morocco*, or *Marocco*, was the name of Bankes's wonderful horse, celebrated by all writers of the day. Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Treatise on Bodies, p. 393, says, "This horse would restore a glove to the due owner after the master had whispered the man's name in his ear; would tell the just number of pence in any piece of silver coin,

Or the young elephant, or two-tailed steer,
Or the rigged camel, or the fiddling frere.
Nay then, his Hodge shall leave the plough and wain,
And buy a book, and go to school again.
Why mought not he, as well as others done,
Rise from his fescue [c] to his Littleton [d]?
Fools [e]! they may feed with words, and live by air,
That climb to honour by the pulpit's stair:
Sit seven years pining in an anchore's [f] chair,
To win some patched shreds of minivere [g];
And seven more plod at a patron's tail,
To get a gelded [h] chapel's cheaper sale.
Old Lolio sees, and laugheth in his sleeve
At the great hope they and his state do give.
But that which glads and makes him proud'st of all,
Is when the brabbling neighbours on him call
For counsel in some crabbed case of law,
Or some indentments, or some bond to draw:
His neighbour's goose hath grazed on his lea,
What action mought be entered in the plea?

newly showed him by his master; and even obey presently his command," &c. &c. He was celebrated also for his dancing; and among other exploits he went up to the top of St. Paul's in 1601. The fate of man and horse is not known with certainty, but it has been asserted that they were both burned at Rome as magicians, by order of the pope, after having exhibited through Europe. The best account of Bankes and his horse, says Mr. Douce, is to be found in the notes to a French translation of Apuleius's Golden Ass, by Jean de Montlyard, 1602. They were the subjects of one or two curious English pamphlets. —Singer. The following note, by Mr. Isaac Reed, is taken from his copy of Bishop Hall's Satires, in the Editor's possession:—"This alludes to a pamphlet called Marocco's Extations, or Bankes's Bay Horse in a Trance, 4to. 1595. It is a dialogue between Bankes and his horse; and begins, 'Holla, Marocco, whose mare is dead?' &c. There is a wooden print prefixed of the master and his horse, and a pair of dice on the floor. The horse stands on his hind legs, with a stick in his mouth to point with."—Hazlewood. Shakspeare, and many other writers of his day, allude to his feats. See a curious note, with a coarse representation of the horse exhibiting his tricks, in Reed's Shakspeare, vol. vii. p. 26. The two following lines refer to various popular exhibitions of the author's time. Pratt.

[c] [*Fescue, festuca*, Lat., a pointer used by children in reading.—Bailey.]

[d] [See note on l. 60.]

[e] "The law is the only way to riches. Fools only will seek preferment in the church."—Warton.

[f] *Anchore;* an abbreviation of *anchoret*.—Maitland.

[g] The hood of a graduate. "Pellis est cujusdam albæ bestiolæ, qua utuntur Academici, Senatores, et Juridici, ad duplicandas superhumeralia togas et stolas purpureas." Minshew, v. *Meniver*.

[h] A *gelded* chapel: i. e. a benefice robbed of its tithes, &c. So in the Return from Parnassus, act iii. sc. 1. "He hath a proper *gelded* parsonage." —Warton.

So new-fallen lands have made him in request,
That now he looks as lofty as the best.
And, well done, Lolio, like a thrifty sire,
'Twere pity but thy son should prove a squire.
How I foresee in many ages past,
When Lolio's caitiff name is quite defaced,
Thine heir, his heir's heir, and his heir again
From out the loins of careful Lolian,
Shall climb up to the chancel-pews on high,
And rule and reign in their rich tenancy;
When, perched aloft, to perfect their estate,
They rack their rents unto a treble rate,
And hedge in all the neighbour common-lands [i],
And clog their slavish tenants with commands;
While they, poor souls, with feeling sigh complain,
And wish old Lolio were alive again,
And praise his gentle soul and wish it well,
And of his friendly facts full often tell.
His father dead! tush, no, it was not he,
He finds records of his great pedigree,
And tells how first his famous ancestor
Did come in long since with the Conqueror.
Nor hath some bribed herald first assigned
His quartered arms and crest of gentle kind;
The Scottish barnacle, if I might choose,
That of a worm doth wax a winged goose [k].
Natheless some hungry squire, for hope of good,
Matches the churl's son into gentle blood,
Whose son more justly of his gentry boasts,
Than who were born at two pide-painted posts [l],

[i] Enclosures of waste lands were among the great and national grievances of our author's age. He dwells again upon this evil in the first and third Satires of the fifth book.—WARTON.

[k] "There are in the north parts of Scotland certain trees, whereon do grow shell-fishes, &c., which, falling into the water, do become fowls, whom we call *barnacles;* in the north of England, *brant geese;* and in Lincolnshire, *tree-geese.*"—Gerard's Herbal, 1597. p. 1391. There is much humour in choosing such a transformed crest for the new-made gentleman.—SINGER.

[l] *Pide*, or *pied*, is spotted, or speckled. —PRATT. Posts painted and ornamented were usually set up at the doors of sheriffs, mayors, and other magistrates, on which the royal proclamations were fixed. These were usually new painted on entering into office.—SINGER. For a representation of a sheriff's post, the reader is referred to the Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury, 1834, 4to, woodcut 17; and Gentleman's Magazine for May 1838.—H.

And had some traunting[m] chapman to his sire,
That trafficked both by water and by fire.
O times! since ever Rome did kings create,
Brass gentlemen, and Cæsars laureate!

SATIRE III.[n]

Fuimus Troës. Vel, *Vix ea nostra.*

What boots it, Pontice, though thou couldst discourse
Of a long golden line of ancestors?
Or show their painted faces gaily drest,
From ever since before the last conquest?
Or tedious beadrolls of descended blood,
From father Japheth[o], since Deucalion's flood?
Or call some old church-windows to record
The age of thy fair arms?
Or find some figures half obliterate
In rain-beat marble near to the church gate
Upon a cross-legged tomb? What boots it thee
To show the rusted buckle that did tie
The garter of thy greatest grandsire's knee?
What, to reserve their relics many years,
Their silver spurs, or spils[p] of broken spears?
Or cite old Ocland's[q] verse, how they did wield
The wars in Turwin or in Turney field[r]?

[m] To *traunt* is to traffick in an itinerant manner like a pedler.—Singer. Johnson explains *tranters*, from Bailey, as "Men who carry fish from the sea-coasts to sell in the inland countries."—*Chapman* is substituted in the *errata* to the first edition for *merchant*, which is in the text.—Pratt.

[n] He here touches on the pride of pedigree.—Warton. [Compare Juv. sat. viii.]

[o] The poet here identifies the patriarch Japheth with the Greek Iapetus.—Maitland.

[p] *Spils* are splinters, or broken fragments. The word has been recently revived to express small slips of paper.—Singer.

[q] Christopher Ocland, a schoolmaster of Cheltenham, published, in 1582, two poems in Latin hexameters, one entitled *Anglorum Prælia*, the other *Elizabetha*. To these poems, which are written in a low style of Latin versification, is prefixed an edict from the lords of privy council, requiring them to be publicly read and taught in all schools instead of some of the heathen poets, as it styles the ancient classics. It appears from an introductory sonnet by Thomas Watson, author of the Hecatompathia, that Ocland was a very old man; hence he is called old Ocland by our author. See Warton's History of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 314.—Singer.

[r] *Turwin*, [Terouane,] a small town on the confines of Picardy, was taken by Henry the Eighth after an obstinate siege, in 1513. In the same year he besieged and took *Turney*, [Tournay,] a town within the frontiers of Flanders, but belonging to France.—Maitland.

And if thou canst in picking straws engage
In one half day thy father's heritage;
Or hide whatever treasures he thee got,
In some deep cockpit; or, in desperate lot,
Upon a six-square piece of ivory
Throw both thyself and thy posterity:
Or if (O shame!) in hired harlot's bed
Thy wealthy heirdom thou have buried;
Then, Pontice, little boots thee to discourse
Of a long golden line of ancestors.
Venturous Fortunio his farm hath sold,
And gads to Guiane land[s] to fish for gold,
Meeting, perhaps, if Orenoque deny,
Some straggling pinnace of Polonian rye;
Then comes home floating with a silken sail,
That Severn shaketh with his cannon-peal.
Wiser Raymundus[t], in his closet pent,
Laughs at such danger and adventurement,
When half his lands are spent in golden smoke,
And now his second hopeful glass is broke;
But yet, if haply his third furnace hold,
Devoteth all his pots and pans to gold.
So spend thou, Pontice, if thou canst not spare,
Like some stout seaman or philosopher.
And were thy fathers gentle? that's their praise;
No thank to thee, by whom their name decays:
By virtue got they it, and valorous deed;
Do thou so, Pontice, and be honoured.
But else, look how their virtue was their own,
Not capable of propagation:
Right so their titles been, nor can be thine,
Whose ill deserts might blank their golden line.
Tell me, thou gentle Trojan, dost thou prize
Thy brute-beasts' worth by their dams' qualities?

[s] There was then a spirit of adventure afloat, and many fruitless expeditions in search of gold-mines were undertaken. The reader will recollect those of sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana and Orinoco, in which he was attended by many young men of spirit and slender fortune, misled by golden dreams.—SINGER.

[t] *Raymundus.* This name is appropriately given to a searcher for the philosopher's stone, from *Raymond Lully*, the celebrated alchemist.—MAITLAND.

Sayst thou, This colt shall prove a swift-paced steed,
Only because a jennet[u] did him breed?
Or sayst thou, This same horse shall win the prize,
Because his dam was swiftest Trunchefice,
Or Runceval[x] his sire? himself a Galloway[y],
While, like a tireling jade, he lags half-way?
Or while thou seest some of thy stallion race,
Their eyes bored out, masking the miller's maze[z],
Like to a Scythian slave sworn to the pail,
Or dragging frothy barrels at his tail?
Albe wise Nature, in her providence,
Wont, in the want of reason and of sense,
Traduce the native virtue with the kind,
Making all brute and senseless things inclined
Unto their cause, or place where they were sown;
That one is like to all, and all like one.
Was never fox but wily cubs begets;
The bear his fierceness to his brood besets:
Nor fearful hare falls out of lion's seed,
Nor eagle wont the tender dove to breed.
Crete ever wont the cypress sad to bear,
Acheron banks the palish popelar:
The palm doth rifely rise in Jury-field,
And Alpheus waters naught but olives wild:
Asopus breeds big bulrushes alone;
Meander, heath: peaches by Nilus grown.
An English wolf, an Irish toad to see,
Were as a chaste man nursed in Italy.
And now when nature gives another guide
To human kind, that in his bosom bides
Above instinct, his reason and discourse,
His being better, is his life the worse?
Ah me! how seldom see we sons succeed
Their fathers' praise in prowess and great deed!

[u] [*Jennets;* horses of Barbary and Spain.—Phillips. Genet of Spain, optimæ generationis Caballus.—Minshew.]

[x] [*Rouncival;* large, strong: from the gigantic bones of the old heroes pretended to be shown at Roncesvalles. Nares.]

[y] *A Galloway* is *a common hackney.* Thus Pistol, in King Henry IV. p. 1. uses it as a contemptuous phrase,—"Know we not galloway nags?"—Singer.

[z] That is, pacing round the mill with his eyes covered.—Pratt.

Yet certes, if the sire be ill inclined,
His faults befall his sons by course of kind.
Scaurus was covetous, his son not so;
But not his pared nail will he forego.
Florian the sire did women love a-life[a],
And so his son doth too, all but his wife.
Brag of thy father's faults, they are thine own:
Brag of his lands, if those be not foregone.
Brag of thine own good deeds, for they are thine,
More than his life or lands or golden line.

SATIRE IV.[b]

Plus beau que fort.

CAN I not touch some upstart carpet-shield[c]
Of Lolio's son, that never saw the field,
Or tax wild Pontice for his luxuries,
But straight they tell me of Tiresias'[d] eyes?
Or luckless Collingborn's[e] feeding of the crows;
Or hundreth scalps which Thames still underflows[f]?
But straight Sigalion nods, and knits his brows,
And winks, and wafts his warning hand for fear,
And lisps some silent letters in my ear?
Have I not vowed, for shunning such debate,
(Pardon, ye Satires,) to degenerate?
And, wading low in this plebeian lake,
That no salt wave shall froth upon my back?

[a] *Love a-life;* a *vulgarism*, meaning *love, as he loved his life.* Tyrwhitt supposes *a-life* to be an abbreviation of *at life.*—MAITLAND.

[b] In this satire the diversions of a delicate youth of fashion and refined manners are mentioned, as opposed to the rougher employments of a military life.—WARTON.

[c] *Carpet-shield*, i. e. *carpet-knight.*

[d] Tiresias was deprived of his eyesight by Juno, as a punishment for deciding a dispute of a delicate nature between Jupiter and herself, in favour of the former.—MAITLAND.

[e] Collingbourne is the same whose legend is in the Mirrour for Magistrates, and who was hanged for a distich he made on Catesby, Ratcliff, Lord Lovel, and King Richard the Third, about the year 1484.—WARTON. The distich, which is given by Grafton and the other chroniclers, was as follows:—

"The ratte, the cat, and Lovell our dogge,
Rule all England under the hogge."

Meaning by the *hog* King Richard, whose cognisance was a wild boar.—SINGER.

[f] The line may (possibly) allude to the practice of *gibbetting* criminals after execution, along the banks of the Thames.—MAITLAND.

Let Labeo, or who else list for me,
Go loose his ears, and fall to alchemy:
Only let Gallio give me leave awhile
To school him once, or ere I change my style.
O lawless paunch! the cause of much despite,
Through ranging of a currish appetite,
When spleenish morsels cram the gaping maw,
Withouten diet's care or trencher-law:
Though never have I Salerne rhymes[g] profess'd,
To be some lady's trencher-critic guest;
While each bit cooleth for the oracle,
Whose sentence charms it with a rhyming spell.
Touch not this choler, that melàncholy,
This bit were dry and hot, that cold and dry.
Yet can I set my Gallio's dieting,
A pestle[h] of a lark, or plover's wing;
And warn him not to cast his wanton eyne
On grosser bacon, or salt haberdine[i],
Or dried flitches of some smoked beeve,
Hanged on a writhen withe[k] since Martin's eve[l];
Or burnt larks' heels, or rashers raw and green,
Or melancholic liver of a hen,
Which stout Vorano brags to make his feast,
And claps his hand on his brave ostrich breast;
Then falls to praise the hardy Janizar[m]
That sucks his horse side, thirsting in the war:

[g] *Salernum* in the kingdom of Naples, formerly a famous university. The allusion is to the Schola Salernitana, an old medical system in rhyming Latin verse, which chiefly describes the qualities of diet.—Warton. It had been translated into English, under the title of the School of Salerne, not long before. Shakspeare has *trencher-knight* for a sycophant, in Love's Labour Lost, act. v. sc. 2.—Singer.

[h] *Pesil;* the shank of a sheep.—Bailey. *Pestle* of pork, parvus pes.—Minshew.

[i] *Haberdine;* [a sort of salt fish.—Bailey.]

[k] A *writhen withe* is a band made of withy, or twisted willow twigs.—Singer.

[l] The feast of St. Martin, or Martlemas, the 11th of November, was the customary time for hanging up provisions to dry. The good old Tusser says,

"For Easter at Martlemas hang up a beef:
With that and the like, ere grasse beef come in,
Thy folke shall look cherely, when others look thin."—Singer.

[m] *The hardy Janizar.* A curious account of the warlike habits of the Turkish Janissaries, and of their feeding upon horse-flesh, may be found in Busbequii *Legationes Turcicæ*, Paris. 1595, p. 71.—Maitland.

Lastly, to seal up all that he hath spoke,
Quaffs a whole tunnel of tobacco smoke.
If Martius in boisterous buffs[n] be dressed,
Branded with iron plates upon the breast,
And pointed[o] on the shoulders for the nonce,
As new come from the Belgian garrisons;
What should thou need to envy aught at that,
Whenas thou smellest like a civet cat?
Whenas thine oiled locks smooth-platted fall,
Shining like varnished pictures on a wall?
When a plumed fan[p] may shade thy chalked face,
And lawny strips thy naked bosom grace?
If brabbling Makefray[q], at each fair and 'size,
Picks quarrels for to show his valiantise,
Straight pressed, for an hungry Switzer's pay[r],
To thrust his fist to each part of the fray,
And, piping hot, puffs toward the pointed plain[s],
With a broad Scot[t], or proking-spit of Spain[u];
Or hoiseth sail up to a foreign shore,
That he may live a lawless conqueror[x]:
If some such desperate hackster shall devise
To rouse thine hare's-heart from her cowardice,
As idle children striving to excel
In blowing bubbles from an empty shell;
O Hercules! how like to prove a man,
That all so rathy thy warlike life began!
Thy mother could thee for thy cradle set
Her husband's rusty iron corselet;
Whose jargling sound might rock her babe to rest,
That never plained of his uneasy nest:
There did he dream of dreary wars at hand,
And woke, and fought, and won, ere he could stand.

n *Buffs;* a military dress; [coats of buff leather.]

o *Pointed;* that is, ornamented with *tags*, or shoulder-knots.—Singer.

p Fans of feathers were then chiefly used. So Harrington, Epig. 70, l. 1.—Singer.

q *Makefray;* an obvious compound, applied to a disturber of the peace.—Maitland.

r The Swiss were for a long period the *mercenary* soldiers of Europe.—Maitland.

s *Pointed;* that is, covered with spears.—Maitland.

t *Broad Scot;* a broad *Scotch dirk.*—Pratt. A broadsword.—Maitland.

u *Proking-spit of Spain;* a long *Spanish rapier.*—Singer. A Toledo.—Maitland.

x That is, turn pirate.—Singer.

y *Rathe; early, soon.*—Chaucer.

But who hath seen the lambs of Tarentine[z]
May guess what Gallio his manners been;
All soft as is the falling thistle-down,
Soft as the fumy ball[a], or Morrian's crown[b].
Now, Gallio, 'gins thy youthful heat to reign
In every vigorous limb and swelling vein;
Time bids thee raise thine headstrong thoughts on high,
To valour and adventurous chivalry:
Pawn thou no glove for challenge of the deed,
Nor make thy quintain[c] other's armed head,
To enrich the waiting herald with thy shame,
And make thy loss the scornful scaffold's[d] game.
Wars, God forfend! nay, God defend from war!
Soon are sons spent, that not soon reared are.
Gallio may pull me roses ere they fall,
Or in his net entrap the tennis-ball,
Or tend his spar-hawk mantling[e] in her mew,
Or yelping beagles' busy heels pursue,
Or watch a sinking cork upon the shore[f],
Or halter finches through a privy door[g]:
Or list he spend the time in sportful game,
In daily courting of his lovely dame,
Hang on her lips, melt in her wanton eye,
Dance in her hand, joy in her jollity;
Here's little peril, and much lesser pain,
So timely Hymen do the rest restrain.
Hie, wanton Gallio, and wed betime,
Why shouldst thou leese the pleasures of thy prime?

[z] [*Tarentum;* proverbial for luxury and voluptuousness.]

[a] Warton says, a *fumy ball* means a *ball of perfume*. I doubt this: perhaps the sort of fungus called a *puff-ball* may be intended.—Singer.

[b] Morrian is the Fool in the play.—Warton. *Morrian* seems to be used here for a *moor*, or negro; *morien*, old French; whose soft woolly crown is alluded to: this agrees better with the preceding similes of lamb's-wool, thistle-down, &c. Cotgrave interprets the French word "*More*, a Moore; *morian*, blackamore."—Singer.

[c] *A quintain* (or *quintin*) was a figure set up for tilters to run at, in mock resemblance of a tournament.—Singer.

[d] *Scaffold;* the gallery for spectators, erected round the *arena* of a tournament.—Maitland.

[e] [*To mantle* (in falconry), to display, as the hawk mantles, spreads her wings after her legs.—Bailey.]

[f] That is, stand angling for fish.—Singer.

[g] *A privy door;* a pitfall, or trap-cage for catching birds.—Maitland.

Seest thou the rose-leaves fall ungathered?
Then hie thee, wanton Gallio, to wed.
Let ring and ferule meet upon thine hand[h],
And Lucine's girdle with her swathing-band.
Hie thee, and give the world yet one dwarf more,
Such as it got when thou thyself wast bore.
Look not for warning of thy bloomed chin;
Can ever happiness too soon begin?
Virginius vowed to keep his maidenhead,
And eats chaste lettuce, and drinks poppy-seed,
And smells on camphor fasting; and, that done,
Long hath he lived, chaste as a veiled nun;
Free as a new absolved damosel,
That Frere Cornelius shrived in his cell:
Till, now he waxed a toothless bacheler,
He thaws like Chaucer's frosty Janivere,
And sets a month's mind[i] upon smiling May,
And dyes his beard that did his age bewray;
Biting on anise-seed and rose-marine,
Which might the fume of his rot lungs refine.
Now he in Charon's barge a bride doth seek,
The maidens mock, and call him withered leek[k],
That with a green tail hath an hoary head;
And now he would, and now he cannot wed.

[h] Marry, while so young as to be yet under the hand of the master.—PRATT.

[i] *A month's mind;* a longing. Shakspeare has the phrase in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, act i. sc. 2: "I see you have a *month's mind* to them." And Hudibras, p. I. c. ii. v. 111, 112:—

"For if a trumpet sound, or drum beat,
Who hath not a *month's mind* to combat?"—SINGER.

[k] The comparison is to be found in sir John Davies's Epigrams, printed with Marlowe's Translation of Ovid's Love Elegies, at Middelburg, 12mo, without date, Epigr. 25, in Septimium:—

"Septimius lives, and is like garlike seene,
For though his head be white, his blade is greene."—SINGER.

SATIRE V.[k]

Stupet Albius ære.

Would now that Matho[l] were the Satirist,
That some fat bribe might grease him in the fist,
For which he need not brawl at any bar,
Nor kiss the book to be a perjurer.
Who else would scorn[m] his silence to have sold,
And have his tongue tied with strings of gold?
Curius is dead, and buried long since,
And all that loved golden abstinence.
Might he not well repine at his old fee,
Would he but spare to speak of usury?
Hirelings enow beside can be so base,
Though we should scorn each bribing varlet's brass;
Yet he and I could shun each jealous head,
Sticking our thumbs close to our girdle-stead[n]:
Though, were they manacled behind our back,
Another's fist can serve our fees to take.
Yet pursy Euclio, cheerly smiling, prayed
That my sharp words might curtal[o] their side trade[p]:
For thousands been in every governall,
That live by loss, and rise by others' fall.
What ever sickly sheep so secret dies,
But some foul raven hath bespoke his eyes?
What else makes N——, when his lands are spent,
Go shaking like a threadbare malcontent,
Whose bandless bonnet veils his o'ergrown chin,
And sullen rags bewray his morphewed skin[q]?

[k] The fifth satire is the most obscure of any. It exhibits the extremes of prodigality and avarice, and affords the first instance I remember to have seen of nominal initials with dashes. Yet in Hall's Postscript to these Satires, he professes to have avoided all personal applications.—Warton.

[l] Matho was an informer and lawyer of the lowest order during the reign of Domitian. Vid. Juvenal. Ruperti, sat. i. l. 32: sat. vii. l. 129, et Notas.—Maitland.

[m] [*Scorn*; disregard, consider it of no consequence.]

[n] The *girdlestead*, that is, the *waist*; the place (or *stead*) of the girdle. So in Stubbes's Anatomy of Abuses: "Some short, scarsly reaching to the *girdlestead*, or waste, some to the knee," &c. —Singer.

[o] *To curtal, curtail.*

[p] *Side trade*, i. e. indirect, disreputable.—Maitland.

[q] *Morphew* is a leprous eruption, appearing like a white scurf upon the body.

So ships he to the wolvish Western Isle
Among the savage kernes[r] in sad exile;
Or in the Turkish wars, at Cæsar's pay,
To rub his life out till the latest day.
Another shifting gallant, to forecast
To gull his hostess for a month's repast,
With some galled trunk, ballaced[s] with straw and stone,
Left for the pawn of his provision.
Had F——'s shop lien fallow but from hence?
His doors close sealed, as in some pestilence,
Whiles his light heels their fearful flight can take,
To get some badgeless blue[t] upon his back?
Tocullio was a wealthy usurer,
Such store of incomes had he every year,
By bushels was he wont to mete his coin,
As did the old wife of Trimalcion[u].
Could he do more, that finds an idle room
For many hundred thousands on a tomb?
Or who rears up four free-schools in his age
Of his old pillage and damned surplusage?
Yet now he swore, by that sweet cross he kissed,
(That silver cross, where he had sacrificed
His coveting soul, by his desire's own doom,
Daily to die the Devil's martyrdom,)
His angels[x] were all flown up to their sky,
And had forsook his naked treasury.
Farewell Astræa[y] and her weights of gold
Until his lingering calends[z] once be told;

[r] [In the year 1566, O'Neale the rebel, according to Stow, brought "a great army of Kerne galawglasses and horsemen" to engage Col. Randolph at Derry, whither the latter had been sent from England to maintain the queen's authority in that part of Ireland.—See Stow's Annals, Lond. 1605. p. 1118.] *Kernes* were light-armed foot soldiers, either from Ireland or the Western Isles, and are always represented as very poor, wild, and savage.—Singer. For the supposed etymology of the term *Kernes*, vid. Todd's Johnson.—Maitland.

[s] [*Balassed*, or *balaced*, from *Balasse*, (ballast of a ship.) See Minshew, and also Somner, v. *Balasse*.]

[t] *Badgeless blue;* some dress, different from that which he had worn, in order to prevent detection.—Pratt. The dress of a person in low life, generally of a servant, which was of a blue colour.—Maitland.

[u] "Uxor Trimalchionis Fortunata appellatur, quæ nummos modio metitur." Petronii Arbitri *Satyricon*, cap. 37.—Maitland.

[x] [*Angel*, a gold coin worth about ten shillings.—Bailey.]

[y] *Astræa.* [See Ovid. Metamorph. l. i. 143.]

[z] [An allusion to Græcas Kalendas, meaning the day of eternal reckoning, told or counted out, &c.]

Naught left behind but wax and parchment scrolls,
Like Lucian's dream [z] that silver turned to coals.
Shouldst thou him credit, that nould [a] credit thee?
Yes, and mayst swear he swore the verity.
The ding-thrift [b] heir, his shift-got sum mispent,
Comes drooping like a penniless penitent,
And beats his faint fist on Tocullio's door;
It lost the last, and now must call for more.
Now hath the spider caught a wandering fly,
And drags her captive at her cruel thigh:
Soon is his errand read in his pale face,
Which bears dumb characters of every case.
So Cyned's dusky cheek, and fiery eye,
And hairless brow, tells where he last did lie.
So Matho doth bewray his guilty thought
Whiles his pale face doth say his cause is naught.
Seest thou the wary angler trail along
His feeble line, soon as some pike too strong
Hath swallowed the bait, that scorns the shore,
Yet now near hand cannot resist no more?
So lieth he aloof in smooth pretence,
To hide his rough intended violence.
As he that, under name of Christmas cheer,
Can starve his tenants all the ensuing year.
Paper and wax (God wot!) a weak repay
For such deep debts and downcast sums as they;
Write, seal, deliver, take, go spend and speed;
And yet full hardly could his present need
Part with such sum; for but as yester late [c]
Did Furnus offer penn'orths at easy rate,
For small disbursement; he the banks hath broke,
And needs mote now some further plain o'erlook:

[z] Πόθεν χρυσίον τοσοῦτον; ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν ταῦτά ἐστι; δέδια γοῦν μὴ ἐνθρακας, εὕρω ἀνεγρόμενος. Vid. Luciani Timon. edit. Hemsterhus. tom. i. p. 152.—Maitland. [Lucian. Opp. ed. Paris. 1615. p. 46.]

[a] *Nould;* quasi, ne would, would not.—Pratt.

[b] *Ding-thrift*, i. e. *spendthrift*, one who *dings* or throws away *thrift*, who spurns prudence and economy:—

"No, but because the *ding-thrift* now is poore,
And knows not where i' th' world to borrow more."
Herrick, Hesper. p. 186.—Singer.

[c] *As yester late*, i. e. so lately since as yesterday.—Pratt.

Yet, ere he go, fain would he be released;
Hie you, ye ravens, hie you to the feast.
Provided that thy lands are left entire,
To be redeemed or ere thy day expire;
Then shalt thou tear those idle paper bonds,
That thus had fettered thy pawned lands.
Ah fool! for sooner shalt thou sell the rest
Than stake aught for thy former interest;
When it shall grind thy grating gall for shame
To see the lands that bear thy grandsire's name
Become a dunghill peasant's summer hall
Or lonely hermit's cage inhospitall;
A pining gourmand, an imperious slave,
A horse-leech, barren womb, and gaping grave[d];
A legal thief, a bloodless murderer,
A fiend incarnate, a false usurer:
Albe such main extort[e] scorns to be pent
In the clay walls of thatched tenement:
For certes no man of a low degree
May bid two guests, or gout or usury:
Unless some base hedge-creeping Collybist[f]
Scatters his refuse scraps on whom he list,
For Easter gloves, or for a Shrovetide hen,
Which, bought to give, he takes to sell again.
I do not mean some glozing merchant's feat,
That laugheth at the cozened world's deceit,
Whenas a hundred stocks lie in his fist,
He leaks and sinks and breaketh when he list.
But Nummius eased the needy gallant's care
With a base bargain of his blowen[g] ware
Of fusted hops, now lost for lack of sale,
Or mould brown paper[h] that could naught avail;

[d] "The *horse-leech* hath two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied: yea, four things say not, It is enough: the *grave*, and the *barren womb*, &c." Prov. xxx. 15, 16.—PRATT.

[e] *Main extort*, i. e. excessive extortion.—PRATT.

[f] *Collybist*. Our author uses this word when speaking of Christ's driving the money-changers out of the temple: "See now, how his eyes sparkle with holy anger, and dart forth beams of indignation in the faces of these guilty *Collybists!*" Contempl. xxv. κολλυβιστὴς, *nummularius*, a money-changer, usurer, banker, &c.—PRATT.

[g] *Blowen* for *blown*, i. e. stale, worthless.—SINGER.

[h] Greene, in his Quip for an Upstart Courtier, says, "For the merchant he delivered iron, tin, lead, *hops*, sugars,

Or what he cannot utter otherwise,
May pleasure Fridoline for treble price:
Whiles his false broker lieth in the wind,
And for a present chapman is assigned,
The cut-throat wretch for their compacted gain
Buys all for but one quarter of the main[i];
Whiles, if he chance to break his dear-bought day,
And forfeit, for default of due repay,
His late entangled lands; then, Fridoline,
Buy thee a wallet, and go beg or pine.
If Mammon's self should ever live with men,
Mammon himself shall be a citizen.

SATIRE VI.[j]

Quid placet ergo?

I wot not how the world's degenerate,
That men or know or like not their estate;
Out from the Gades up to the eastern morn
Not one but holds his native state forlorn.
When comely striplings wish it were their chance
For Cænis' distaff to exchange their lance,
And wear curled periwigs, and chalk their face,
And still are poring on their pocket glass:
Tired with pinned ruffs[k], and fans, and partlet-strips[l],
And busks, and verdingales[m] about their hips;

spices, oyls, *brown paper*, or whatever else, from six months to six months, which when the poor gentleman came to sell again, he could not make threescore and ten in the hundred, besides the usury."—Singer.

[i] *Of the main*, i. e. of the full price.—Pratt.

[j] In this satire, from Juvenal's position that every man is naturally discontented, and wishes to change his proper condition and character, he ingeniously takes occasion to expose some of the new fashions and affectations.—Warton. In this satire our author appears to have had both the first Ode and the first Satire of Horace in view.—Pratt.

[k] A *ruff* is now an ornament peculiar to the female neck; but it was formerly used by both sexes. The effeminacy of a man's ruff is ridiculed by Beaumont and Fletcher; Nice Valour, act iii. sc. 1.—Maitland.

[l] "*Partlet*, mentioned in the statute 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13, seemeth to be some part of a man's attire, viz. some loose collar of a doublet, to be set on or taken off by itselfe, without the bodies, as the *picadillies* now a daies, or as men's *bands*, or women's *neckerchiefs*, which are in some places, or at least have been within memorie, called *partlets*."—Minshew.

[m] A *verdingale*, or *farthingale*, a kind of *hoop*.—Singer.

And tread on corked stilts[n] a prisoner's pace,
And make their napkin[o] for their spitting-place,
And gripe their waist within a narrow span:
Fond Cænis, that wouldst wish to be a man!
Whose mannish housewives like their refuse state,
And make a drudge of their uxorious mate;
Who, like a cot-quean[p], freezeth at the rock[q],
Whiles his breeched dame doth man the foreign stock.
Is't not a shame to see each homely groom
Sit perched in an idle chariot-room[r],
That were not meet some pannel to bestride,
Surcingled[s] to a galled hackney's hide?
Each muckworm will be rich with lawless gain,
Although he smother up mows of seven years' grain,
And hanged himself when corn grows cheap again;
Although he buy whole harvests in the spring,
And foist in false strikes[t] to the measuring;
Although his shop be muffled from the light,
Like a day dungeon, or Cimmerian night.
Nor full nor fasting can the carle take rest,
Whiles his Geòrge-nobles[u] rusten in his chest:
He sleeps but once, and dreams of burglary,
And wakes, and casts about his frighted eye,
And gropes for thieves in every darker shade;
And if a mouse but stir, he calls for aid[x].
The sturdy ploughman doth the soldier see
All scarfed with pied colours to the knee,
Whom Indian pillage hath made fortunate;
And now he 'gins to loathe his former state:

[n] High-heeled shoes.—SINGER.

[o] *Napkin*, i. e. *handkerchief*.—SINGER.

[p] A hen-pecked husband. Vid. Nares's Glossary, for the derivation and various meanings of this word.—MAITLAND.

[q] The *rock* is the *distaff*; that is, the staff on which the flax was held, when spinning was performed without a wheel; or the corresponding part of the spinning-wheel.—SINGER.

[r] [Coaches had not long been in general use in England when this was written.—See Stow's Annals, James I. 1615. p. 867.]

[s] A *surcingle* was a long upper girth which often went over the pannel or saddle.—SINGER.

[t] A *strike*: [Mensura modio seu Bossello Londinensi æqualis.—SKINNER.]

[u] A *noble*, a gold coin worth six shillings and eightpence. [We meet with Rose nobles and Edward nobles. See MINSHEW.]

[x] "Formidat, si vermis humo, *mus exeat antro*," &c. Buchanani *Chrysalus*, v. 13.—MAITLAND.

Now doth he inly scorn his Kendal-green[y],
And his patched cokers[z] now despised been.
Nor list he now go whistling to the car,
But sells his team, and fettleth[a] to the war.
O war! to them that never tried thee, sweet[b]!
When his dead mate falls grovelling at his feet,
And angry bullets whistlen at his ear,
And his dim eyes see naught but death and drere.
O happy ploughman, were thy weal well known!
O happy all estates, except his own!
Some drunken rhymer[c] thinks his time well spent
If he can live to see his name in print;
Who when he is once fleshed to the press,
And sees his hansel[d] have such fair success,
Sung to the wheel, and sung unto the pail[e],
He sends forth thraves[f] of ballads to the sale;
Nor then can rest, but volumes up bodged rhymes,
To have his name talked of in future times.
The brainsick youth, that feeds his tickled ear
With sweet-sauced lies of some false traveller,
Which hath the Spanish Decades[g] read a while,
Or whetstone[h] leasings of old Mandeville,
Now with discourses breaks his midnight sleep,
Of his adventures through the Indian deep,

[y] A sort of Forester's *green* cloth, for which *Kendal* in Westmorland was famous.

[z] [*Cokers;* hedgers' or ploughmen's boots, or great leathern mittens to keep out thorns and briars.—Minshew.]

[a] *Fettle,* [to go about or set upon a business.—Bailey.]

[b] This line is a translation of the Greek proverb, Γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος. *Dulce bellum inexpertis.*—Maitland.

[c] These lines (says Warton) seem to be levelled at William Elderton, a celebrated drunken ballad-writer. "Elderton (says Camden) who did arme himselfe with ale (as ould Father Ennius did with wine) when he ballated, had this [Epitaph] in that respect made of him,—

"Hic situs est sitiens atque ebrius Eldertonus:
Quid dico hic situs est? hic potius sitis est."—Singer.
[Camden's Remains, Lond. 1637. p. 403.]

[d] *Hansel;* "the first act of sale." *Todd.* Hall here uses the word for *the first act of authorship.*—Maitland. See note in book iv. sat. i.—H.

[e] Sung by the knife-grinder and milk-maid.—Maitland. Sung by the maids when spinning and milking.—Singer.

[f] *Thraves.* [A thrave of corn consisteth of two shockes, and every shocke containeth six sheaves.—Minshew. Four shocks.—Phillips.

[g] The 'Spanish Decades' is an old black-letter quarto, a translation from the Spanish into English, about 1590. In the old play of Lingua, 1607, Mendacio says, "Sir John Mandevile's Travels, and great part of the Decads, were of my doing." Act. ii. sc. 1.—Warton.

[h] [See Nares's Glossary on the word *Whetstone.*]

Of all their massy heaps of golden mine,
Or of the antique tombs of Palestine;
Or of Damascus' magic wall of glass;
Of Solomon his sweating piles of brass;
Of the bird Ruc[l], that bears an elephant;
Of mermaids, that the southern seas do haunt;
Of headless men, of savage cannibals,
The fashions of their lives, and governals:
What monstrous cities there erected be,
Cairo, or the city of the Trinity.
Now are they dunghill cocks that have not seen
The bordering Alps or else the neighbour Rhene:
And now he plies the newsfull grasshopper[k],
Of voyages and ventures to inquire.
His land mortgaged, he, sea-beat in the way,
Wishes for home a thousand sithes[l] a day.
And now he deems his homebred fare as lief[m]
As his parched biscuit or his barrelled beef.
'Mongst all these stirs of discontented strife,
O let me lead an academic life!
To know much, and to think we nothing know;
Nothing to have, yet think we have enow:
In skill to want, and wanting seek for more;
In weal, nor want nor wish for greater store:
Envy, ye monarchs, with your proud excess,
At our low sail[n] and our high happiness!

SATIRE VII.[o]

ΡΩΜΗ ΡΥΜΗ.

WHO says these Romish pageants been too high
To be the scorn of sportful poesy?

[l] "In eadem ipsa orbis parte, in qua monstrosissimus ales *Ruc* elephantum integrum unguibus suis rapiens deglutiendum." Mundus Alter et Idem, lib. i. cap. 1. The author mentions it again in his Censure of Travel, sect. ii.—PRATT.

[k] *The newsfull grasshopper*, i. e. the *Royal Exchange*, the steeple of which was surmounted by a grasshopper, the crest of its founder, sir Thomas Gresham. It was a place of resort for newsmongers and idlers as well as the busy. —SINGER.

[l] *Sithes*; that is, *times*.—[SKINNER.]

[m] *As lief* is the same thing with *as lieve*, i. e. as *dear*, as *pleasant*; from Leof, Saxon. See satire ii. of this book. —SINGER.

[n] [*Sail, sale*, Ang. Sax. *sele*. Aula. Somner. Sal vet. Angl. Aula, cœnaculum, fortasse a Goth. ᛋᚨᛚᚨᚷᚨᚾ. Divertere, commorari in aliquo loco.—JUNIUS.]

[o] This satire (which was added in the second edition) attacks the pageant-

Certes not all the world such matter wist
As are the Seven Hills for a Satyrist.
Perdie, I loathe a hundred Mathos'[p] tongues,
A hundred gamesters' shifts or landlords' wrongs;
Or Labeo's poems, or base Lolio's pride,
Or ever what I thought or wrote beside:
When once I think, if carping Aquine's sprite,
To see now Rome, were licensed to the light,
How his enraged ghost would stamp and stare,
That Cæsar's throne is turned to Peter's chair;
To see an old shorn lozel[q] perched high,
Crossing beneath a golden canopy;
The whiles a thousand hairless crowns crouch low
To kiss the precious case of his proud toe;
And, for the lordly fasces borne of old,
To see two quiet crossed keys of gold;
Or Cybele's shrine, the famous Pantheon's frame,
Turned to the honour of our Lady's name[r].
But that he most would gaze and wonder at
Is the horned mitre[s] and the bloody hat[t],
The crooked staff[u], their cowls' strange form and store[x],
Save that he saw the same in hell before;
To see the broken nuns, with new-shorn heads,
In a blind cloister toss their idle beads,
Or lousy cowls come smoking from the stews,
To raise the lewd rent to their lord accrues,
(Who, with rank Venice, doth his pomp advance
By trading of ten thousand courtesans[y];)

ries of the papal chair, and the superstitious practices of popery; with which it is easy to make sport. But our author has done this by an uncommon quickness of allusion, poignancy of ridicule, and fertility of burlesque invention. He pictures to us the effect which the change between modern and ancient Rome would have on the enraged ghost of Juvenal, if he were permitted to return to earth to witness it.—Warton. Compare this satire with Mundus Alter et Idem, lib. iii. c. 8, 9.—Pratt.

[p] *Matho, Labeo, Lolio;* characters in the previous satires.—Maitland.

[q] *Lozel*; "a lazy lubber, a slothfull booby." Phillips's New World of Words.—Pratt.

[r] Pope Boniface the Fourth consecrated the Pantheon to the glory of the Virgin and all the Saints.—Maitland.

[s] The tiara of the pope.—H.

[t] The scarlet hat of a cardinal.—Maitland.

[u] The crosier of a bishop.—Maitland.

[x] *And store*, i. e. the multitude of them.—Singer.

[y] "Scorta Romæ Julium nummum solvunt Pontifici: exhinc census illius annuus excedit 40,000 ducatos. Paul. III. in Tabellis suis habuit Meretrices 45,000."—Pratt.

Yet backward must absolve a female's sin,
Like to a false dissembling Theatine[z];
Who, when his skin is red with shirts of mail,
And rugged haircloth scours his greasy nail;
Or wedding garment tames his stubborn back,
Which his hemp girdle dyes all blue and black;
Or of his alms-bowl three days supped and dined,
Trudges to open stews of either kind[a];
Or takes some cardinal's stable in the way,
And with some pampered mule doth wear the day,
Kept for his lord's own saddle when him list.
Come, Valentine, and play the Satirist,
To see poor sucklings welcomed to the light
With searing irons of some sour Jacobite[b];
Or golden offers of an aged fool,
To make his coffin some Franciscan's cowl[c]:
To see the pope's black knight[d], a cloaked Frere,
Sweating in the channel like a scavenger;
Whom erst thy bowed ham did lowly greet
When at the corner-cross thou didst him meet,
Tumbling his rosaries hanging at his belt,
Or his berretta[e], or his towered felt:
To see a lazy dumb acolythite[f]
Armed against a devout fly's despite,
Which at the high altar doth the chalice veil
With a broad flyflap of a peacock's tail;

[z] *Theatine;* an order of priests instituted by *Jean-Pierre Caraffe, Eveque de Theate, et Archeveque de Brindisi,* in 1524, with permission of pope Clement the Seventh. Vid. Moreri Grand Dict. voc. *Clercs Theatins.*—MAITLAND.

[a] *Trudges to open stews, &c.* See a curious illustration of this allusion in Palingenius, Zodiacus Vitæ, lib. vi. v. 945–951.—MAITLAND.

[b] *Jacobite;* the name of an eastern religious sect, called also *Monophysites.* The *Jacobites* partially united themselves with the church of Rome in 1595, during the popedom of Clement the Seventh. Vide Moreri Grand Dict. voc. *Jacobites.*—MAITLAND. A Jacobite, or Jacobin, was a Grey Friar.—ELLIS.

[c] It was the custom to be buried in the habit of St. Francis.—MAITLAND.

[d] *The pope's black knight;* a Dominican. The friars, and especially the mendicant orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, were called the Pope's Knights.—MAITLAND.

[e] *Berretta:* a high-crowned hat of velvet or cloth, worn by the different orders of priests.—H. The *bireta coccinea* was a *cardinal's hat;* and the *birretum album* the *cap* worn by *sergeants at law.* See Spelman under the word *Birrus.*—PRATT. Vid. Du Cange, voc. *Barretum.*—MAITLAND.

[f] Ἀκόλουθος, acolythus; the next in grade to a subdeacon in the Catholic church.—PRATT.

The whiles the lickorous priest spits every trice
With longing for his morning sacrifice,
Which he rears up quite perpendicular,
That the mid church doth spite the chancel's fare,
Beating their empty maws, that would be fed
With the scant morsels of the Sacrist's bread.
Would he not laugh to death, when he should hear
The shameless legends of St. Christopher,
St. George, the sleepers, or St. Peter's well,
Or of his daughter, good St. Petronel[g]?
But had he heard the female father's[h] groan,
Yeaning in midst of her procession;
Or now should see the needless trial-chair[i],
(When each is proved by his bastard heir,)
Or saw the churches, and new calendar,
Pestered with mongrel saints and relics dear;
Should he cry out on Codro's tedious tomes[k],
When his new rage would ask no narrower rooms[l]?

[g] Among the MSS. which bishop Fell presented to the Bodleian are four volumes of great antiquity, entitled "Vitæ et Passiones Sanctorum." In these may be found the legends here alluded to.—Ellis. The story of Petronella, the daughter of St. Peter, seems, in part at least, to have been believed by our author. See Honour of the Married Clergy, book i. sect. 27; and book ii. sect. 1.—Pratt.

[h] Pope Joan, said to have filled the holy see between the time of Leo the Fourth, who died in 855, and Benedict the Third, who died in 858. It is related by Martinus Polonus and others, that she was delivered of a child in the midst of a great procession, between the Colossus and St. Clement's church, the most public street of Rome. Her delivery was followed by immediate death; and these events are said to have taken place in 857.—Maitland.

[i] The *chaise percée*, on which, it is said, that, after the time of pope Joan, the sex of the different popes was ascertained, previous to their *induction* into the holy see. Vid. Lines on this subject, by Janus Pannonius; Opuscula, ed. 1784, vol. i. p. 485.—Maitland.

[k] The Satirist alludes to the opening lines of his favourite Juvenal:—

"Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide *Codri*?"—Pratt.

[l] In the edition of 1599 this satire is placed at the end, as the *second* of the *sixth* book. But there is a reference in the *errata* which directs it to be placed as sat. vii. book iv. This erratum is prefaced thus: "After this impression was finished, upon the author's knowledge, I had the view of a more perfect copy, wherein were these additions and corrections, which I thought good to place here, desiring the reader to refer them to their places."—The additions are,—this Satire; what is called "A Postscript to the Reader;" and two lines omitted in sat. ii. book iv.—Singer.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

SATIRE I.[a]

Sit pœna merenti.

PARDON, ye glowing ears; needs will it out,
Though brazen walls compassed my tongue about,
As thick as wealthy Scrobio's quickset rows
In the wide common that he did enclose.
Pull out mine eyes, if I shall see no vice,
Or let me see it with detesting eyes.
Renowmed Aquine[b], now I follow thee,
Far as I may for fear of jeopardy;
And to thy hand yield up the ivy-mace
From crabbed Persius and more smooth Horace;
Or from that shrew, the Roman poetess[c],
That taught her gossips learned bitterness;
Or Lucile's[d] muse, whom thou didst imitate,
Or Menips[e] old, or pasquillers[f] of late.
Yet name I not[g] Mutius or Tigelline,
Though they deserve a keener style than mine;
Nor mean to ransack up the quiet grave,
Nor burn dead bones[h], as he example gave.
I tax the living; let dead ashes rest,
Whose faults are dead, and nailed in their chest.

[a] The argument of this first satire of the fifth book is the oppressive exaction of landlords, the consequence of the growing decrease of the value of money.—WARTON.

[b] *Aquine;* i. e. Juvenal. See note on book iv. sat. 1.—PRATT.

[c] [Sulpitia; see her Satire which she speaks of as "mea cultrix." Corp. Lat. Poet. vol. ii. p. 1167. J. Cæs. Scaliger says of her: in eâ multum dexteritatis ad Satyricam amarulentiam aspirantis.]

[d] *Lucilius;* the first satirist of eminence among the Romans. He flourished more than a century before Christ.—MAITLAND.

[e] *Menippus;* a Cynic philosopher and satirist of Phœnicia.—MAITLAND.

[f] [*Pasquil* or *Pasquin;* on whose statue at Rome libels and defamatory writings were hung up. See MINSHEW, &c.]

[g] Vid. Juvenal, sat. i. l. 154, 155.—MAITLAND.

[h] *Nor burn dead bones;* nor attack the characters of the dead.—MAITLAND.

Who can refrain, that's guiltless of their crime,
While yet he lives in such a cruel time;
When Titio's grounds, that in his grandsire's days
But one pound fine, one penny rent did raise,
A summer snowball, or a winter rose,
Is grown to thousands as the world now goes?
So thrift and time set other things on float,
That now his son swoops in a silken coat,
Whose grandsire, haply a poor hungry swain,
Begged some cast abbey in the church's wane;
And but for that, whatever he may vaunt,
Who knows[i], a monk had been, or mendicant.
While freezing Matho, that for one lean fee
Wont term each term the Term of Hilary,
May now, instead of those his simple fees,
Get the fee-simples of fair maneries.
What, did he counterfeit his prince's hand,
For some strave[k] lordship of concealed land?
Or, on each Michaël and Lady day,
Took he deep forfeits for an hour's delay;
And gained no less, by such injurious brawl,
Than Gamius by his sixth wife's burial?
Or hath he won some wider interest,
By hoary charters from his grandsire's chest,
Which late some bribed scribe, for slender wage,
Writ in the characters of another age,
That Ployden[l] self might stammer to rehearse,
Whose date o'erlooks three centuries of years?
Who ever yet the tracts of weal so tried,
But there hath been one beaten way beside?
He, when he lets a lease for life or years,
(As never he doth until the date expires;

[i] The edition of 1599, followed as usual by the Oxford, reads this line without meaning—

"Who *knows* a Monke had beene a Mendicant."—Pratt.

[If we read 'or mendicant,' the sense is plain and satisfactory.]

[k] In the first edition it is printed *brave*, but erased with a pen, and *streav* inserted in the margin, in contemporary handwriting.—Singer. [*Straife*, alias *stray*. Cowell's Interpreter.]

[l] Edmund Plowden (or Ploydon), an eminent English lawyer, who flourished during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.—Maitland.

For when the full 'state in his fist doth lie,
He may take vantage of the vacancy;)
His fine affords so many trebled pounds
As he agreeth years to lease his grounds:
His rent in fair respondence must arise
To double trebles of his one year's price.
Of one bay's [n] breadth, God wot! a silly cote,
Whose thatched spars are furred with sluttish soot
A whole inch thick, shining like blackmoor's brows,
Through smoke that down the headless barrel blows.
At his bed's feet feeden his stalled team;
His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beam.
A starved tenement, such as I guess
Stands straggling in the wastes of Holderness;
Or such as shiver on a Peak Hill side,
When March's lungs beat on their turf-clad hide;
Such as nice Lipsius [o] would grudge to see
Above his lodging in wild Westphalie;
Or as the Saxon king [p] his court might make,
When his sides plained of the neatherd's cake.
Yet must he haunt his greedy landlord's hall
With often presents at each festival:
With crammed capons every new-year's morn,
Or with green cheeses when his sheep are shorn:
Or many maunds-full of his mellow fruit,
To make some way to win his weighty suit.
Whom cannot gifts at last cause to relent,
Or to win favour, or flee punishment;
When griple [q] patrons turn their sturdy steel
To wax, when they the golden flame do feel:
When grand Mæcenas casts a glavering [r] eye
On the cold present of a poesy:

[n] *Bay* is "a term in architecture, used to signify the magnitude of a building; as, if a barn consists of a floor and two heads, where they lay corn, they call it a barn of two *bays*.—Pratt.

[o] Justus Lipsius was successively a professor at Jena, Leyden, and Louvain.—Maitland. See the same illustration in the "Mundus Alter et Idem," lib. iii. cap. 8.—"Nil præter sordidissima tuguriola, quale Westphalum illud Lipsii hospitium, cerno."—Pratt.

[p] Alluding to the story related of king Alfred the Great.—Singer.

[q] *Griple;* avaricious, grasping: from the verb *to gripe*.—Maitland.

[r] To *glaver* is to *flatter;* glivan, Saxon. *Glavering* here means leering, ogling, i. e. flattering by looks.—Singer.

And lest he might more frankly take than give,
Gropes for a French crown in his empty sleeve?
Thence Clodius hopes to set his shoulders free
From the light burden of his napery[s].
The smiling landlord shows a sunshine face,
Feigning that he will grant him further grace,
And leers, like Æsop's fox upon a crane,
Whose neck he craves for his chirurgian:
So lingers off the lease until the last,—
What recks he then of pains or promise past?
Was ever feather or fond woman's mind
More light than words? the blasts of idle wind!
What's sib[t] or sire, to take the gentle slip,
And in the Exchequer rot for suretyship?
Or thence thy starved brother live and die,
Within the cold Coal-harbour sanctuary[u]?
Will one from Scots-bank[x] bid but one groat more,
My old tenant may be turned out of door;
Though much he spent in the rotten roof's repair,
In hope to have it left unto his heir:
Though many a load of marle and manure laid,
Revived his barren leas, that erst lay dead.
Were he as Furius, he would defy
Such pilfering slips of petty landlordry:

[s] *Napery* is here used for clothes, linen worn on the person; but its general meaning was household or table linen. From *naperie*, old French.—Singer.

[t] *What's sib* or *sire*. *Sib* is from the Saxon, and means a *relation;* and is here placed in contradistinction to *sire*. —Pratt.

[u] *Coal-harbour sanctuary*. A magnificent building in Thames Street, called *Cold Herbergh*, that is, *Cold Inn*, probably so denominated from its vicinity to the river, was granted by Henry IV. to the Prince of Wales. It stood on the spot now called *Cold Harbour Lane;* and passed afterwards through various hands. See an account of it in Maitland, pp. 185, 192.—Pratt. *Coal Harbour*, or Cold Harbour, was an ancient mansion in Dowgate Ward, London. It was the residence of Bishop Tunstal in the reign of Henry VIII. when probably it obtained the privileges of a sanctuary. These were still retained, when small tenements were afterwards built upon the spot, which let well, as being a protection to persons in debt. "Here is that ancient model of *Coal Harbour*, bearing the name of the Prodigal's Promontorie, and being as a sanctuary for banque-rupt detters." Healy's Discovery of a New World, p. 182. Stow gives a minute history of this place in his Survey of London.—Singer.

[x] *Scots-bank;* meaning probably that spot on the bank of the river now called Scotland Yard; formerly denominated Scotland, and where magnificent buildings were erected for the reception of the kings of Scotland and their retinues. See Stow, vol. ii. p. 578.—Pratt.

And might dislodge whole colonies of poor,
And lay their roof quite level with their floor,
While yet he gives, as to a yielding fence,
Their bag and baggage to his citizens,
And ships them to the new-named Virgin-lond[y],
Or wilder Wales[z], where never wight yet wonn'd[a].
Would it not vex thee, where thy sires did keep,
To see the dunged folds of dag-tailed sheep;
And ruined house, where holy things were said,
Whose freestone walls the thatched roof upbraid,
Whose shrill saint's-bell hangs on his lovery[b],
While the rest are damned to the plumbery[c]?
Yet pure devotion lets the steeple stand,
And idle battlements on either hand:
Lest that, perhaps, were all those relics gone,
Furius his sacrilege could not be known.

SATIRE II.[d]

Heic quærite Trojam.

HOUSEKEEPING's dead, Saturio, wott'st thou where?
Forsooth they say far hence in Brek-neck-shire[e].
And ever since, they say that feel and taste,
That men may break their neck soon as their fast.
Certes, if Pity died at Chaucer's date[f],
He lived a widower long behind his mate:

[y] *Virgin-lond*, Virginia, discovered in 1584, and thus named in compliment to queen Elizabeth.—PRATT.

[z] This line probably alludes to the romantic history of Madoc, who is said to have founded a Welsh colony along the southern branches of the Missouri, towards the close of the twelfth century. Caradoc informs us, and Mr. Southey is willing to indulge the belief, that in these distant regions traces may yet be found of the language, manners, and arts of Wales. Vid. Caradoc's *History of Wales*, by Powel, ed. 1702, p. 196; and Southey's *Preface* to Madoc.—MAITLAND.

[a] [*Wonn'd, wonde;* dwelt, inhabited. —CHAUCER.]

[b] A *louvre*, or loover, was a tunnel or opening in the top of a great hall, to avoid smoke. Hence the turret or small belfry (usually placed between the chancel and the body of the church) is so called by Hall.—SINGER.

[c] *Plumbery;* lead-works, where the bells were melted.—MAITLAND.

[d] In this satire he reprehends the incongruity of splendid edifices and worthless inhabitants. He beautifully draws, and with a selection of the most picturesque natural circumstances, the inhospitality, or rather desertion, of an old magnificent mansion.—WARTON.

[e] *Brek-neck-shire.* A pun upon *Brecknockshire.*—MAITLAND.

[f] See Chaucer's Poem "How Pyte is dead."—ELLIS.

Save that I see some rotten bedrid sire,
Which, to outstrip the nonage of his heir,
Is crammed with golden broths, and drugs of price,
And each day dying lives, and living dies;
Till, once survived his wardship's latest eve,
His eyes are closed, with choice to die or live.
Plenty and he died both in that same year,
When the sad sky did shed so many a tear.
And now, who list not of his labour fail,
Mark, with Saturio, my friendly tale.
Along thy way thou canst not but descry
Fair glittering halls to tempt the hopeful eye:
Thy right eye 'gins to leap for vain delight,
And surbeat[g] toes to tickle at the sight;
As greedy T———, when, in the sounding mould,
He finds a shining potsherd tipt with gold;
For never Siren tempts the pleased ears,
As these the eye of fainting passengers.
All is not so that seems: for surely then
Matrona should not be a courtesan;
Smooth Chrysalus[h] should not be rich with fraud,
Nor honest R—— be his own wife's bawd.
Look not asquint, nor stride across the way,
Like some demurring Alcide[i] to delay;
But walk on cheerly, till thou have espied
St. Peter's finger[j] at the churchyard side.
But wilt thou needs, when thou art warned so well,
Go see who in so garish walls doth dwell?
There findest thou some stately Doric frame,
Or neat Ionic work:
Like the vain bubble of Iberian pride[k],
That overcroweth all the world beside;

[g] *Surbeat*, i. e. battered, galled, or weary, with treading or walking. *Sou-battu*, French. So Spenser, Fairy Queen, II. ii. 22:—

"Espy a traveller with feete *surbet*,
Whom they in equal prey hope to divide."—Singer.

[h] Probably Buchanan's Chrysalus. The name is with much propriety given to a rich usurer, from χρύσος, *gold*.—Maitland.

[i] *Alcides*, Hercules.—Pratt. [Or] *Alcaid*, a Spanish police magistrate.—Maitland.

[j] The *St. Peter's Finger* is a sign that still occurs in village alehouses in the west of England.—H.

[k] [The Escurial, built originally by Philip II. of Spain, for the religious order of St. Jerome.]

Which, reared to raise the crazy monarch's fame,
Strives for a Court and for a College name;
Yet naught within but lousy cowls doth hold,
Like a scabbed cuckow in a cage of gold:
So pride above doth shade the shame below;
A golden periwig on a blackmoor's brow.
When Mævio's first page of his poesy,
Nailed to an hundred posts for novelty,
With his big title, an Italian mot[l],
Lays siege unto the backward buyer's groat;
Which all within is drafty sluttish gear[m],
Fit for the oven or the kitchen fire:
So this gay gate adds fuel to thy thought,
That such proud piles were never raised for naught.
Beat the broad gates: a goodly hollow sound
With double echoes doth again rebound:
But not a dog doth bark to welcome thee,
Nor churlish porter canst thou chafing see;
All dumb and silent, like the dead of night,
Or dwelling of some sleepy Sybarite;
The marble pavement hid with desert weed,
With houseleek, thistle, dock, and hemlock seed.
But if thou chance cast up thy wondering eyes,
Thou shalt discern upon the frontispiece
ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ[n] graven up on high,
A fragment of old Plato's poesy:
The meaning is, "Sir Fool, ye may be gone;
Go back by leave, for way here lieth none."
Look to the towered chimneys, which should be
The windpipes of good hospitality,
Through which it breatheth to the open air,
Betokening life, and liberal welfare:
Lo! there the unthankful swallow takes her rest,
And fills the tunnel with her circled nest;

[l] It was fashionable to have sounding and imposing title-pages, with Italian mottos and devices, to the pamphlets of the time.—Singer.

[m] *Drafty sluttish gear;* worthless, indecent trash.—Maitland. [*Drafty;* irksome, troublesome. *Sluttish;* slatternly, slovenly.—Bailey.]

[n] The motto on the front of the house, which our author calls "a fragment of old Plato's poesy," is only a humorous alteration of Plato's ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ἀκαθαρτὸς ΕΙΣΙΤΩ.—Warton.

Nor half that smoke from all his chimneys goes,
Which one tobacco-pipe drives through his nose.
So rawbone hunger scorns the mudded walls,
And 'gins to revel it in lordly halls.
So the Black Prince[p] is broken loose again,
That saw no sun save once, (as stories sain;)
That once was, when, in Trinacry[q] I ween,
He stole the daughter of the Harvest-Queen,
And gript the maws of barren Sicily
With long constraint of pineful penury.
And they that should resist his second rage,
Have pent themselves up in the private cage
Of some blind lane; and there they lurk unknown,
Till the hungry tempest once be over blown:
Then, like the coward, after his neighbour's fray,
They creep forth boldly, and ask, Where are they?
Meanwhile the hunger-starved appurtenance[r]
Must bide the brunt, whatever ill mischance:
Grim Famine sits in their fore-pined face,
All full of angles of unequal space,
Like to the plane of many-sided squares
That wont be drawn out by geometers;
So sharp and meagre, that who should them see
Would swear they lately came from Hungary.
When their brass pans and winter coverled
Have wiped the manger of the horses' bread,
Oh me! what odds there seemeth 'twixt their cheer
And the swoln bezzle[s] at an alehouse fire,
That tuns in gallons to his bursten paunch,
Whose slimy draughts his drought can never staunch!
For shame, ye gallants! grow more hospital,
And turn your needless wardrobe to your hall.

[p] The Prince of Darkness; Pluto, who carried off and married Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres.—Maitland.

[q] *Trinacry;* a name given to Sicily, from its three promontories, Lilybæum, Pelorum, and Pachynum, which extend into the sea in opposite directions.—Maitland.

[r] [*Appurtenance;* family, household.]

[s] *Bezzle* is here put for a drunkard. To *bezzle*, or *bizzle*, was to drink to excess. Marston also calls a drunkard, "foule drunken *bezzle*;" and sots are also called *bezelers* by him.—Singer. Skinner conjectures that the word may be for *beastle*, i. e. *to make a beast of one's self*.—Maitland.

As lavish Virro[s], that keeps open doors,
Like Janus in the wars;
Except the twelve days[t], or the wake-day feast[u],
What time he needs must be his cousin's guest.
Philene hath bid him: can he choose but come?
Who should pull Virro's sleeve to stay at home?
All year besides who meal-time can attend:
Come, Trebius, welcome to the table's end.
What though he chires[x] on purer manchet's crown,
While his kind client grinds on black and brown?
A jolly rounding of a whole foot broad
From off the mong-corn[y] heap shall Trebius load.
What though he quaff pure amber in his bowl
Of March-brewed wheat? yet slakes thy thirsting soul
With palish oat, frothing in Boston clay[z],
Or in a shallow cruse: nor must that stay
Within thy reach, for fear of thy crazed brain,
But call and crave, and have thy cruse again:
Else how should even tale[a] be registred,
Or all thy draughts, on the chalked barrel's head?
And if he list revive his heartless grain[b]
With some French grape, or pure Canarian,

[s] *Virro.* A name and character borrowed from the fifth satire of Juvenal, where Virro is represented as a wealthy and hospitable patron, and Trebius as his client and parasite.—MAITLAND.

[t] [*Twelve days;* i. e. from Christmas-day to Epiphany.]

[u] *Wake-day feast;* [country feasts that used to be celebrated for some days after the next Sunday or Saint's day to whom the parish church was dedicated. —BAILEY.]

[x] To *chire.* Mr. Nares seems to think this may be the same as to *chirre,* or chirp, as birds do; but it appears to me nothing more than a varied orthography of to *cheer,* to feast upon. Speaking of *bread,* Holinshed says: "The first and most excellent is the *mainchet,* which we commonly call white bread."—SINGER. From *michette,* Fr.—MAITLAND. *Chire* may denote here the gentle noise accompanying the mastication of the *crowne,* or tender crust, of the *manchet,* as opposed to the client's *grinding* the black and brown.—PRATT. [See also Junius, Etymol. v. *Chirre.*]

[y] *Mong-corn, bol-mong, mastlin, messlin,* &c. a medley of different sorts of grain mixed together, sometimes as food for cattle, but often for the purpose of grinding into flour to make bread. Hall uses mong-corn heap for the huge brown coarse loaf made of the mixture. The humble guest is treated with a round, a foot broad, off this coarse loaf. —SINGER.

[z] *Boston clay* may mean foreign pottery sold at Boston, where, at a very early period, the Hanseatic merchants established a *guild* for disposing of their wares.—MAITLAND.

[a] *Even tale;* that is, a fair reckoning of the quantity consumed.—H.

[b] [*Grain,* or *grane,* is a provincialism in Suffolk, and probably the other eastern counties, for *throat;* and *to grane,* to throttle.]

When pleasing Bourdeaux falls unto his lot,
Some sourish Rochelle cuts thy thirsting throat.
What though himself carveth his welcome friend
With a cooled pittance from his trencher's end;
Must Trebius' lip hang toward his trencher-side,
Nor kiss his fist to take what doth betide?
What though, to spare thy teeth, he employs thy tongue
In busy questions all the dinner long?
What though the scornful waiter looks askile[b],
And pouts, and frowns, and curseth thee the while,
And takes his farewell with a jealous eye,
At every morsel he his last shall see?
And if but one exceed the common size,
Or make a hillock in thy cheek arise;
Or if perchance thou shouldest, ere thou wist,
Hold thy knife upright in thy griped fist,
Or sittest double on thy backward seat,
Or with thine elbow shadest thy shared meat,
He laughs thee, in his fellow's ear, to scorn,
And asks aloud, where Trebius was born?
Though the third sewer[c] takes thee quite away
Without a staff, when thou wouldst longer stay;
What of all this? Is't not enough to say,
I dined at Virro his own board to-day!

SATIRE III.

KOINA ΦΙΛΩΝ.

The Satire should be like the porcupine[d],
That shoots sharp quills out in each angry line,
And wounds the blushing cheek and fiery eye
Of him that hears and readeth guiltily.

[b] *Askile:* this word is not to be found in the old glossaries; but it seems to mean the same as *askaunce* or *askew*, i. e. obliquely.—Pratt.

[c] *Sewer;* the officer who had the management of the dishes at a feast, and supplied the guests with water for washing their hands.—Maitland.

[d] This ingenious thought, though founded on vulgar error, has been copied, among other passages, by Oldham. Of a true writer of satire he says,—

"He'd shoot his quills, just like a porcupine,
At view; and make them stab in every line."

Apology for the Foregoing Ode, &c. Works, vol. i. p. 97. edit. 1722. 12mo.—Warton.

Ye antique Satires, how I bless your days,
That brooked your bolder style, their own dispraise;
And well near wish, yet joy my wish is vain,
I had been then, or they were now again!
For now our ears been of more brittle mould,
Than those dull earthen ears that were of old;
Sith theirs, like anvils, bore the hammer's head,
Our glass can never touch unshivered.
But from the ashes of my quiet style
Henceforth may rise some raging rough Lucile[e],
That may with Æschylus both find and leese[f]
The snaky tresses of the Eumenides.
Meanwhile, sufficeth me, the world may say
That I these vices loathed another day,
Which I have done with as devout a cheer,
As he that rounds[g] Poule's pillars in the ear,
Or bends his ham down in the naked quire.
'Twas ever said, Frontine, and ever seen,
That golden clerks but wooden lawyers been.
Could ever wise man wish, in good estate,
The use of all things indiscriminate?
Who wots not yet how well this did beseem
The learned master of the Academe?
Plato is dead, and dead in his device,
Which some thought witty, none thought ever wise:
Yet certes Mœcha is a Platonist
To all, they say, save who so do not list:
Because her husband, a far-trafficked man,
Is a professed Peripatecian.
And so our grandsires were in ages past,
That let their lands lie all so widely waste,
That nothing was in pale or hedge ypent
Within some province or whole shire's extent.
As Nature made the earth, so did it lie,
Save for the furrows of their husbandry;

[e] Lucilius was equally remarkable for the severity of his satire and the harshness of his style.—MAITLAND.

[f] *To leese* is *to lose*; but seems to be used here for *to loose*.—PRATT.

[g] To *round* here means to *whisper*. *Poules* is the cathedral of St. Paul's, constantly so called by ancient writers. It is a ludicrous way of describing one who mutters his prayers, to say that *he whispers the church pillars in the ear*.—SINGER.

Whenas the neighbour lands so couched lain,
That all bore show of one fair champian;
Some headless cross they digged on their lea,
Or rolled some marked mere-stone in the way.
Poor simple men! for what mought that avail,
That my field might not fill my neighbour's pail[h],
More than a pilled stick can stand in stead,
To bar Cynedo from his neighbour's bed;
More than the threadbare client's poverty
Debars the attorney of his wonted fee?
If they were thriftless, mought not we amend,
And with more care our dangered fields defend?
Each man can guard what thing he deemeth dear,
As fearful merchants do their female heir,
Which, were it not for promise of their wealth,
Need not be stalled up for fear of stealth;
Would rather stick upon the bellman's cries,
Though proffered for a branded Indian's price.
Then raise we muddy bulwarks on our banks,
Beset around with treble quickset ranks:
Or, if those walls be over weak a ward,
The squared brick may be a better guard.
Go to, my thrifty yeoman, and uprear
A brazen wall to shend[i] thy land from fear.
Do so; and I shall praise thee all the while,
So be thou stake not up the common stile;
So be thou hedge in naught but what's thine own;
So be thou pay what tithes thy neighbours done;
So be thou let not lie in fallowed plain
That which was wont yield usury of grain.
But when I see thy pitched stakes do stand
On thy encroached piece of common land,
While thou discommonest thy neighbour's kine,
And warn'st that none feed on thy field save thine;
Brag no more, Scrobius, of thy mudded banks,
Nor thy deep ditches, nor three quickset ranks.
O happy days of old Deucalion,
When one was landlord of the world alone!

[h] That is, by pasturing his cattle.—MAITLAND.

[i] *Shend;* to protect or defend. Although used in this sense by Hall, the word generally signifies, in old writers, *to reproach, to blame.*—MAITLAND.

But now, whose choler would not rise, to yield
A peasant half-stakes of his new-mown field,
While yet he may not for the treble price
Buy out the remnant of his royalties?
Go on and thrive, my petty tyrant's pride;
Scorn thou to live, if others live beside;
And trace proud Castile, that aspires to be
In his old age a young fifth-monarchy[k];
Or the red hat[l] that cries[m] the luckless main,
For wealthy Thames to change his lowly Rhene.

SATIRE IV.[n]

Possunt, quia posse videntur.

Villius, the wealthy farmer, left his heir
Twice twenty sterling pounds to spend by year.
The neighbours praisen Villio's hide-bound son,
And say it was a goodly portion:
Not knowing how some merchants' dower can rise
By Sunday's tale to fifty centuries[o];
Or to weigh down a leaden bride with gold,
Worth all that Matho bought or Pontice sold.
But while ten pound goes to his wife's new gown,
Nor little less can serve to suit his own;
While one piece pays her idle waitingman,
Or buys a hood, or silver-handled fan[p];

[k] Hall alludes to the ambition of Spain to found a fifth universal monarchy, [having in view the four monarchies in the vision of the prophet Daniel.]—Maitland.

[l] The hat of a cardinal. This passage is obscure, but it probably alludes to the papal interference in the affairs of England during the reign of Henry the Eighth.—Maitland.

[m] [Meaning probably the cry of the gambler at hazard:—"Seven's the main," &c. Mr. Pratt reads "ties," but incorrectly.]

[n] In this satire he enumerates the extravagances of a married spendthrift, a farmer's heir of forty pounds a year.—Warton.

[o] The meaning, though obscurely expressed, appears to be, that the enormous portions which some merchants can leave their children would arise, by a reckoning (tale), made on Sundays (as a day of leisure for such a long process), to fifty hundred (centuries), or £5000 by the year; an enormous dower indeed for those times.—Singer.

[p] The fans of the ancient belles were not at all in the shape of the implement now used under the same name, but more like a hand-screen. They had round handles, often of silver or other precious materials; the upper part was generally composed of feathers. They were often very costly, even as high as £40.—Singer.

Or hires a Friesland trotter[q], half-yard deep,
To drag his tumbrel[r] through the staring Cheap[s];
Or while he rideth with two liveries,
And's treble-rated at the subsidies;
One end a kennel keeps of thriftless hounds;
What think you rests of all my younker's pounds
To diet him, or deal out at his door,
To coffer up, or stock his wasting store?
If then I reckoned right, it should appear
That forty pounds serve not the farmer's heir.

[q] In Hall's time the horses of England were as inferior as they are now superior to those of the rest of Europe. Vid. on this subject, and on the use of Friesland horses during the reign of Elizabeth, Honorii Thesaurus Politicus. —Maitland.

[r] A *tumbrel;* literally, a dung-cart, from *tumerel*, old Fr.—Maitland. [A term common in the eastern counties—a two-wheeled cart.]

[s] The *Cheap*, i. e. Cheapside.—Maitland. [Or, the market.]

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

SATIRES.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

SATIRE[a].

Semel insanivimus.

LABEO reserves a long nail for the nonce,
To wound my margent through ten leaves at once;
Much worse than Aristarchus's black pile[b],
That pierced old Homer's side;
And makes such faces, that meseems I see
Some foul Megæra in the tragedy,
Threatening her twined snakes at Tantale's ghost;
Or the grim visage of some frowning post.
The crabtree porter of the Guildhall gates[c],
Whiles he his frightful beetle elevates,
His angry eyne look all so glaring bright,
Like th' hunted badger in a moonless night:
Or like a painted staring Saracen:
His cheeks change hue, like th' air-fed vermin's[d] skin,

[a] The last book, consisting of one long satire only, is a sort of Epilogue to the whole, and contains a humorous ironical description of the effect of his Satires, and a recapitulatory view of many of the characters and foibles which he had before delineated. But the scribblers seem to have the chief share. The character of Labeo, already repeatedly mentioned, who was some contemporary poet, a constant censurer of our author, and who from pastoral proceeded to heroic poetry, is here more distinctly represented. He was a writer who affected compound epithets, which sir Philip Sidney had imported from France, and first used in his Arcadia.—WARTON. Mr. Warton thought the character, in many respects, suited *Chapman*, though he does not appear to have written any pastorals; but it seems to me more probable that *Drayton* was meant. It is difficult, at this distance of time, to appropriate satirical delineations of character so lightly sketched. If the author is to be believed, his satire was not personal, but general.—SINGER.

[b] *His black pile;* the *obelus* of Aristarchus, a celebrated grammarian of Samos, who revised the poems of Homer with great severity.—MAITLAND. *Pile* is probably from the Latin *pilum*, the head of an arrow.—PRATT.

[c] A picture *from the life* of the tremendous Gog and Magog in Guildhall. —PRATT.

[d] *Th' air-fed vermin;* the chameleon. —MAITLAND.

Now red, now pale, and swoln above his eyes,
Like to the old Colossian imageries[e].
But when he doth of my recanting hear,
Away, ye angry fires, and frosts of fear;
Give place unto his hopeful tempered thought,
That yields to peace, ere ever peace be sought.
Then let me now repent me of my rage
For writing Satires in so righteous age;
Whereas I should have stroked her towardly head,
And cried *Evöe* in my Satires' stead;
Sith now not one of thousand does amiss:
Was never age, I ween, so pure as this!
As pure as old Labulla from the bains,
As pure as throughfare channels when it rains;
As pure as is a blackmoor's face by night,
As dung-clad skin[f] of dying Heraclite.
Seek over all the world, and tell me where
Thou find'st a proud man or a flatterer;
A thief, a drunkard, or a parricide,
A lecher, liar, or what vice beside.
Merchants are no whit covetous of late,
Nor make no mart of time, gain of deceit.
Patrons are honest now, o'er they of old:
Can now no benefice be bought or sold.
Give him a gelding, or some two years' tithe,
For he all bribes and simony defi'th.
Is not one pickthank stirring in the court,
That seld[g] was free till now by all report.
But some one, like a clawback parasite,
Picked mothës from his master's cloak in sight,
While he could pick out both his eyes for need,
Mought they but stand him in some better stead.
Nor now no more smellfeast Vitellio
Smiles on his master for a meal or two,

[e] An allusion to the Colossus of Rhodes, and here applied generally to huge, ungainly statuary.—Maitland.

[f] It is related of Heraclitus, that, when at the point of death, he directed his servants to cover him with cow-dung, in hopes that this application might have the effect of extracting the *hydropical humours* from the *inward parts of his body*.—Stanley's History of Philosophy, ed. 1701. p. 442.—Maitland.

[g] [For *seldom*.]

And loves him in his maw, loathes in his heart,
Yet soothes and yeas and nays on either part.
Tattelius[g], the new come traveller,
With his disguised coat and ringed ear,
Trampling the Bourse's marble[h] twice a day,
Tells nothing but stark truths, I dare well say;
Nor would he have them known for anything,
Though all the vault of his loud murmur ring.
Not one man tells a lie of all the year,
Except the Almanack or the Chronicler.
But not a man of all the damned crew
For hills of gold would swear the thing untrue.
Pansophus[i] now, though all in the cold sweat,
Dares venture through the feared castle gate,
Albe the faithful oracles have foresain
The wisest senator shall there be slain:
That made him long keep home, as well it might,
Till now he hopeth of some wiser wight.
The vale of Stand-gate, or the Suter's hill[k],
Or western plain, are free from feared ill.
Let him that hath naught, fear naught, I areed;
But he that hath aught, hie him, and God speed!
Nor drunken Dennis doth, by break of day,
Stumble into blind taverns by the way,

[g] Marston also reprehends, in a character resembling this of our author, the swaggerers of his time; who, in their rambles about the town, visited the Royal Exchange as mercantile travellers. The Royal Exchange was also frequented by hungry walkers, as well as St. Paul's: (see note to book iii. sat. 7.) Robert Hayman, in his Quodlibets, or Epigrams, Lond. 1628. 4to. Epigr. 35. p. 6, has,—

"To sir Pearce Penilesse.

"Though little coyne thy purselesse pockets lyne,
Yet with great company thou'rt taken up;
For often with duke Humfray thou dost dyne,
And often with sir Thomas Gresham sup."—WARTON.

[h] *The Bourse's marble* is the Royal Exchange, then newly erected.—SINGER. It received the name of Bourse from sir Thomas Gresham, and changed it for its present name in 1570, by order of queen Elizabeth.—ELLIS.

[i] Some contemporary pretender to universal knowledge. The allusion in the following lines is to the tradition regarding Friar Bacon's tower at Oxford, that it was to fall upon the first man, wiser than its original possessor, who should pass under it.—MAITLAND.

[k] *Stand-gate vale* probably means Standgate Street, in Lambeth.—*Suter's* or *Shooter's Hill*, in Kent, is well known. By *western plain*, the site now occupied by St. James's and HydeParks, was most likely intended.—PEATT. [Probably, as Standgate is in Surrey, and Shooter's Hill in Kent, the western plain may be the plain of Middlesex.]

And reel me homeward at the evening star,
Or ride more easily in his neighbour's chair.
Well might these checks have fitted former times,
And shouldered angry Skelton's breathless rhymes[k]:
Ere Chrysalus had barred the common box,
Which erst he picked to store his private stocks;
But now hath all with vantage paid again,
And locks and plates what doth behind remain:
When erst our dry-souled sires so lavish were
To charge whole boots-full[l] to their friends' welfare;
Now shalt thou never see the salt[m] beset
With a big-bellied gallon flagonet.
Of an ebb cruse[n] must thirsty Silent sip,
That's all forestalled by his upper lip:
Somewhat it was that made his paunch so peare[o],
His girdle fell ten inches in a year.
Or when old gouty bedrid Euclio[p]
To his officious factor fair could show
His name in margent of some old cast bill,
And say, Lo! whom I named in my will;
While he believes, and, looking for the share,
Tendeth his cumbrous charge with busy care
For but a while; for now he sure will die
By his strange qualm of liberality.
Great thanks he gives,—"But God him shield and save
From ever gaining by his master's grave;
Only live long, and he is well repaid:"—
And wets his forced cheeks, while thus he said;

[k] John Skelton, *a jolly English rimer* during the reign of Henry the Eighth. His writings are remarkable for the grossness of their obscenity and the severity of their satire.—Maitland. Phillips, in the Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum, p. 115. says of Skelton, "Methinks he hath a miserable loose rambling style, and galloping measure of verse."—Ellis.

[l] [Consult F. Junius, v. *Bootes:* he concludes thus; "Non incommode deducas *boots* ut Gr. *βυτίνη*, ab Ang.-Sax. *Bytta, Butta;* Isl. *bytta,* Lagena coriacea."]

[m] The want of a stately saltcellar is here noticed, as characteristic of a table meanly furnished.—Maitland.

[n] An *ebb cruse* is a vessel half empty, in which the liquor stood at ebb, or very low.—Singer.

[o] This word appears to be the same with the verb *to pare, pair,* or *peyr,* which Jamieson interprets *to impair,* and derives from Fr. *pire, pejeur,* worse; and Lat. *pejor.* Hall uses *peare* as the participle of a neuter verb.—Maitland.

[p] *Euclio;* the *miser* of Plautus's *Aulularia,* from whence Hall probably borrowed the name.—Maitland.

Some strong-smelled onion shall stir his eyes
Rather than no salt tears shall then arise.
So looks he like a marble toward rain,
And wrings and snites[q], and weeps, and wipes again;
Then turns his back, and smiles, and looks askance,
Seasoning again his soured countenance;
Whiles yet he wearies heaven with daily cries,
And backward death with devout sacrifice,
That they would now his tedious ghost bereaven,
And wishes well, that wish't no worse than heaven.
When Zoilus was sick, he knew not where,
Save his wrought nightcap and lawn pillow-bear[r]:
Kind fools! they made him sick that made him fine;
Take those away, and there's his medicine.
Or Gellia wore a velvet mastic-patch[s]
Upon her temples when no tooth did ach;
When beauty was her rheum[t] I soon espied,
Nor could her plaster cure her of her pride.
These vices were; but now they ceased of long:
Then why did I a righteous age that wrong?
I would repent me, were it not too late,
Were not the angry world prejudicate.
If all the Sevens Penitential[u],
Or thousand white wands might me aught avail;
If Trent or Thames could scour my foul offence,
And set me in my former innocence,
I would at last repent me of my rage:
Now, bear my wrong, I thine, O righteous age!
As for fine wits, a hundred thousand fold
Passeth our age whatever times of old.
For in that puisnè world, our sires of long
Could hardly wag their too unwieldly tongue,

[q] It is a term in falconry. "A hawk is said to *smite* or *snite*, when she wipes her beak or bill after feeding." See Phillips's New World of Words.—PRATT.

[r] A *pillow-bear* or *bere*, means a pillow-case.—PRATT.

[s] *Mastic-patch*; a patch made from the gum of the *lentisk tree*, an evergreen of the Greek isles.—MAITLAND. [Plurimum valet ad sedandos et mitigandos dentium dolores.—MINSHEW.]

[t] The meaning probably is, that the desire of being thought beautiful was her disease.—PRATT.

[u] That is, the Seven Penitential *Psalms*. The *white wands*, in the next line, have reference to doing the act of penance in a church, by being wrapt in a sheet or white garment, and bearing a white wand in the hand.—SINGER.

As pined crows and parrots can do now,
When hoary age did bend their wrinkled brow:
And now of late did many a learned man
Serve thirty years' prent'ship with Priscian[y].
But now can every novice speak with ease
The farfetched language of the Antipodes.
Wouldst thou the tongues, that erst were learned hight,
Though our wise age hath wiped them of their right?
Wouldst thou the courtly three[z] in most request,
Or the two barbarous neighbours of the West?
Bibinus' self can have ten tongues in one,
Though in all ten not one good tongue alone.
And can deep skill lie smothering within,
While neither smoke nor flame discerned bin?
Shall it not be a wild fig in a wall,
Or fired brimstone in a mineral?
Do thou disdain, O over-learned age,
The tongue-tied silence of that Samian sage[a]:
Forth, ye fine wits, and rush into the press,
And for the cloyed world your works address.
Is not[b] a gnat, nor fly, nor seely[c] ant,
But a fine wit can make an elephant.
Should Bandell's[d] throstle die without a song?
Or Adamantius' dog be laid along
Down in some ditch without his exequies,
Or epitaphs, or mournful elegies?
Folly itself and baldness may be praised[e],
And sweet conceits from filthy objects raised.

[y] *Priscian;* [the] grammarian of Athens, who flourished during the reign of Justinian.—Maitland.

[z] In that age, three modern languages were studied to affectation. In the Return from Parnassus, 1606, a fashionable fop tells his page, "Sirrah, boy, remember me, when I come in Paul's Churchyard, to buy a Ronsard and Dubartas in *French*, an Aretine in *Italian*, and our hardest writers in *Spanish*." Act ii. sc. 3.—Warton. *The two barbarous neighbours of the West* appear to be Ireland and Wales.—Maitland.

[a] *That Samian sage.* Pythagoras.—Maitland.

[b] *Is not,* for *there is not.*—Pratt.

[c] *Seely;* silly, simple, harmless; from the Saxon.—Maitland.

[d] *Bandell.* Bandello, the Italian novelist. This line, with the context, is intended to illustrate the propensity, even of eminent authors, to write upon trifling subjects.—Maitland.

[e] An allusion to Erasmus's Moriæ Encomium, and the Encomium Calvitiei, written at the restoration of learning.—Warton.

What do not fine wits dare to undertake?
What dare not fine wits do for honour's sake?
But why doth Balbus's dead-doing quill
Parch in his rusty scabbard all the while;
His golden fleece o'ergrown with mouldy hoar,
As though he had his witty works forswore?
Belike of late now Balbus hath no need,
Nor now belike his shrinking shoulders dread
The catchpoll's fist: the press may still remain,
And breathe, till Balbus be in debt again.
Soon may that be! so I had silent been,
And not thus raked up quiet crimes unseen.
Silence is safe, when saying stirreth sore,
And makes the stirred puddle stink the more.
Shall the controller of proud Nemesis
In lawless rage upbraid each other's vice,
While no man seeketh to reflect the wrong,
And curb the range of his misruly tongue?
By the two crowns of Parnasse evergreen,
And by the cloven head of Hippocrene,
As I true poet am, I here avow,
(So solemnly kissed he his laurel bough,)
If that bold Satire unrevenged be
For this so saucy and foul injury!
So Labeo weens it my eternal shame
To prove I never earned a poet's name.
But would I be a poet if I might,
To rub my brow three days, and wake three nights,
And bite my nails, and scratch my dullard head,
And curse the backward Muses on my bed
About one peevish syllable; which outsought[h],
I take up Thales' joy, save for forethought
How it shall please each ale-knight's[i] censuring eye,
And hanged my head for fear they deem awry?

[h] *Outsought* means *discovered.*—The allusion is to the ecstasy of the Greek philosopher, on discovering how to detect the quantity of brass mixed with the gold in making a crown by a fraudulent goldsmith; or, in other words, on discovering the mode of ascertaining the specific gravity of bodies by weighing them in water. The story is usually told of *Archimedes:* I know not on what authority Hall attributes it to Thales.—SINGER.

[i] *Ale-knight* means *the oracle of the tavern.*—PRATT.

While threadbare Martial[i] turns his merry note
To beg of Rufus a cast winter-coat;
Whiles hungry Marot[k] leapeth at a bean,
And dieth like a starved capuchin.
Go, Ariost[l], and gape for what may fall
From trencher of a flattering cardinal;
And if thou gettest but a pedant's fee,
Thy bed, thy board, and coarser livery,
O honour, far beyond a brazen shrine,
To sit with Tarleton[m] on an alepost's sign!
Who had but lived in Augustus' days
'T had been some honour to be crowned with bays:
When Lucan streaked[n] on his marble bed,
To think of Cæsar, and great Pompey's deed;
Or when Archelaus[o] shaved his mourning head,
Soon as he heard Stesichorus was dead.
At least, would some good body of the rest
Set a gold pen on their bay-wreathed crest;
Or would their face in stamped coin express,
As did the Mytilenes their poetess[p].

[i] Alluding to the fifty-seventh Epigram of the sixth book of Martial.—Ellis. To the eighty-fifth Epigram of the second book.—Maitland.

[k] *Whiles hungry Marot*, &c. Clement Marot, a witty and profligate court-poet during the reign of Francis the First of France, became, in the latter years of his life, the friend and disciple of Calvin. In this way he forfeited the favour of Francis; and, having retired to Turin, he died there in great poverty in 1544. Vid. Abrégé de la Vie de Cl. Marot, prefixed to his Works, ed. 1731, tom. i. p. 121.—Maitland.

[l] The allusion is evidently to Hippolito, cardinal of Este; to whose court Ariosto's reputation for wit had procured him favourable access.—Ellis. The cause of Scioppius's famous attack upon Joseph Scaliger, was an observation of the latter that Scioppius had gone to Rome, "*Lingere patinas Cardinalitias.*" —Maitland.

[m] Tarleton is here praised as a poet, who is commonly considered only as a comedian. Meres, in *Wit's Treasury*, fo. 286, commends him for his facility in extemporaneous versification.—Warton. See the History of Shoreditch, p. 209. Tarleton's portrait, with a tabor and pipe, still serves as a sign to an alehouse in the Borough.—Ellis.

[n] To *streak*, according to Littleton, is to *stretch one's self for want of sleep.*—Pratt. Lucan had his veins opened in a marble bath, and died while he was reciting with great energy a passage of his Pharsalia. Lib. iii. ver. 639–642.—Maitland.

[o] Hall confounds Stesichorus with Euripides, who spent the latter years of his life in the court of Archelaus king of Macedon. This monarch was greatly attached to the poet; and upon his death, "not contented with the chief concern and expenses of his funeral, did him the further honour of mourning for him in the usual fashion of the country, and shaved his head for a visible token of continued grief." Kennet's Lives of the Grecian Poets, ed. 1697, part i. p. 116.

[p] *Their poetess*, Sappho, whose head was stamped upon the coin of Mytilene. —Maitland.

Now, as it is, beshrew him if he might,
That would his brows with Cæsar's laurel dight.
Though what ailed me I might not, well as they,
Rake up some foreworn[q] tales, that smothered lay
In chimney corners smoked with winter fires,
To read and rock asleep our drowsy sires?
No man his threshold better knows than I
Brute's first arrival and first victory[r];
St. George's sorrel, or his cross of blood;
Arthur's round board, or Caledonian wood;
Or holy battles of bold Charlemain,
What were his knights did Salem's siege maintain:
How the mad rival of fair Angelice
Was physicked from the new-found paradise[s].
High stories they, which, with their swelling strain,
Have riven Fronto's[t] broad rehearsal-plane.
But so to fill up books, both back and side,
What needs it? Are there not enow beside?
O age well thriven and well fortunate,
When each man hath a Muse appropriate;
And she, like to some servile ear-bored slave,
Must play and sing when and what he would have!
Would that were all! Small fault in number lies,
Were not the fear from whence it should arise.
But can it be aught but a spurious seed
That grows so rife in such unlikely speed?
Sith Pontian left his barren wife at home,
And spent two years at Venice and at Rome,
Returned, hears his blessing asked of three,
Cries out, O Julian law[u]! adultery!

[q] *Foreworn tales;* i. e. tales frequently related before.—PRATT.

[r] *Brute's first arrival, &c.* This and the following lines refer to the subjects of various early romances, for an account of which see Warton's History of English Poetry, passim.—MAITLAND.

[s] This passage alludes to the cure of Orlando's madness. His *wits* were restored to him in a *vase*, brought from the terrestrial paradise by Astolpho, the English duke. Vid. Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, cant. xxxix.—MAITLAND.

[t] "Quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani, convulsaque marmora clamant,
Semper, et assiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ."
Juv. Sat. i. 11.—ELLIS.

[u] The *Lex Julia, de Adulteriis*, originated with Augustus Cæsar, and declared the crime of adultery to be capital.—MAITLAND.

Though Labeo reaches right (who can deny?)
The true strains of heroic poesy:
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And Phœbus filled him with intelligence;
He can implore the heathen deities
To guide his bold and busy enterprise;
Or filch whole pages at a clap, for need,
From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed:
While big *But oh's!* each stanza can begin,
Whose trunk and tail sluttish and heartless been.
He knows the grace of that new elegance,
Which sweet Philisides[x] fetched of late from France;
That well beseemed his high-styled Arcady,
Though others mar it with much liberty,
In epithets to join two words in one
Forsooth, for adjectives can't stand alone:
As a great poet could of Bacchus say,
That he was *Semele-femori-gena.*
Lastly he names the spirit of Astrophel[y]:
Now hath not Labeo done wondrous well?
But ere his Muse her weapon learn to wield,
Or dance a sober Pyrrhic[z] in the field,
Or marching wade in blood up to the knees,
Her *Arma virum* goes by two degrees.
The sheepcot first hath been her nursery,
Where she hath worn her idle infancy;
And in high startups[a] walked the pastured plains
To tend her tasked herd that there remains;

[x] *Philisides;* one of the poetical names of Sir Philip Sidney, evidently formed from portions of the two names, *Philip* and *Sidney*. The name appears to have been invented by himself; for we have Philisides (a young and melancholy shepherd) in the Arcadia, book iii. Eclogue the 3d. He is almost always distinguished by this name among his poetical contemporaries. Thus, in verses prefixed to Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, by E. Heyward:—

"Numbers, curious ears to please,
Learn'd he of Philisides."—Singer.

[y] *Astrophel* was the name by which Spenser distinguished Sir Philip Sidney, whose death he commemorated in a pastoral elegy under this title.—Pratt.

[z] The Pyrrhic dance, performed in armour.—Warton.

[a] *Startups* were a kind of rustic high shoes, sometimes also called *bagging* shoes. In Junius's Nomenclator, by Fleming, *Pero* is rendered a country shooe: *a startop*, a high shooe. The *soccus* of the ancients is also rendered in the old dictionaries, "a kind of bagging shoes, or manner of startups, that men and women did use in times passed; a socke." Chapman uses *startups* in this sense in his Hymn to Cynthia, 1595.—Singer.

And winded still a pipe of oat or brear[b],
Striving for wages who the praise shall bear:
As did whilere the homely Carmelite,
Following Virgil, and he Theocrite[c]:
Or else hath been in Venus' chamber trained
To play with Cupid, till she had attained
To comment well upon a beauteous face,
Then was she fit for an heroic place.
As witty Pontan[d] in great earnest said,
His mistress' breasts were like two weights of lead;
Another thinks her teeth might likened be
To two fair ranks of pales of ivory,
To fence in, sure, the wild beast of her tongue,
From either going far or going wrong;
Her grinders like two chalkstones in a mill,
Which shall with time and wearing wax as ill
As old Catilla's, which wont every night
Lay up her holly pegs till next daylight,
And with them grind soft-simpering all the day;
When, lest her laughter should her gums bewray,
Her hands must hide her mouth if she but smile;
Fain would she seem all frisk and frolic still.
Her forehead fair is like a brazen hill,
Whose wrinkled furrows, which her age doth breed,
Are daubed full of Venice chalk for need:
Her eyes like silver saucers, fair beset
With shining amber and with shady jet;
Her lids like Cupid's bow-case, where he hides
The weapons that doth wound the wanton-eyed;

[b] [*Brear, bere,* barley.]

[c] By the *Carmelite,* a pastoral writer ranked with Theocritus and Virgil, he means *Mantuanus.*—WARTON. Baptista Mantuanus was a Latin poet of Italy, born in 1448, who among other works wrote ten Eclogues. Early in life he became a member of the order of the Carmelites, and repeatedly filled the situation of *vicar general.* He died in 1516. Vid. Moreri, Grand Dict. voc. *Spagnoli.*—MAITLAND.

[d] "Pontan, here mentioned," says Mr. Warton, "I presume is Joannes Jovianus Pontanus, an elegant Latin amatorial poet of Italy at the revival of learning;" (born in 1426, died in 1503;) whose poetry, chiefly hendecasyllabic, was often luxuriantly amorous. See his Works, printed at Hamburgh, 1515.—PRATT. This I very much doubt; at least, I have not found the simile after a pretty diligent search for it in the poems of Pontanus, printed by Aldus at Venice, 1518. It is more probable that Hall here ridicules one of his contemporaries.—SINGER.

Her chin like Pindus, or Parnassus' hill,
Where down descends the o'erflowing stream doth fill
The well of her fair mouth. Each hath his praise.
Who would not but wed poets now-a-days!

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

A POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER.

It is not for every one to relish a true and natural Satire: being of itself, besides the nature and inbred bitterness and tartness of particulars, both hard of conceit and harsh of style; and therefore cannot but be unpleasing both to the unskilful and over musical ear: the one being affected with only a shallow and easy matter; the other with a smooth and current disposition. So that I well foresee, in the timely publication of these my concealed Satires, I am set upon the rack of many merciless and peremptory censures; which sith the calmest and most plausible writer is almost fatally subject unto, in the curiosity of these nicer times, how may I hope to be exempted upon the occasion of so busy and stirring a subject? One thinks it misbeseeming the author, because a poem; another, unlawful in itself, because a Satire; a third, harmful to others, for the sharpness; and a fourth, unsatirelike, for the mildness; the learned, too perspicuous, being named with Juvenal, Persius, and the other ancient Satires; the unlearned, savourless, because too obscure, and obscure because not under their reach. What a monster must he be that would please all!

Certainly, look what weather it would be if every almanack should be verified; muchwhat like poems if every fancy should be suited. It is not for this kind to desire or hope to please, which naturally should only find pleasure in displeasing; notwithstanding, if the fault-finding with the vices of the time may honestly accord with the good will of the parties, I had as lief ease myself with a slender apology as wilfully bear the brunt of causeless anger in my silence.

For Poetry itself, after the so effectual and absolute endeavours of her honoured patrons, either she needeth no new defence, or else might well scorn the offer of so impotent and poor a client. Only for my own part, though, were she a more unworthy mistress, I think she might be inoffensively served with the broken messes of our twelve-o'clock hours, which homely service she only claimed and found of me, for that short while of my attendance; yet having thus soon taken my solemn farewell of her, and shaked hands with all her retinue, why should it be an eyesore unto any, sith it can be no loss to myself?

For my Satires themselves, I see two obvious cavils to be answered.

One, concerning the matter; than which I confess none can be more open to danger, to envy; sith faults loathe nothing more than the light, and men love nothing more than their faults: and therefore, what through the nature of the faults and fault of the persons, it is impossible so violent an appeachment should be quietly brooked. But why should vices be unblamed for fear of blame? And if thou mayst spit upon a toad unvenomed, why mayst thou not speak of a vice without danger? Especially so warily as I have endeavoured; who, in the unpartial mention of so many vices, may safely profess to be altogether guiltless in myself to the intention of any guilty person who might be blemished by the likelihood of my conceived application; thereupon choosing rather to mar mine own verse than another's name. Which notwithstanding, if the injurious reader shall wrest to his own spite, and disparaging of others, it is a short answer, '*Art thou guilty?* complain not, thou art not wronged:' '*Art thou guiltless?* complain not, thou art not touched.'

The other, concerning the manner; wherein perhaps, too much stooping to the low reach of the vulgar, I shall be thought not to have any whit kindly raught[a] my ancient Roman predecessors, whom, in the want of more late and familiar precedents, I am constrained thus far off to imitate: which thing I can be so willing to grant, that I am farther ready to warrant my action therein to any indifferent censure.

First therefore, I dare boldly avouch, that the English is not altogether so natural to a Satire as the Latin; which I do not impute to the nature of the language itself; being so far from disabling it any way, that methinks I durst equal it to the proudest in every respect; but to that which is common to it with all other common languages, Italian, French, German, &c. in their poesies; the fettering together the series of the verses with the bonds of like cadence or desinence of rhyme; which if it be unusually abrupt, and not dependent in sense upon so near affinity of words, I know not what a loathsome kind of harshness and discordance it breedeth to any judicial ear. Which if any more confident adversary shall gainsay, I wish no better trial than the translation of one of Persius's Satires into English; the difficulty and dissonance whereof shall make good my assertion. Besides the plain experience thereof in the Satires of Ariosto, (save which, and one base French satire, I could never attain the view of any for my direction, and that also might for need serve for an excuse at least,) whose chain-verse to which

[a] *Raught*, the ancient preterite of the verb *to reach*.—MAITLAND.

he fettereth himself, as it may well afford a pleasing harmony to the ear, so can it yield nothing but a flashy and loose conceit to the judgment. Whereas the Roman numbers tying but one foot to another, offereth a greater freedom of variety, with much more delight to the reader.

Let my second ground be, the well-known daintiness of the time; such, that men rather choose carelessly to lose the sweet of the kernel, than to urge their teeth with breaking the shell wherein it was wrapped: and therefore, sith that which is unseen is almost undone, and that is almost unseen which is unconceived, either I would say nothing to be untalked of, or speak with my mouth open that I may be understood.

Thirdly, the end of this pains was a Satire; but the end of my Satire, a further good; which whether I attain or no, I know not: but let me be plain with hope of profit, rather than purposely obscure only for a bare name's sake.

Notwithstanding, in the expectation of this quarrel, I think my first Satire[b] doth somewhat resemble the sour and crabbed face of Juvenal's: which I, endeavouring in that, did determinately omit in the rest, for these forenamed causes, that so I might have somewhat to stop the mouth of every accuser. The rest to each man's censure; which let be as favourable as so thankless a work can deserve or desire.

[b] This Postscript having been published with "The Three Last Bookes, of Byting Satires," by the "First Satire" here is to be understood the first of the fourth book.—PRATT.

END OF THE POSTSCRIPT.

SOME FEW OF

DAVID'S PSALMS

METAPHRASED,

FOR A TASTE OF THE REST.

BY JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

TO MY LOVING AND LEARNED COUSIN,

MR. SAMUEL BURTON,

ARCHDEACON OF GLOUCESTER [FROM 1607 TO 1634.]

INDEED my poetry was long sithence out of date, and yielded her place to graver studies: but whose vein would it not revive to look into those heavenly songs? I were not worthy to be a divine, if it should repent me to be a poet with David, after I shall have aged in the pulpit.

This work is holy and strict, and abides not any youthful or heathenish liberty; but requires hands free from profaneness, looseness, affection. It is a service to God and the church, by so much more carefully to be regarded as it is more common. For who is there that will not challenge a part in this labour? and that shall not find himself much more affected with holy measure rightly composed?

Wherefore I have oft wondered how it could be offensive to our adversaries, that these divine ditties, which the Spirit of God wrote in verse, should be sung in verse; and that an Hebrew poem should be made English. For if this kind of composition had been unfit, God would never have made choice of numbers wherein to express himself.

Yea, who knows not, that some other scriptures which the Spirit hath indited in prose have yet been happily and with good allowance put into strict numbers? If histories tell us of a wanton poet of old which lost his eyes while he went about to turn Moses into verse, yet every student knows with what good success and commendation Nonnus hath turned John's Gospel into Greek heroics[a]. And Apollinarius, that learned Syrian, matched with Basil and Gregory (who lived in his time) in the terms of this equality, that Basil's speech was *σταθερώτερος*, but Apollinarius's *ἀδρότερος*, wrote, as Suidas[b] reports, all the Hebrew scripture in heroics; as Sozomen, somewhat more restrainedly, all the Archaiology of the Jews till Saul's government, in twenty-four parts[c]; or as Socrates, yet more particularly, all Moses in heroics, and all the other histories in divers metres[d]: but however his other labours lie hid, his Metaphrase of the Psalms is still in our hands, with the applause of all the learned: besides the labours of their own Flaminius and Arias Montanus, to seek for no more, which have worthily bestowed themselves in this subject.

Neither do I see how it can be offensive to our friends, that we should desire our English Metaphrase bettered. I say nothing to the disgrace of

[a] [Suidas. v. *Νόννα.*]
[b] [Suidas. v. *Ἀπολλινάριος.*]
[c] [Sozom. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 18. ed. Hussey, t. ii. p. 501.]
[d] [Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 16. ed. Hussey, t. i. p. 426.]

that we have: I know how glad our adversaries are of all such advantages; which they are ready enough to find out without me, ever reproachfully upbraiding us with these defects. But since our whole translation is now universally revised, what inconvenience or show of innovation can it bear that the verse should accompany the prose? especially since it is well known how rude and homely our English poesy was in those times compared with the present, wherein, if ever, it seeth her full perfection.

I have been solicited by some reverend friends to undertake this task, as that which seemed well to accord with the former exercises of my youth and my present profession. The difficulties I found many; the work long and great: yet not more painful than beneficial to God's church: whereto as I dare not profess any sufficiency, so I will not deny my readiness and utmost endeavour, if I shall be employed by authority.

Wherefore in this part I do humbly submit myself to the grave censures of them whose wisdom manageth these common affairs of the church, and am ready either to stand still or proceed, as I shall see their cloud or fire go before or behind me. Only howsoever I shall, for my true affection to the church, wish it done by better workmen: wherein, as you approve, so further my bold but not unprofitable motion, and commend it unto greater ears, as I do you to the Greatest.

Your loving Kinsman,

NON-SUCH[e], JOS. HALL.
July 3.

[e] [The bishop was probably at this time attached as chaplain to the household of the prince of Wales, as he dates from Non-such in Surrey, a royal palace built by king Henry VIII. and one of the three residences assigned to the prince. See Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 85.]

SOME FEW OF

DAVID'S PSALMS METAPHRASED.

PSALM I.

IN THE TUNE OF THE CXLVIIIth PSALM.

" Give laud unto the Lord."

WHO hath not walked astray
In wicked men's advice,
Nor stood in sinners' way;
Nor in their companies
That scorners are,
As their fit mate,
In scoffing chair
Hath ever sate;

2 But in thy laws divine,
O Lord, sets his delight,
And in those laws of thine
Studies all day and night;
O, how that man
Thrice blessed is!
And sure shall gain
Eternal bliss.

3 He shall be like the tree
Set by the water-springs,
Which, when his seasons be,
Most pleasant fruit forth brings;
Whose boughs so green
Shall never fade,
But covered been
With comely shade.

So to this happy wight,
All his designs shall thrive:
4 Whereas the man unright,
As chaff which winds do drive,

With every blast
Is tossed on high,
Nor can at last
In safety lie.

5 Wherefore, in that sad doom
They dare not rise from dust;
Nor shall no sinner come
To glory of the just.
For God will grace
The just man's way,
While sinners' race
Runs to decay.

PSALM II.

IN THE TUNE OF THE CXXVth PSALM.

"Those that do put their confidence."

WHY do the Gentiles tumults make,
And nations all conspire in vain,
2 And earthly princes counsel take
Against their God, against the reign
Of his dear Christ? Let us, they sain,
3 Break all their bonds: and from us shake
Their thraldom, yoke, and servile chain.
4 While thus, alas! they fondly spake,
He that aloft rides on the skies
Laughs all their lewd device to scorn;
5 And, when his wrathful rage shall rise,
With plagues shall make them all forlorn;
And in his fury thus replies:
6 But I, my King with sacred horn
Anointing, shall, in princely guise,
His head with royal crown adorn.
Upon my Sion's holy mount
His empire's glorious seat shall be:
And I, thus raised, shall far recount
The tenor of his true decree.
7 My Son thou art, said God; I thee
Begat this day, by due account:
Thy sceptre, do but ask of me,
All earthly kingdoms shall surmount.

8 All nations to thy rightful sway
I will subject from farthest end
9 Of all the world: and thou shalt bray
Those stubborn foes, that will not bend,
With iron mace, like potters' clay,
10 In pieces small. Ye kings attend;
And ye, whom others wont obey,
Learn wisdom, and at last amend.

11 See ye serve God with greater dread
Than others you: and, in your fear,
Rejoice the while: and, lowly spread,
12 Do homage to his Son so dear:
Lest he be wroth, and do you dead
13 Amidst your way, if kindled
His wrath shall be: O! blessed those
That do on him their trust repose.

PSALM III.

AS THE CXIIIth PSALM.

" Ye children which, &c."

AH, Lord! how many be my foes!
How many are against me rose,
2 That to my grieved soul have said,
Tush, God shall him no succour yield;
3 While thou, Lord, art my praise, my shield,
And dost advance my careful head!

4 Loud with my voice to God I cried:
His grace unto my suit replied
From out his holy hill.
5 I laid me down, slept, rose again:
For thou, O Lord, dost me sustain,
And savest my soul from feared ill.

6 Not if ten thousand armed foes
My naked side should round enclose,
Would I be therefore aught adread.
Up, Lord, and shield me from disgrace:

7 For thou hast broke my foemen's face,
And all the wicked's teeth hast shed.
8 From thee, O God, is safe defence;
Do thou thy free beneficence
Upon thy people largely spread.

PSALM IV.

AS THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

"Attend my people."

THOU witness of my truth sincere,
My God, unto my poor request
Vouchsafe to lend thy gracious ear:
Thou hast my soul from thrall released.

2 Favour me still, and deign to hear
Mine humble suit. O wretched wights,
3 How long will ye mine honour dear
Turn into shame through your despites?

Still will ye love what thing is vain,
4 And seek false hopes? Know then at last,
That God hath chose and will maintain
His favourite, whom ye disgraced.

God will regard my instant moan.
5 O! tremble then, and cease offending;
And, on your silent bed alone,
Talk with your hearts, your ways amending;

6 Offer the truest sacrifice
Of broken hearts; on God besetting
7 Your only trust. The most devise
The ways of worldly treasure getting:

But thou, O Lord, lift up to me
The light of that sweet look of thine;
8 So shall my soul more gladsome be
Than theirs with all their corn and wine.

9 So I in peace shall lay me down,
And on my bed take quiet sleep;
While thou, O Lord, shalt me alone
From dangers all securely keep.

PSALM V.

IN THE TUNE OF THE CXXIVth PSALM.

"Now Israel may say, &c."

Bow down thine ear,
Lord, to these words of mine,
And well regard
The secret plaints I make.
2 My King, my God,
To thee I do betake
My sad estate:
O! do thine ear incline
To these loud cries,
That to thee poured bin.

3 At early morn
Thou shalt my voice attend;
For at daybreak,
I will myself address
Thee to implore,
And wait for due redress.
4 Thou dost not, Lord,
Delight in wickedness;
Nor to bad men
Wilt thy protection lend.

5 The boasters proud
Cannot before thee stay:
Thou hatest all those
That are to sin devoted:
6 The lying lips,
And who with blood are spotted,
Thou dost abhor,
And wilt for ever slay:
7 But I unto
Thine house shall take the way:

And, through thy grace
Abundant, shall adore,
With humble fear,
Within thy holy place.
8 O! lead me, Lord,
Within thy righteous trace:
Even for their sakes
That malice me so sore,
Make smooth thy paths
My dimmer eyes before.

9 Within their mouth
No truth is ever found:
Pure mischief is
Their heart: a gaping tomb
10 Is their wide throat;
And yet their tongues still sound
11 With smoothing words.
O Lord, give them their doom,
And let them fall
In those their plots profound.
In their excess
Of mischief them destroy

12 That rebels are;
So those, that to thee fly,
Shall all rejoice
And sing eternally:
13 And whom thou dost
Protect, and who love thee
And thy dear name,
In thee shall ever joy;
Since thou with bliss
The righteous dost reward,
And with thy grace,
As with a shield, him guard.

PSALM VI.

AS THE LTH PSALM.

" The mighty God, &c."

LET me not, Lord,
Be in thy wrath reproved:
O! scourge me not
When thy fierce wrath is moved.
2 Pity me, Lord,
That do with languor pine:
Heal me, whose bones
With pain dissolved bin:
3 Whose weary soul
Is vexed above measure.
O Lord, how long
Shall I bide thy displeasure?
4 Turn thee, O Lord,
Rescue my soul distressed;
5 And save me of thy grace.
'Mongst those that rest
In silent death
Can none remember thee;
And in the grave
How shouldst thou praised be?
6 Weary with sighs
All night I caused my bed
To swim; with tears
My couch I watered.
7 Deep sorrow hath
Consumed my dimmed eyne,
Sunk in with grief
At these lewd foes of mine:
8 But now hence, hence,
Vain plotters of mine ill:
The Lord hath heard
My lamentations shrill:
9 God heard my suit,
And still attends the same:
10 Blush now, my foes,
And fly with sudden shame.

PSALM VII.

AS THE CXIIth PSALM.

" The man is blest that God, &c."

On thee, O Lord my God, relies
My only trust: from bloody spite
Of all my raging enemies
O let thy mercy me acquite.
2 Lest they, like greedy lions, rend
My soul, while none shall it defend.

3 O Lord, if I this thing have wrought,
If in my hands be found such ill;
4 If I with mischief ever sought
To pay good turns, or did not still
Do good unto my causeless foe,
That thirsted for my overthrow;

5 Then let my foe in eager chase,
O'ertake my soul, and proudly tread
My life below, and with disgrace
In dust lay down mine honour dead.
6 Rise up in rage, O Lord, eftsoon
Advance thine arm against my fo'n[a];

And wake for me, till thou fulfil
7 My promised right: so shall glad throngs
Of people flock unto thine hill.
For their sakes then revenge my wrongs,
8 And rouse thyself. Thy judgments be
O'er all the world: Lord, judge thou me.

As truth and honest innocence
Thou find'st in me, Lord, judge thou me:
9 Settle the just with sure defence:
Let me the wicked's malice see
10 Brought to an end. For thy just eye
Doth heart and inward reins descry:

[a] [*Foen*, an obsolete plural of *foe*.]

11 My safety stands in God, who shields
The sound in heart: whose doom, each day,
12 To just men and contemners yields
13 Their due. Except he change his way,
His sword is whet, to blood intended,
His murdering bow is ready bended.

14 Weapons of death he hath addressed
And arrows keen to pierce my foe,
15 Who late bred mischief in his breast,
But when he doth on travel go
16 Brings forth a lie; deep pits doth delve,
And fall into his pits himselve.

17 Back to his own head shall rebound
His plotted mischief, and his wrongs
18 His crown shall craze: but I shall sound
Jehovah's praise with thankful songs,
And with his glorious name express
And tell of all his righteousness.

PSALM VIII.

AS THE CXIIIth PSALM.

" Ye children which, &c."

How noble is thy mighty Name,
O Lord, o'er all the world's wide frame,
Whose glory is advanced on high
Above the rolling heavens' rack!
2 How for the graceless scorner's sake,
To still th' avenging enemy,
Hast thou by tender infants' tongue,
The praise of thy great name made strong,
While they hang sucking on the breast!
3 But when I see the heavens bright,
The moon and glittering stars of night,
By thine Almighty hand addressed,

4 O what is man, poor silly man,
That thou so mind'st him, and dost deign
To look at his unworthy seed!
5 Thou hast him set not much beneath
Thine angels bright, and with a wreath
Of glory hast adorned his head.
6 Thou hast him made high sovereign
7 Of all thy works, and stretched his reign
Unto the herds and beasts untame,
8 To fowls, and to the scaly train,
That glideth through the watery main.
9 How noble eachwhere is thy Name!

PSALM IX.

TO THE TUNE OF THAT KNOWN SONG, BEGINNING

"Preserve us, Lord."

THEE, and thy wondrous deeds, O God,
With all my soul I sound abroad:
2 My joy, my triumph is in thee.
Of thy dread Name my song shall be,

3 O highest God: since put to flight,
And fallen and vanished at thy sight
4 Are all my foes; for thou hast past
Just sentence on my cause at last;

And, sitting on thy throne above,
A rightful Judge thyself dost prove:
5 The troops profane thy checks have stroyd,
And made their name for ever void.

6 Where's now, my foes, your threatened wrack?
So well you did our cities sack,
And bring to dust; while that ye say,
Their name shall die as well as they!

7 Lo, in eternal state God sits,
And his high throne to justice fits;
8 Whose righteous hand the world shall wield,
And to all folk just doom shall yield.

9 The poor from high find his relief;
The poor in needful times of grief:
10 Who knows thee, Lord, to thee shall cleave,
That never dost thy clients leave.

11 O! sing the God that doth abide
On Sion Mount, and blazon wide
12 His worthy deeds. For he pursues
The guiltless blood with vengeance due:

He minds their cause, nor can pass o'er
Sad clamours of the wronged poor.
13 O! mercy, Lord: thou, that dost save
My soul from gates of death and grave:

O! see the wrong my foes have done:
14 That I thy praise, to all that gone
Through daughter Sion's beauteous gate,
With thankful songs may loud relate;

And may rejoice in thy safe aid.
15 Behold the Gentiles, while they made
A deadly pit my soul to drown,
Into their pit are sunken down:

In that close snare they hid for me,
Lo, their own feet entangled be.
16 By this just doom the Lord is known,
That th' ill are punished with their own.

17 Down shall the wicked backward fall
To deepest hell, and nations all
18 That God forget; nor shall the poor
Forgotten be for evermore.

The constant hope of souls oppressed
19 Shall not aye die. Rise from thy rest,
O Lord. Let not men base and rude
Prevail: judge thou the multitude

20 Of lawless pagans: strike pale fear
Into those breasts that stubborn were;
And let the Gentiles feel and find
They been but men of mortal kind.

PSALM X.

AS THE LI.st PSALM.

" O God, consider."

Why stand'st thou, Lord, aloof so long,
And hid'st thee in due times of need,
2 While lewd men proudly offer wrong
Unto the poor? In their own deed
And their device let them be caught.
3 For, lo, the wicked braves and boasts
In his vile and outrageous thought,
And blesseth him that ravines most.

4 On God he dares insult: his pride
Scorns to inquire of powers above;
But his stout thoughts have still denied
5 There is a God. His ways yet prove
Aye prosperous: thy judgments high
Do far surmount his dimmer sight.
6 Therefore doth he all foes defy:
His heart saith, I shall stand in spite,

Nor ever move, nor danger bide.
7 His mouth is filled with curses foul
And with close fraud: his tongue doth hide
8 Mischief and ill: he seeks the soul
Of harmless men, in secret wait;
And in the corners of the street
Doth shed their blood: with scorn and hate
His eyes upon the poor are set.

9 As some fell lion in his den,
He closely lurks, the poor to spoil:
He spoils the poor and helpless men
When once he snares them in his toil.
10 He croucheth low in cunning wile,
And bows his breast; whereon whole throngs
Of poor, whom his fair shows beguile,
Fall to be subject to his wrongs.

11 God hath forgot, in soul he says;
He hides his face to never see.
12 Lord God, arise, thine hand upraise;
Let not thy poor forgotten be.
13 Shall these insulting wretches scorn
Their God, and say, thou wilt not care?
14 Thou seest (for all thou hast forborne)
Thou seest what all their mischiefs are:

That to thy hand of vengeance just
Thou mayst them take: the poor distressed
Rely on thee with constant trust,
The help of orphans and oppressed.
15 O! break the wicked's arm of might,
And search out all their cursed trains,
And let them vanish out of sight.
16 The Lord as King for ever reigns.

From forth his coasts the heathen sect
17 Are rooted quite: thou, Lord, attend'st
To poor men's suits; thou dost direct
Their hearts: to them thine ear thou bend'st;
18 That thou mayst rescue from despite
The woful fatherless and poor:
That so the vain and earthen wight
On us may tyrannize no more.

ANTHEMS

FOR

THE CATHEDRAL OF EXETER.

[Anthems printed in 1660, in the volume of the Bishop's works entitled, "The Shaking of the Olive Tree."]

ANTHEM I.

LORD, what am I? A worm, dust, vapour, nothing!
What is my life? A dream, a daily dying!
What is my flesh? My soul's uneasy clothing!
What is my time? A minute ever flying!
My time, my flesh, my life, and I;
What are we, Lord, but vanity?

Where am I, Lord? Down in a vale of death:
What is my trade? Sin, my dear God offending:
My sport, sin too; my stay, a puff of breath:
What end of sin? Hell's horror, never ending:
My way, my trade, sport, stay, and place,
Help to make up my doleful case.

Lord, what art thou? Pure life, power, beauty, bliss:
Where dwellest thou? Up above, in perfect light:
What is thy time? Eternity it is:
What state? Attendance of each glorious sprite:
Thyself, thy place, thy days, thy state,
Pass all the thoughts of powers create.

How shall I reach thee, Lord? O! soar above,
Ambitious soul: but which way should I fly?
Thou, Lord, art way and end: what wings have I?
Aspiring thoughts, of faith, of hope, of love:
O! let these wings, that way alone,
Present me to thy blissful throne.

ANTHEM II.

FOR CHRISTMAS-DAY.

IMMORTAL babe, who this dear day
Didst change thine heaven for our clay,
And didst with flesh thy Godhead veil,
Eternal Son of God, all hail!

Shine, happy star; ye angels, sing
Glory on high to heaven's King;
Run, shepherds, leave your nightly watch,
See Heaven come down to Bethlehem's cratch.

Worship, ye sages of the east,
The King of gods in meanness drest.
O blessed Maid, smile and adore
The God thy womb and arms have bore.

Star, angels, shepherds, and wise sages;
Thou, Virgin, glory of all ages;
Restored frame of heaven and earth;
Joy in your dear Redeemer's birth!

ANTHEM III.

LEAVE, O my soul, this baser world below;
O leave this doleful dungeon of woe,
And soar aloft to that supernal rest
That maketh all the saints and angels blest:
Lo, there the Godhead's radiant throne,
Like to ten thousand suns in one!

Lo, there thy Saviour dear, in glory dight,
Adored of all the powers of heavens bright:
Lo, where that head, that bled with thorny wound,
Shines ever with celestial honour crowned:
That hand, that held the scornful reed,
Makes all the fiends infernal dread:

That back and side, that ran with bloody streams,
Daunt angels' eyes with their majestic beams:
Those feet, once fastened to the cursed tree,
Trample on death and hell, in glorious glee:
Those lips, once drenched with gall, do make
With their dread doom the world to quake.

Behold those joys thou never canst behold;
Those precious gates of pearl, those streets of gold,
Those streams of life, those trees of Paradise,
That never can be seen by mortal eyes:
And when thou seest this state divine,
Think that it is or shall be thine.

See there the happy troops of purest sprites
That live above in endless true delights;
And see where once thyself shalt ranged be,
And look and long for immortality:
And now, beforehand, help to sing
Hallelujahs to heaven's King.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

[1596.]

ELEGY ON DR. WHITAKER[a].

Bind ye my brows with mourning cyparisse,
  And palish twigs of deadly poplar tree;
Or if some sadder shades ye can devise,
  Those sadder shades veil my light-loathing eye;
I loathe the laurel bands I loved best,
And all that maketh mirth and pleasant rest.

If ever breath dissolved the world to tears,
  Or hollow cries made heaven's vault resound:
If ever shrieks were sounded out so clear,
  That all the worldis waste might hear around:
Be mine the breath, the tears, the shrieks, the cries,
Yet still my grief unseen, unsounded lies.

Thou flattering sun, that led'st this loathed light,
  Why didst thou in thy saffron robes arise?
Or fold'st not up the day in dreary night?
  And wak'st the western world's amazed eyes?
And never more rise from the ocean,
To wake the morn, or chase night-shades again?

Hear we no bird of day, or dawning morn,
  To greet the sun, or glad the waking ear:
Sing out, ye screech-owls, louder then aforn,
  And ravens black, of night, of death, of drear:
And all ye barking fowls, yet never seen,
That fill the moonless night with hideous din.

[a] From "Caroli Horni Carmen Funebre in Obitum Ornatissimi Viri Gul. Whitakeri, Doctoris in Theologia, in Academia Cantab. Professoris Regii," &c. Lond. 1596, 4to. Dr. Whitaker was Master of St. John's. (Subjoined to Mr. Singer's edition of the Satires.)—H.

Now shall the wanton devils dance in rings,
  In every mead, and every heath hoar:
The elvish fairies, and the gobelins,
  The hoofed satyrs, silent heretofore:
Religion, Virtue, Muses, holy Mirth,
Have now forsworn the late forsaken Earth.

The prince of darkness 'gins to tyrannize,
  And rear up cruel trophies of his rage;
Faint Earth, through her despairing cowardice,
  Yields up herself to endless vassalage:
What champion now shall tame the power of hell,
And the unruly spirits overquell?

The worldis praise, the pride of Nature's proof,
  Amaze of times, hope of our faded age;
Religion's hold, Earth's choice, and Heaven's love,
  Pattern of virtue, patron of Muses sage:
All these and more were Whitaker's alone;
Now they in him, and he and all are gone.

Heaven, Earth, Nature, Death, and every Fate,
  Thus spoiled the careless world of wonted joy:
Whiles each repined at others' pleasing state,
  And all agreed to work the world's annoy:
Heaven strove with Earth, Destiny gave the doom,
That Death should Earth and Nature overcome.

Earth takes one part, when forced Nature sends
  The soul, to flit into the yielding sky:
Sorted by Death into their fatal ends,
  Foreseen, foreset, from all eternity:
Destiny by Death spoiled feeble Nature's frame,
Earth was despoiled when Heaven overcame.

Ah, coward Nature, and more cruel Death,
  Envying Heaven, and unworthy mould,
Unwieldy carcass, and unconstant breath,
  That did so lightly leave your living hold:
How have ye all conspired our hopeless spite,
And wrapt us up in Grief's eternal night!

Base Nature yields, imperious Death commands,
  Heaven desires; durst lowly dust deny?
The Fates decreed; no mortal might withstand;
  The spirit leaves his load, and lets it lie:
The senseless corpse corrupts in sweeter clay,
And waits for worms to waste it quite away.

Now 'gin your triumphs, Death and Destinies,
  And let the trembling world witness your waste:
Now let black Orphney raise his ghastly neighs,
  And trample high, and hellish foam out cast;
Shake he the earth, and tear the hollow skies,
That all may feel and fear your victories.

And after your triumphant chariot,
  Drag the pale corpse that thus you did to die;
To show what goodly conquests ye have got,
  To fright the world and fill the wondering eye:
Millions of lives, of deaths, no conquests were,
Compared with one only Whitaker.

But thou, O soul, shalt laugh at their despite,
  Sitting beyond the mortal man's extent,
All in the bosom of that blessed spright,
  Which the great God for thy safe conduct sent:
He through the circling spheres taketh his flight,
And cuts the solid sky with spiritual might.

Open, ye golden gates of Paradise,
  Open ye wide unto a welcome ghost:
Enter, O soul, into thy bower of bliss,
  Through all the throng of heaven's host:
Which shall with triumph guard thee as thou go'st,
With palms of conquest, and with crowns of cost.

Seldom had ever soul such entertains,
  With such sweet hymns, and such a glorious crown;
Nor with such joy amidst the heavenly trains,
  Was ever lead to his Creator's throne:
There now he lives, and sees his Saviour's face,
And ever sings sweet songs unto His grace.

Meanwhile, the memory of his mighty name
Shall live as long as aged Earth shall last;
Enrolled on [the] beryl walls of fame,
Aye minged, aye mourned, and wished oft in waste.
Is this to die, to live for evermore
A double life, that never lived afore?

Jos. Hall.

TWO POEMS

ON THE DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY[b].

[1613.]

I. Upon the unseasonable Times that have followed the unseasonable Death of my sweet master, Prince Henry.

Fond Vulgar, canst thou think it strange to find
So *watery* winter, and so wasteful *wind?*
What other face could Nature's age become,
In looking on great Henry's hearse and tomb?
The world's whole frame his part in mourning bears:
The *winds* are sighs: the *rain* is Heaven's tears:
And if these tears be rife, and sighs be strong,
Such sighs, such tears, to these sad times belong.
These showers have drowned all hearts: these sighs did make
The church, the world, with griefs, with fears to shake.
Weep on, ye Heavens, and sigh as ye begon;
Men's sighs and tears are slight, and quickly done.

J. Hall.

II. Of the Rainbow that was reported to be seen in the night, over St. James's, before the Prince's Death; and of the unseasonable Winter since.

Was ever nightly rainbow seen?
Did ever winter mourn in green?
Had that long bow been bent by day,
'T had chased all our clouds away:
But now that it by night appears,
It tells the deluge of our tears.

[b] This and the following copy of verses were inserted in the "Lachrymæ Lachrymarum, or the Spirit of Teares distilled for the untimely death of the incomparable Prince Panaretus, by Joshua Sylvester;" printed, though without date, in the year 1613, 4to. (In Mr. Singer's edition.)—H.

No marvel rainbows shine by night,
When suns ere noon do lose their light.
Iris was wont to be, of old,
Heaven's messenger to earthly mould;
And now she came to bring us down
Sad news of Henry's better crown.
And as the Eastern star did tell
The Persian sages of that cell
Where Sion's King was born and lay;
And over that same house did stay:
So did that Western bow descry
Where Henry, prince of men, should die.
Lo there this arch of heavenly state
Raised to the triumph of his fate;
Yet raised in dark of night, to show
His glory should be with our woe.
And now, for that men's mourning weed
Reports a grief not felt indeed;
The winter weeps and mourns indeed,
Though clothed in a summer weed.

J. HALL.

UPON MR. GREENHAM HIS BOOK OF THE SABBATH.[c]

WHILE Greenham writeth of the Sabbath's rest,
His soul enjoys not what his pen expressed:
His work enjoys not what itself doth say,
For it shall never find one resting day:
A thousand hands shall toss each page and line,
Which shall be scanned by a thousand eyne.
That Sabbath's rest, or this Sabbath's unrest,
Hard is to say whether's the happiest.

J. HALL.

[c] The Works of the reverend and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Richard Greenham, minister and preacher of the word of God; consisting of Sermons, Meditations, Treatises, and a Commentary on the 119th Psalm, were published by Henry Holland, in a 4to volume, 1599; again in folio, 1601; and often afterwards. He was a puritan, of considerable talents and popularity. (In Mr. Singer's edition.)—H.

TO MASTER JOSHUA SYLVESTER,

OF HIS BARTAS METAPHRASED.[c]

[Lond. 1633.]

I DARE confess, of Muses more than Nine,
Nor list, nor can I envy none but thine.
She, drenched alone in Sion's sacred spring,
Her Maker's praise hath sweetly chose to sing,
And reacheth near'st the angels' notes above;
Nor lists to sing, or tales, or wars, or love.
One while I find her, in her nimble flight,
Cutting the brazen spheres of heaven bright:
Thence straight she glides, before I be aware,
Through the three regions of the liquid air:
Thence, rushing down, through Nature's closet door,
She ransacks all her grandame's secret store;
And, diving to the darkness of the deep,
Sees there what wealth the waves in prison keep:
And, what she sees above, below, between,
She shows and sings to others' ears and eyne.
'Tis true, thy Muse another's steps doth press;
The more's her pain, nor is her praise the less:
Freedom gives scope unto the roving thought;
Which, by restraint, is curbed. Who wonders aught,
That feet unfettered walken far or fast,
Which, pent with chains, mote want their wonted haste?
Thou follow'st Bartas's diviner strain,
And sing'st his numbers in his native vein.
Bartas was some French angel, girt with bays;
And thou a Bartas art in English lays.
Whether is more? Meseems (the sooth to sayn)
One Bartas speaks in tongues; in nations, twain.

JOS. HALL.

[c] Prefixed to the translation of William de Salluste du Bartas, published by Joshua Sylvester, 1633.—H.

TO THE RIGHT REV. DR. WILLIAM BEDELL,

LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.[d]

IN AUTOREM.

Willy, thy rhythms so sweetly run and rise,
And answer rightly to thy tuneful reed,
That (so mought both our fleecy cares succeed)
I ween (or is it any vain device?)
That, Colin[e] dying, his immortal Muse
Into thy learned breast did late infuse.

Thine be his verse, not his reward be thine!
Ah me! that, after unbeseeming care,
And secret want, which bred his last misfare,
His relics dear obscurely tombed lien
Under unwritten stones; that who goes by,
Cannot once read,—Lo, here doth Colin lie!

Not all the shepherds of his calendar
(Yet learned shepherds all, and seen in song)
Their deepest lays and ditties deep among,
More lofty song did ever make or lere,
Than this of thine. Sing on; thy task shall be,
To follow him, while others follow thee!

Jos. Hall.

[d] Prefixed to "The Shepherd's Tale of Pouder-Plott, a poem in Spenser's style;" written by Bishop Bedell, and published in 1713, 8vo. under the title of "A Protestant Memorial," from an original MS. found among the papers of Dr. Dillingham, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The volume is supposed to have been edited by Dr. Rawlinson, and has an extract of the author's life, written by Bishop Burnet. A MS. copy, but not the original, exists in the Bodleian Library. (Now first included among the Remains of Bishop Hall.)—H.

[e] Spenser.

ON CARDINAL BELLARMINE, AND DR. WHITAKER.

[1599.]

LUSUS IN BELLARMINUM: EJUSQUE CUM DIGNISSIMO VIRO, D. D. WHITAKERO, COLLATIO.[f]

BELLARMINE, sonat tibi qua tria nomen in uno,
Vix unum e tribus his nomina terna ferunt.
BELLA sonat, sonat ARMA, MINAS sonat; omnia Martis:
Nec quæ orbem vincunt singula, terna Deum.
BELLA geres ARMIS, ARMA aggrediere MINANDO;
Ordine ridiculo verba sonora fluunt.
Incipis a BELLO, sic demum pergis ad ARMA;
ARMA MINÆ deinceps, ora secuta manum.
Ira MINAS parit; ARMA MINÆ; post, ARMA duellum;
BELLA necem; nihili est, qui sonat ista retro.
Claude MINIS; tutum est, concedimus; incipe BELLO;
Macte age, qui solo nomine victor eras.

Ast tibi principium Pax nominis indidit ALBUM,
Extremum Mavors indigitavit ACRE.
Quæ dare quis posset mage consona nomina rebus,
Candori morum, viribus ingenii?
Quantus utroque fuit: nec adhuc si noverit orbis,
Dignus ut ignoret, nesciat, ut pudeat.

Apostrophe ad Librum.

At vos, extremi testor monumenta laboris,
Ultima sublati pignora viva patris;
Posthume; defuncti qui sic geris ora parentis,
Quem tumulus peperit, quem genuit cathedra;
Ibis, et infami calcabis marmora Romæ,
Quæ tot alunt vivo monstra perosa patri.

[f] Prefixed to "Gulielmi Whitakeri Prælectiones," published by John Allenson, B.D. fellow of St. John's College; Cantab. 1599, 4to. (Now first included.)—H.

Ito, age; et, antiquæ lustrando cadaver arenæ,
Quære novas, queis-cum digladiere, feras.
I, pete Romulidas, pugnæque appende tabellam;
Quicquid erit monstri, percute, vince, redi.
Cum modo læta tibi decorat victoria frontem,
Palma manum, excipiat Granta sinu reducem.

JOSEPHUS HALL.

ELEGY
ON SIR EDWARD AND LADY LEWKENOR.[s]
[1606.]

IN CONJUGES CONJUNCTISSIMOS.

DUXERE vitam, nec diuturnam satis,
Simitu beatam amore dulci conjuges;
Clausere demum, at citius, extremum diem
Simitu beati morte sancta conjuges;
Quin et supremi compotes ambo poli,
Hausere puri poculum unum nectaris:
Et nunc eadem vestiuntur gloria,
Beati amore, morte, cœlo conjuges.

Jos. HALL, Coll. Eman.

[s] From "Threnodia in Obitum D. Edovardi Lewkenor, Equitis, et D. Susannæ, Conjugis charissimæ: Funeral Verses upon the Death of the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Lewkenor, Knight, and Madame Susan, his Lady, With Death's Apologie, and a Rejoynder to the same." Lond. 1606, 4to. (Now first included.)—H.

ON THE DEATH OF SIR HORATIO PALLAVICINI.[h]

[1609.]

Utra mihi patria est, utra est peregrina, viator?
Itala terra tulit, terra Britanna tegit.
Natus ibi, hic vixi, moriorque ineunte senecta;
Illa mihi cunas contulit, hæc tumulum.
Deserui Latium vivus, meque illa reliquit;
Quodque ortu meruit, perdidit exitio.
Hospitio excepit fovitque Britannia longo;
Jure sit illa suo patria sola mihi.
Non tamen illa mihi patria est, non ulla sub astris;
Sed teneo ætherei regna superna poli.

J. Hall, Imman.

[h] Taken from a small collection of Funeral Verses, entitled, "Album, seu Nigrum, Amicorum, in obitum Horatii Pallavicini." Lond. 1609, 4to. Sir Horatio Pallavicini resided at Babraham, near Cambridge. After his decease in 1600, his widow married Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, uncle to the Protector. (Printed by Mr. Hughes, in the Memoir prefixed to his edition of the Contemplations; who refers to the Progresses of King James, by Nichols, vol. i. p. 102.)—H.

EPITAPH

ON THE MONUMENT OF MR. HENRY BRIGHT, IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL;

[1626.]

COMPOSED BY DR. JOSEPH HALL, THEN DEAN OF WORCESTER.[1]

Mane, Hospes, et Lege.
Magister Henricus Bright,
celeberrimus Gymnasiarcha,
qui Scholæ Regiæ istic fundatæ
per totos Quadraginta Annos summa cum
laude præfuit:
Quo non alter magis sedulus fuit, scitusve, aut dexter
in Latinis, Græcis, Hebraicis,
literis feliciter edocendis:
Teste utraque Academia, quam instruxit affatim numerosa
pube literaria:
Sed et totidem annis eoque amplius Theologiam
professus,
et hujus Ecclesiæ per septennium Canonicus Major,
Sæpissime hîc et alibi sacrum Dei Præconem magno cum
zelo et fructu egit:
Vir pius, doctus, integer, frugi, de Republica
deque Ecclesia optime meritus,
a laboribus perdiu
pernoctuque, ab anno 1562 ad 1626,
strenue usque extant latis, 4to Martii, suaviter requievit
in Domino.

[1] See Fuller's Worthies of England, 1662, folio; under the head of Worcestershire. (In Mr. Jones's Appendix to the Bishop's Life.)—H.

END OF VOL. IX.

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